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"ALIUD BENITENCIALE": THE NINTH-CENTURY *PAENITENTIALE VINDOBONENSE C*[*]

Rob Meens

WHEN in 1978 Cyrille Vogel published the volume of the series *Typologie des Sources* devoted to early medieval penitential texts he relied for his overview of the texts belonging to this genre mainly on the pioneering work of Friedrich Wilhelm Hermann Wasserschleben and Hermann Joseph Schmitz.[1] They had laid the foundation for future studies by editing the bulk of early medieval penitentials. While some of their analyses and classificatory work had been subsequently corrected and systematized by Paul Fournier and Gabriel Le Bras,[2] only a few new texts have been discovered after the publication of the editions of Wasserschleben and Schmitz. J. Zettinger made an important discovery by uncovering the genuine penitential of the Irish abbot Cummean,[3] Otto Seebass published a penitential from Bobbio and some fragments from Weingarten,[4] and new editions focussing on Insular texts and replacing the work done by Wasserschleben and Schmitz were published by

* Research for this article has been supported by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO). I would like to thank Adriaan Gaastra and Marjolijn Saan for their comments on an earlier version.

[1] C. Vogel, *Les "Libri Paenitentiales,"* Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 27 (Turnhout, 1978), "Mise à jour" by A. J. Frantzen (Turnhout, 1985); F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851); H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche* (Mainz, 1883; rpt. Graz, 1958); and idem, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* (Düsseldorf, 1898; rpt. Graz, 1958).

[2] P. Fournier, "Études sur les pénitentiels," *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses* 6 (1901): 289–317, 7 (1902): 59–70 and 121–27, 8 (1903): 528–53, and 9 (1904): 97–103, reprinted in P. Fournier, *Mélanges de droit canonique,* ed. Th. Kölzer, 2 vols. (Aalen, 1983); G. Le Bras, "Pénitentiels," *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* 12 (1933), cols.1160–79.

[3] J. Zettinger, "Das Poenitentiale Cummeani," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 82 (1902): 661–91

[4] O. Seebass, "Poenitentialfragmente einer Weingartner Handschrift des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 10 (1889): 439–46; idem, "Ein bisher noch nicht veröffentlichtes Poenitential einer Bobbienser Handschrift der Ambrosiana," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht* 6 (1896/7): 24–50; for the penitential from the Ambrosiana, see now L. Körntgen, *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterlichen Bußbücher,* Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 7 (Sigmaringen, 1993), 7–86.

Mediaeval Studies 66 (2004): 1–26. © Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

Paul Willem Finsterwalder and Ludwig Bieler.[5] The continental penitentials, however, were poorly served until Raymund Kottje launched a research project aiming at a better understanding of these texts.[6] At that time he had completed a major study of three important penitential texts emanating from the Carolingian efforts to reform penitential practice, the penitentials composed by Halitgar of Cambrai and by Hrabanus Maurus—a study which not only demonstrated the need for a better understanding of the continental penitential traditions but also showed how fruitfully this could be done.[7] As a result of the research project led by Kottje we now have a better understanding of the sources the authors of penitential texts had at their disposal and of the manuscript transmission of early medieval penitentials. Moreover, not only have new manuscript witnesses of known texts been found, but some exciting new texts have been discovered as well.[8] Two volumes containing new editions of penitentials have now been published and others are in preparation.[9] In this

[5] P. W. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen,* Untersuchungen zu den Bußbüchern des 7., 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts 1 (Weimar, 1929); L. Bieler, ed., *The Irish Penitentials,* with an appendix by D.A. Binchy, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 5 (Dublin, 1963).

[6] R. Kottje, "Die frühmittelalterlichen kontinentalen Bußbücher: Bericht über ein Forschungsvorhaben an der Universität Augsburg," *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law,* n.s., 7 (1977): 108–11; idem, "Erfassung und Untersuchung der frühmittelalterlichen kontinentalen Bussbücher: Probleme, Ergebnisse, Aufgaben eines Forschungsprojektes an der Universität Bonn," *Studi medievali* 26 (1985): 941–50. The project moved with Kottje from Augsburg to Bonn.

[7] R. Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus: Ihre Überlieferung und ihre Quellen,* Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 8 (Berlin, New York, 1980).

[8] The manuscript tradition of penitential texts has been thoroughly charted in the following works: F. B. Asbach, *Das Poenitentiale Remense und der sogen. Excarpsus Cummeani: Überlieferung, Quellen und Entwicklung zweier kontinentaler Bußbücher aus der 1. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg, 1975); F. Kerff, *Der Quadripartitus: Ein Handbuch der karolingischen Kirchenreform. Überlieferung, Quellen und Rezeption,* Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 1 (Sigmaringen, 1982); G. Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I: Ein oberitalienischer Zweig der frühmittelalterlichen kontinentalen Bußbücher. Überlieferung, Verbreitung und Quellen,* Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 3 (Sigmaringen, 1984); L. Mahadevan, "Überlieferung und Verbreitung des Bussbuchs 'Capitula Iudiciorum,'" *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.* 72 (1986): 17–75; R. Haggenmüller, *Die Überlieferung der Beda und Egbert zugeschriebenen Bußbücher* (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, etc., 1991); L. Körntgen, *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterlichen Bußbüche;* R. Meens, *Het tripartite boeteboek: Overlevering en betekenis van vroegmiddeleeuwse biechtvoorschriften (met editie en vertaling van vier "tripartita")* (Hilversum, 1994). Newly discovered texts are the *Paenitentiale Sletstatense* and the *Paenitentiale Oxoniense I* and *II,* edited by R. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora Franciae et Italiae saeculi VIII-IX,* CCL 156 (Turnhout, 1994).

[9] Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora;* and F. Bezler, ed., *Paenitentialia Hispaniae,* CCL 156A

article I would like to present another penitential, one found in the ninth-century manuscript Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2225. This manuscript is known to contain two other penitential collections, the *Paenitentiale Merseburgense A* and the *Excarpsus Cummeani.* Unlike these well-known collections, the collection of penitential canons presented below has never been studied. It has been noted by several scholars using this manuscript and has been characterized as "diverse Bußsatzungen," but it has never been analyzed, and the general character of these penitential canons has remained unknown.[10] Before we look at the character of this penitential, the manuscript which is its unique witness deserves our attention.

THE MANUSCRIPT

The Vienna manuscript, which on paleographical grounds is said to have originated from southern Germany at the close of the ninth century or possibly in the early years of the tenth century, measures only 15×10 cm. and is no larger than a modern pocket book.[11] The manuscript, consisting of forty-three folios, is mutilated at the end and may therefore have once contained other texts. Possibly, however, the last two leaves of the manuscript, containing the sermon for the dedication of a church, have been added later, while the verso side of the last leaf has been left blank.[12] This suggests that the contents of the manuscript as we have it probably reflects its early medieval state.

The manuscript contains no specific indications of its place of origin or medieval provenance. The earliest indication of ownership is the signature added on the last leaf of the manuscript by Hugo Blotius, the librarian who first drew up a catalogue of the imperial library in Vienna in 1576. In this catalogue the manuscript is briefly described, and Blotius indicated that already at this time the manuscript was mutilated at the end.[13] The fact that the manuscript was in

(Turnhout, 1998). The edition of the penitentials attributed to Bede and Egbert is being prepared by R. Haggenmüller, while L. Körntgen and I are preparing an edition of the "tripartite penitentials." Some of the tripartite penitentials have been edited in my study mentioned in the previous note.

[10] Asbach, *Das Poenitentiale Remense,* 38–39 ("Bußbuchtexte"); Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 38 ("verschiedene Paenitentialtexte"); Kottje, ed., *Paenitentialia minora,* xlv ("Diverse Bußsatzungen").

[11] For reliable descriptions of the manuscript, see Asbach, *Das Poenitentiale Remense,* 38–39; Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 38; and Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* xlv

[12] Unfortunately, the manuscript is so closely bound that it is impossible to see whether fols. 42 and 43 are separate leaves. The last quire is, however, irregular, whereas the others are perfectly regular quires of eight leaves, except for the first, which contains only seven leaves.

[13] H. Menhardt, ed., *Das älteste Handschriftenverzeichnis der Wiener Hofbibliothek von*

the imperial library at such an early date supports the paleographical indications for a southern German origin. Apparently the manuscript was not bound at that time, since Blotius usually placed the signature at the inside of the back cover, and in cases of unbound books resorted to placing them on the last leaf.[14] It now has a book cover from the year 1753 from the Viennese librarian Gerhard van Swieten.

The main theme of the codex is penance. It starts with the most important text, the beginning of which is highlighted with three lines written in red in a fine capital script, reading "Incipit iudicium patrum ad paenitentes." This text, running from fol. 1 to fol. 36, actually consists of two well-known Carolingian penitentials, which are here combined into a new text. The first one of these used to be known as the *Paenitentiale Vindobonense A* but has been shown to be a particular version of the *P. Merseburgense A.*[15] This is a tripartite penitential, combining sentences from the so-called "simple Frankish penitentials" with those of the Irish penitential of Cummean and sentences from a version of the penitential of Theodore of Canterbury.[16] The *P. Merseburgense A* was possibly composed at the end of the eighth century, but an early ninth-century date of composition is not excluded. It is considered to have been composed in Francia, although it is exclusively known from manuscripts from northern Italy and southern Germany.[17] The version as found in our Vienna manuscript is closely related to a Bobbio manuscript of

Hugo Blotius 1576: Kritische Ausgabe der Handschrift Series nova 4451 vom Jahre 1597 mit vier Anhängen, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften 76 (Vienna, 1957), 93: "Tractatus de iudicio patrum ad poenitentes in 4° scriptus in membrana, deest [autem] finis."

[14] J. Stummvoll, ed., *Geschichte der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek,* vol.1: Die Hofbibliothek (1368–1922), Museion. Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, N.F., 2. Reihe, 3.1 (Vienna, 1968), 110.

[15] Edited as *P. Vindobonense A* in Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen,* 418–22, and as *P. Vindobonense* in Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren,* 348–56. See Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 43–44, for the identification with the *P. Merseburgense A.*

[16] The tripartite character of this text was established by Hägele; Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* xxvi, questions Hägele's characterization, but without providing a clear argument explaining why the *P. Merseburgense A* should not be regarded as a tripartite penitential.

[17] Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 88–98; cf., however, R. Kottje, "Busspraxis und Bussritus," in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale,* Settimane di studio 33 (Spoleto, 1987), 369–95 at 378, who suggests a northern Italian origin for this text; some authors still cite the *P. Merseburgense A* and the *P. Vindobonense A* as two separate works; see I. Weber, "'Consensus facit nuptias!' Überlegungen zum ehelichen Konsens in normativen Texten des Frühmittelalters," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.* 87 (2001): 31–66 at 47 n. 50, who even cites the Vienna manuscript of the *P. Merseburgense A* and the *P. Vindobonense A* side by side, although this is one and the same text.

this text.[18] In the Vienna manuscript it is combined with the *Excarpsus Cummeani,* one of the oldest and most influential penitential texts, based on the same set of sources as those used for the *P. Merseburgense A.* Its influence is attested by twenty-eight manuscripts still preserving this work or fragments thereof. The *Excarpsus* was probably composed in the first half of the eighth century somewhere in the north of France, possibly near Corbie. In southern Germany we find its earliest traces at the end of the eighth century.[19]

This long and elaborate penitential consisting of a combination of the *P. Merseburgense A* and the *Excarpsus Cummeani* is then followed on fols. 36r–41r by the short penitential text, which will be analyzed below. On fol. 41r–v another hand added a short tract entitled *De vestimentis sacerdotalibus.* It concerns a shortened version of the part dealing with priestly vestments from Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum* in the so-called F-redaction.[20] This redaction must postdate Hrabanus's work (finished before the year 819) and was certainly available around the middle of the ninth century. The F-redaction was mainly known in southern Germany and in northern and central Italy.[21] This part of the influential educational treatise of the abbot of Fulda seems to have aroused particular interest in the ninth century and after, since it is often transmitted as a separate text.[22] The last text in our manuscript is a

[18] Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 5751 (s. IX ex., Bobbio); see Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 43–45. For the connection of this manuscript with Bobbio, see W. Kaiser, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer vornehmlich bußrechtlichen Handschrift aus Bobbio (Hs. Vat. lat. 5751 ff. 1–54v + Hs. Mailand, Bibl. Ambr. G. 58 sup. ff. 41r–64v)," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.* 86 (2000): 538–53.

[19] Asbach, *Das Poenitentiale Remense,* 213–18; Meens, *Het tripartite boeteboek,* 44–47.

[20] Book 1.15–22, ed. D. Zimpel, *Hrabanus Maurus: De institutione clericorum libri tres. Studien und Edition* (Frankfurt a.M. etc., 1996), 534–36. The following variant readings show that it was this redaction and not Hrabanus's original text which was used: c.19: "Apte etenim collum simul" (Vienna manuscript and F-redaction) against "Apte ergo orarium simul"; c.21: "quae supremum" (V and F) against "Haec supremum"; "suo munimine omnia interius" (V), "suo muninine interius omnia" (F), and "omnia interius per suum munimen" (Hrabanus); c.22: "quo caltiamento nec pectus est et nec nudus" (V), "quo calciamento nec pes tectus est, nec nudus" (F), and "hoc calceamentum mysticam significationem habet, ut pes neque tectus sit, neque nudus" (Hrabanus). The F-redaction was also used in Pseudo-Bede, *Collectanea,* 348–55, ed. M. Bayless, M. Lapidge et al., *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae,* Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 14 (Dublin, 1998), 174–76 and notes on 269–70 (the editors mention the *Liber officialis* of Amalarius of Metz as the source used there, but see Zimpel, pp. 49–50 and 113–16). Pseudo-Bede, however, can be shown not to be the source of the Vienna manuscript.

[21] On the date of Hrabanus's work, see Zimpel, *Hrabanus Maurus: De institutione clericorum libri tres,* 34; on the date and distribution of the F-redaction, see ibid., 105–10.

[22] Ibid., 18, 109 (the so-called F-redaction), and 120–23; it is also to be found in Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia 439 (s. X, Siponto), edited in *Spicilegium Casinense complectens analecta sacra et profana e codd. Casinensibus aliarumque bibliothecarum collecta atque edita cura et studio monachorum S. Benedicti archicoenobii Montis Casini* 1 (Montecassino,

sermon of Caesarius of Arles for the dedication of a new church (*In dedicatione aecclesiae*).[23] The last leaf of the manuscript has been worn so much that the outer half of the leaf has perished. The change of hands occurring not only at the top of a new leaf (fol. 42r) but also at the beginning of a new text, together with some changes in the layout of the page, suggests that this part originally did not belong to the rest of the codex. When Blotius described the manuscript in 1576 it was, however, already part of the manuscript and its contents, a sermon dealing with issues such as virtues and vices, the need of confessing one's sins so as to appear in a pure state before the holy altar and with the punishments for one's failings in the hereafter, would fit the rest of the manuscript.

THE *PAENITENTIALE VINDOBONENSE C*

The penitential which is to be found on fols. 36r–41r of the manuscript has not yet received a name and, following the custom of naming anonymous texts after their current locations, I will henceforth call it the *Paenitentiale Vindobonense C* to distinguish it from the *Paenitentiale Vindobonense A,* the traditional name of the text on fols. 1r–13v of this manuscript, and the *Paenitentiale Vindobonense B,* found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2233.[24] The *P. Vindobonense C* is introduced in the manuscript as "from another penitential" (*item de alio benitenciali*). It contains quite a lot of material in common with the *P. Merseburgense A* which is included in the same manuscript, but it also contains a number of peculiar and unique canons. The canons of the *P. Vindobonense C,* which are unnumbered in the manuscript, but which I have numbered in the edition below for the sake of convenience, seem to derive from five different sources. The first ten canons, which have only a handful of parallels in penitential literature of the period, appear to

1888), 376–77; for a description of the manuscript, see R. Pokorny, ed., *Capitula Episcoporum III,* Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Capitula Episcoporum 3 (Hannover, 1995), 310–11.

[23] Caesarius of Arles, Sermo 227, ed. G. Morin, CCL 104 (Turnhout, 1953), 897–900.

[24] Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 43–44, suggested that the *P. Vindobonense A* is just a reworking of the *Merseburgense A* penitential and should therefore not be regarded as a penitential on its own. Yet the Vienna manuscript presents the combination of the *P. Merseburgense A* and *Excarpsus Cummeani* as one text and I think, therefore, that this combination should hence be called the *P. Vindobonense A.* For the *P. Vindobonense B,* see R. Meens, *Het tripartite boeteboek,* 105–37 and 354–433 (edition); idem, "The Penitential of Finnian and the Textual Witness of the *Paenitentiale Vindobonense 'B,'*" *Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1993): 243–55; and idem, "Kanonisches Recht in Salzburg am Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts: Das Zeugnis des *Paenitentiale Vindobonense B,*" *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.* 82 (1996): 13–34.

form a separate group. They are concluded by an instruction for the priest pertaining to the way he has to deal with penitents. Thereupon follows a group of canons deriving from the penitential of Theodore of Canterbury (12–28), then a group of canons showing similarities with canonical canons, i.e., canons which form the basis of the so-called "simple Frankish penitentials" (29–40), which in turn is followed by a group of canons deriving from the *P. Merseburgense A* (41–49). The final four canons derive from conciliar legislation. These groups of canons may now be examined more closely.

The First Group.

Most of the canons in this group are unique to this text. Only numbers 6 and 9 have parallels elsewhere, both in the group of simple Frankish penitentials. While 9 appears in almost all of these, 6, dealing with acts of fornication inside a church, only has a parallel in the *Paenitentiale Parisiense simplex.*[25] It might be significant that 9 stems from the later part of these texts, while 6 forms part of an addition to the common core of the simple Frankish penitentials. In some of these texts we can see that canons, particularly dealing with the purity of the priest, were at some point added to the common core of canonical sentences. In the *P. Vindobonense C,* this also seems to be the main theme of the first group of canons. They deal with clerics being defiled by their own fantasies (2), in their dreams (4), or through contact with women—by holding hands (3), touching their breasts (5), or some other form of contact (1). Sexual purity is also the theme of number 6, dealing with "sex in holy places," and of the next two canons, censuring fornication "in terra" and "sub terra," the precise meaning of which, however, remains a mystery to me.[26] In most of the simple Frankish penitentials to which such canons about

[25] Canon 9 does not appear in the *Paenitentiale Sletstatense* or the *Paenitentiale Sangallense simplex.* For canon 6, see *P. Parisiense simplex,* c.45, ed. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* 78. The latter canon also has a parallel in the penitential in Vatican, Archivio S. Pietro H 58, III,11, but this text is too late for it to have been used as a source by the compiler of our text; for the date of the Vatican penitential, see L. Körntgen, "Ein italienisches Bußbuch und seine fränkische Quellen: Das anonyme Paenitentiale der Handschrift Vatikan, Arch. S. Pietro H 58," in *Aus Archiven und Bibliotheken. Festschrift für Raymund Kottje zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. H. Mordek (Frankfurt a. M., Bern, etc., 1992), 189–205. Körntgen, however, does not identify the *P. Parisiense simplex* as a possible source for this particular canon; see p. 201. The theme of sex in churches has been explored by D. Elliott, "Sex in Holy Places: An Exploration of a Medieval Anxiety," *Journal of Women's History* 6 (1994): 6–34, also printed in *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999), 61–80; Elliott refers to the Paris penitential on p. 26 (203) n. 22.

[26] The phrase "in terra" may be a scribal error for "in terga," an act which is frequently mentioned, but then the subsequent canon would make no sense. The "uerit," probably for

clerical purity were added, these were taken from Insular penitential texts, in particular from the penitential of Cummean and the *Paenitentiale Ambrosianum.*[27] Perhaps, therefore, what we have here in the first ten canons of the *P. Vindobonense C* is a reflection of a similar kind of addendum to a simple Frankish penitential, possibly also taken from an insular source. The general content of these canons agrees with that of the canons added to the simple Frankish penitentials. Canon 3, moreover, prohibiting touching a woman's hand, can be compared with Irish penitentials, like the *Paenitentiale Bigotianum* and the *Old Irish Penitential,* where close contact with women also requires reparation by way of penance.[28] The canon forbidding touching a woman's breasts (5) is of a similar character. It can be compared to a canon appearing in the *Paenitentiale Hubertense* and the *Paenitentiale Merseburgense B,* though the formulation of the *P. Vindobonense C* has no close parallels.[29] Whether this canon may have had an insular background remains unknown. The rather elaborate description of the penance to be performed that we find in canon 6 would also fit an older insular penitential text, which tends to be more verbose in this respect.[30]

That this group of canons might have originally formed the end of a penitential is also suggested by the commutations and the instruction for the priest confessor which conclude this section (10–11). These commutations have verbal parallels in the prefaces of the *Excarpsus Cummeani,* the *Paenitentiale Remense* and the Pseudo-Bede penitential.[31] The instruction (11)

"fornicauerit," and the fact that this canon lacks a proper indication of the penance to be fulfilled, suggests that the section is corrupt. The closest parallel is *Paenitentiale Cummeani* (X),15: "In terga uero fornicantes, si pueri sunt, duobus annis; si uiri, tribus annis uel iiiior; si autem in consuetudinem uertunt, vii annis et modus paenitentiae addatur iudice sacerdote" (ed. Bieler, 128). For fornication "in terga," see P. J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550–1150* (Toronto, 1984), 29; confusion about the meaning of this sentence was already expressed by M. Denis, *Codices Manuscripti Theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis Latini aliarumque occidentis linguarum,* vol. 1: Codices ad Caroli VI tempora bibliothecae illatos complexum, pars III (Vienna, 1795), cols. 2537–38.

[27] See the importance of this theme among the additions in, for example, *P. Bobbiense,* cc.38–53, ed. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* 70–71; *P. Parisiense simplex,* cc.34–62, ed. Kottje, 77–79; *P. Sletstatense,* cc.25–35, ed. Kottje, 84–85; *P. Oxoniense I,* cc.37–40, ed. Kottje, 91.

[28] *P. Bigotianum* I,6,1–2, ed. Bieler, 216; *OIP* II,16, ed. Bieler, 264.

[29] *P. Hubertense,* c.44, and *P. Merseburgense B,* c.2, ed. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* 112–13 and 173.

[30] Meens, "The Penitential of Finnian and the Textual Witness of the *Paenitentiale Vindobonense 'B,'*" 254–55; and Körntgen, *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterlichen Bußbücher,* 28–35.

[31] *P. Ps.-Bedae,* c. XI, ed. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen,* 230; *P. Remense,* prologue, ed. Asbach, *Das Poenitentiale Remense,* Anhang, 11; *Excarpsus Cummeani,* prologue, c. I, *De modis poenitentiae,* ed. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren,* 603.

clarifying the advice the confessor should give to a penitent concerning his general behaviour, which should make his penance "acceptable" for God, contains some familiar matter but does not seem to have verbal parallels in penitential literature.

The Theodorian Sentences.

The next group of canons runs from number 12 to number 28. All these canons stem from the tradition of penitential and legal decisions going back to Theodore, the seventh-century archbishop of Canterbury.[32] His decisions were later gathered in several collections, of which the *Canones Gregorii* and the collection known as the *Discipulus Umbrensium* were widely known. The *Discipulus Umbrensium*-version was divided into two books, of which the second book contained mainly decisions of a legal nature. Penitential collections mostly ignored this second book and adopted their canons primarily from the first book.[33] Remarkably enough the compiler of the *P. Vindobonense C* shows a great predilection for this second book. Only canon 23 derives from the first book. The fact that the *Discipulus Umbrensium*-version is the only one that contains all the canons from this series of the *P. Vindobonense C* suggests that this tradition of Theodorian material was used.[34] The singular canon from book one points in the same direction, since apart from the *U*-version it is only found in the *Capitula Dacheriana,* but without the part "cum tribulatione peniteat uel XV leuius" which both the *P. Vindobonense C* and the *U*-version of the Theodorian canons include.[35] Canon 24 of *P. Vindobonense C,* however, reads exactly like the *Canones Gregorii*-version of Theodorian sentences. Did the compiler use such a version alongside *U,* or did he use an intermediary source in which some readings of *G* had crept in?

If we look at the order in which the canons were adopted, it is clear that the compiler of the *P. Vindobonense C* did not slavishly follow the order of *U.* Apparently he (or his source) ordered the Theodorian material according to subject matter, and we can clearly observe which themes he thought of particular interest. The first group of canons deals with ecclesiastical hierarchy,

[32] For this tradition of penitential texts, see R. Kottje, "Paenitentiale Theodori," in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte,* vol. 3 (Berlin, 1984), cols. 1413–16; and T. Charles-Edwards, "The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori,*" in *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence,* ed. M. Lapidge, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 11 (Cambridge, 1995), 141–74.

[33] Meens, *Tripartite boeteboek,* 273–74 and the tables on 521–35.

[34] See the table on p. 10 below. I have not indicated the parallels with the other versions of the *iudicia Theodori,* but none of these contains all the canons found in the *P. Vindobonense C.*

[35] *P. Vindobonense C,* c.23: cf. *Paenitentiale Theodori U* I,14,8 and *D* 107.

with a particular emphasis on the role of monasteries (12–20 and 25). Marriage is a second major theme (21–24 and 28), while two canons deal with the question whether it is permitted to say masses for bad—read unpenitent—Christians (26–27).

P. Vindobonense C	*P. Theod. U*	*P. Theod. G*
12	II,3,4	5
13	II,3,5	4
14	II,6,1	14
15	II,6,4	16
16	II,2,9	87
17	II,1,6	—
18	II,1,8	165
19	II,6,4	—
20	II,6,5	—
21	II,12,30	182
22	II,12,33	—
23	I,14,8	—
24	II,12,9	175
25	II,2,15	—
26	II,5,8	—
27	II,5,9	—
28	II,12,6	67

Canonical Canons.

The third group of canons (29–40) consists of sentences which form the core of the so-called "simple Frankish penitentials" (*libri paenitentiales simplices*), a group of texts which are based upon the penitential of the Irish *peregrinus* Columbanus and upon conciliar decisions circulating in Gaul at the end of the sixth century. In two penitentials from the eighth century these canons are characterized as *iudicia canonica,* and they are therefore sometimes referred to as canonical canons.[36] Except for two canons deriving from the penitential of Cummean (30 and 33) and one from the penitential of Columbanus (37), every canon in this third group has a parallel in the canonical canons. This will be clear from the following table, which also includes the parallels with the *P. Merseburgense A,* a tripartite penitential, whose close relationship with the *P. Vindobonense C* will be discussed below.[37]

[36] Hägele, *Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 69; the "simple Frankish penitentials" are edited in Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* 1–121.

[37] In this table the following abbreviations have been used: *Vind=P. Vindobonense C;*

Vind	*Burg*	*Bobb*	*Paris*	*Slet*	*Oxon*	*Flor*	*Hub*	*Sang*	*Cumm*	*Col.B*	*Mers*
29	6	7	4	6	—	6	7	4	—	—	6
30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	III,9+11	—	62
31	6	7	4	6	—	6	7	4	—	—	6
32	7	8	6	7	5	7	8	5	—	—	7
33	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	I,13	—	55
34	15	14	9	14	12	15	16	23	—	—	15
35	21	19	13	19	16	49	21	12	—	—	19
36	23	21	15	21	18	21	23	—	—	—	21
37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	47
38	37	33	29	—	32	34	38	—	—	—	35
39	39	35	31	—	34	36	40	21	—	—	37
40	40	36	32	—	35	37	41	22	—	—	38

This table not only shows that the *P. Burgundense,* the *P. Bobbiense,* the *P. Parisiense simplex,* the *P. Floriacense,* and the *P. Hubertense* contain all the canons from this group of the *P. Vindobonense C,* but it also shows that apart from the *P. Floriacense* these texts present the canons in basically the same order. It may be significant that the texts with which the *P. Vindobonense C* seems to be most closely related are among the oldest of this group. These "simple Frankish penitentials" are difficult to date. The sources used only provide a *terminus post quem,* which lies somewhere in the beginning of the seventh century. The extant manuscripts provide the surest indication for the date of these texts, as Hägele has argued.[38] The manuscript containing the *P. Bobbiense,* the famous Bobbio Missal, stems from the early eighth or perhaps even the late seventh century. The manuscript of the *P. Parisiense simplex* dates from the middle of the eighth century and that of the *P. Burgundense* from the end of that century.[39] The manuscript of the *P. Floriacense* is relatively young, dating from the third quarter of the ninth century, while the manuscript of the *P. Hubertense* has not survived. There is, however, no simple Frankish penitential which has the same interpolations from the penitenials of Cummean and Columbanus, although several of these are clearly influenced by these texts.

Burg=P. Burgundense; Bobb=P. Bobbiense; Paris=P. Parisiense simplex; Slet=P. Sletstatense; Oxon=P. Oxoniense I; Flor=P. Floriacense; Hub=P. Hubertense; Sang=P. Sangallense simplex; Cumm=P. Cummeani; Col.B=P. Columbani B; Mers=P. Merseburgense A.

[38] Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 91.

[39] See Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* xxxiii–xxxvii; an even earlier date has been suggested for the Bobbio penitential by R. McKitterick, "The Scripts of the Bobbio Missal," in *The Bobbio Missal. Liturgy and Religious Culture in Merovingian Gaul,* ed. Y. Hen and R. Meens (Cambridge, 2004), 19–52, esp. 50.

The canonical canons were widely used in later penitentials, particularly in the "tripartite penitentials," which combine these sentences with those of Theodore and Cummean. None of these texts inserts the sentences from Cummean and Columbanus in the same place as the *P. Vindobonense C* does. Yet it is striking that the canonical series of the *P. Merseburgense A* follows the same order as the *P. Vindobonense C.* Although this penitential contains the sentences from Cummean and Columbanus, the fact that it does not include them in the same series in which they appear in the *P. Vindobonense C* suggests that the *P. Merseburgense A* was not directly used by the compiler of the *P. Vindobonense C,* although it might show that both used the same or a similar source. The canon following this group points in the same direction (41). It concerns again a commutation, thereby "closing" this group, and has verbal parallels with two canons from the *P. Merseburgense A,* which also end the series of canonical canons.[40]

The Paenitentiale Merseburgense A.

The analysis of the canonical canons has revealed a certain affinity with the *P. Merseburgense A,* an affinity that becomes even more manifest if we look at the fourth group of canons from the *P. Vindobonense C* (41–49). All canons from this group have a close parallel in the *P. Merseburgense A,* although the last canon from this group (49) appears only in one of the three manuscripts of the *P. Merseburgense A:* Vat. lat. 5751. The variant readings of the *P. Merseburgense A* further show that the version of the Vatican manuscript is closest to the canons as they are included in the *P. Vindobonense C.* The Vatican manuscript is closely related to the Vienna manuscript of the *P. Merseburgense A,* i.e., the version of the *P. Merseburgense A* that appears at the beginning of the manuscript containing the *P. Vindobonense C.* Most of the *P. Vindobonense C* readings concur with the Vatican and Vienna manuscripts against the Merseburg one, as the following example clearly shows:[41]

Vind, c.42	*Mers:* V 23	*Mers:* W10	*Mers:* Me1
Si quis pro mercede ieiunat et aliena peccata	Si quis pro mercede ieiunat et aliena peccata	Si quis pro mercede ieiunat et aliena peccata in	Si quis mercidem accipit et ieiunaberit, si per igno-

[40] *P. Merseburgense A,* cc.41–42, ed. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* 137.

[41] Ibid., c.44, ed. Kottje, 140; the *P. Merseburgense A* is known in three different versions which are printed synoptically by Kottje: V 23 refers to the version in Vat. lat. 5751, W 10 refers to the version in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2225, and Me 1 refers to the version in Merseburg, Dombibliothek 103; other canons from the *P. Vindobonense C* with clear parallels in V 23 are 43, 44, 45 (also close to W 10), and 47.

suscipit in se, non est dignus nominari christianus. Ieiunet pro se quantum promisit pro illo ieiunare et quod accepit, det pauperibus.	suscipit in se, non est dignus nominari christianus. Ieiunet pro se, quantum promisit pro illo ieiunare, quod accepit, det pauperibus.	se suscipit, non est dignus nominari christianus. Ieiunet pro se, quantum promisit pro illo ieiunare, et quod ab eo accepit, det pauperibus.	rantiam hoc fecerit, ieiunet pro se, quantum se promisit pro illo ieiunare, et quod accipit, det pauperibus. Et qui aliena peccata super se suscipierit, non est dignus christianus.

The only canon which shows some similarity to the version of the Merseburg manuscript is *P. Vindobonense C* 48, as the following juxtaposition will show:

Vind, c.48	*Mers:* V 23	*Mers:* W10	*Mers:* Me1
Si quis clericus a diabolo uexatur, non licet eum ministrare ministerium clericorum. Nam si per Dei misericordiam et ieunium mundatus fuerit, post x annos suscipiatur ad officio clericorum.	Si quis uexatur a diabolo, non licet eum sacra ministeria contingere; si per dei misericordia et ieiunium mundatus fuerit, post x annos suscipiatur in offitio clericorum, non sacerdotum.	Si quis uexatur a diabolo, non licet eum sacra mysteria adtingere; si uero pro misericordia dei et ieiunio mundatus fuerit, post decem annos suscipiatur in officio clericorum, non sacerdotum.	Si quis clericus a diabolo uexatur, non permittatis eum ministrare ministerium clericorum; si autem per misericordia dei per ieiunium mundatus fuerit, post x annos suscipiatur ad officium cum clericis.

The phrase *ministrare ministerium clericorum* is only found in the version of the Merseburg manuscript, as it is in its source for this canon, the *P. Oxoniense II.*[42] Although the *P. Vindobonense C* has close affinities with the version of V 23, this shows that the compiler of the *P. Vindobonense C* did not use this version, but an earlier one, still retaining the reading from the Me version mentioned above. The version used for the *P. Vindobonense C* does, however, seem to have been very close to the V 23 and W 10 versions, as indicated by the order of the canons. The canons regularly follow the order of the *P. Merseburgense A* as found in all three manuscripts except for canons 43, 44, and 47. In V 23 and W 10 these canons are found in a different context

[42] *P. Merseburgense A,* c.109, ed. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* 157; *P. Oxoniense II,* c.44, ed. Kottje, 198.

from that of Me 1 and this is precisely the order in which they are found in the *Vindobonense C* penitential, as the following table will make clear:

Vind	*Mers:* V 23	*Mers:* W 10	*Mers:* Me 1
41	45–46	45–46	41–42
42	49	52	44
43	96	—	130
44	97	94	131
45	103	98	121
46	104	99	122
47	113	105	90
48	114	106	109
49	117	—	—

We may therefore conclude that this series of canons was taken from the *P. Merseburgense A,* but not from one of the existing manuscripts. It is remarkable that one of the manuscripts of the *P. Merseburgense A* is the same one which is the unique witness of the *P. Vindobonense C.* While there are some similarities with this version of the *P. Merseburgense A,* it was clearly not directly used by the compiler of the *P. Vindobonense C.* The version the compiler of the *P. Vindobonense C* must have used was most closely related to the version of the *P. Merseburgense A* as it is found in V 23.

Conciliar Canons.

The penitential ends with four canons which are based on conciliar legislation, deriving from the councils of Antioch and Laodicea. In the early Middle Ages these canons were known from a wide variety of collections of canon law.[43] Since they were translated from the Greek at different times and places, they appear in several versions.[44] The canons of the *P. Vindobonenense C* cannot be easily identified with any of these versions, because they seem to have been adopted with great freedom. Compare, for example canon 53 with its source, canon 28 of the council of Laodicea. The bishops assembled in Laodicea had decreed that the ritual meal known as the *agape* should not be held in Church, nor should dining couches (*accubita*) be put in the house of

[43] For a quick introduction to these, see L. Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400–1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (Washington, D.C., 1999).

[44] The different versions are edited in C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima canonum et conciliorum graecorum interpretationes Latinae,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1899–1939).

God.[45] In the *P. Vindobonense C* the meaning of the canon seems to have changed completely. It simply forbids eating and drinking in Church or to put up a bed there, except, however, in the case of pilgrimage.[46] Not only have the contents of the original source been changed in the *P. Vindobonense C,* but the formulation of the canon barely resembles that of the canon of Laodicea. For this reason it is difficult to establish with certainty which version of the original canons has been used.

In canon 50 the *P. Vindobonense C* seems to have been using the *versio Isidori* of the council of Antioch, since this is the only version which uses the words "inrita sit huiusmodi ordinatio," as it is found in the *P. Vindobonense C.*[47] An almost identical clause is, however, to be found in the previous canon of the council, not only in the version just cited, but also in the two versions attributed to Dionysius Exiguus.[48]

The most interesting parallel to the text of conciliar canons as found in the *P. Vindobonense C* is to be found in the *versio Caeciliani* of the canons of Nicaea. It concerns, however, the last canon of the group of canons in the *P. Vindobonense C* based on the *P. Merseburgense A.* The text of canon 49 of the *P. Vindobonense C* does not follow the formulation of any of the existing versions of Nicaea but instead conforms to the rubric of one manuscript of the *versio Caeciliani:* "De his qui ab episcopo suo excommunicantur."[49] Given the state of critical editions of early medieval collections of canon law, it is difficult to build a case on a rubric alone.[50] It seems, however, that this rubric only appears in a single early manuscript, the Verona manuscript containing

[45] Cf., e.g., the Versio Dionysii I: "In aecclesiis prandia fieri non debere. Quod non oportet in dominicis, id est in Domini aecclesiis, conuiuia quae uocantur agapae fieri, nec intra domum Dei comedere uel accubita sternere" (ed. Turner, *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta* 2:367; for the other versions, see 366–67).

[46] *P. Vindobonense C,* c.53: "Non licet in ecclesia manducare uel bibere, aut lectum sternere excepta causa peregrinationis."

[47] Council of Antioch, c.23, versio Isidori: "Episcopum non licere tamquam successorem sibi futurum constituere alterum, quamuis circa uiciniam mortis habeatur; quod si tale aliquid factum fuerit, inrita sit huiusmodi ordinatio" (ed. Turner, *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta* 2:298).

[48] See ibid. 2:298–99.

[49] See ibid. 1:118, an edition superseding that of F. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abendlande* (Graz, 1870; rpt. 1956), 903–9 at 904 n. 20.

[50] For the state of editions of early medieval canonical collections, see W. Hartmann, "Schwierigkeiten beim Edieren. Gelungene und gescheiterte Editionen von großen Kirchenrechtssammlungen," in *Fortschritt durch Fälschungen? Ursprung, Gestalt und Wirkungen der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen. Beiträge zum gleichnamigen Symposium an der Universität Tübingen vom 27. und 28. Juli 2001,* ed. W. Hartmann and G. Schmitz, MGH Studien und Texte 31 (Hannover, 2001), 211–26.

the *versio Caeciliani* of the Nicene canons.[51] This version is included in the canon law collection of the deacon Theodosius, which was probably composed in Italy before the seventh century.[52] Since this canon of the *P. Vindobonense C* is found among the additions to the *P. Merseburgense A* in the Vatican manuscript (V 23), it strengthens the case for an Italian origin of this version. It is not clear, however, whether the compiler of the *P. Vindobonense C* may have adopted ensuing conciliar canons from the same source. Since he clearly employs the same sets of sources as those used in the *P. Merseburgense A,* this is a possibility, but one that cannot be ascertained. This leads us to conclude that if there is really a connection between the canon law collection of Theodosius and canon 49 of the *P. Vindobonense C,* it merely stresses the close connection which exists with the Vatican version of the *P. Merseburgense A.*

Thematically, the conciliar canons adopted at the end of our penitential reflect a general concern for the proper relations between members of the clerical orders, a theme which is also prominent in the rest of the text.

THE CHARACTER OF THE *PAENITENTIALE VINDOBONENSE C*

If we look at the whole of this penitential, some themes clearly emerge. The compiler of this text apparently regarded it as a complement to an existing penitential, as the heading "item de alio benitenciali" in the sole extant manuscript suggests. In the Vienna manuscript this text is clearly secondary to the impressive penitential with which the manuscript opens. The main argument for regarding the *P. Vindobonense C* as a complementary text is, however, its choice of themes. It is striking that some themes which normally form the core of penitential texts, such as homicide, adultery, gluttony, and superstitious practices, are here totally absent. Instead the text concentrates on other themes. It is particularly concerned with the purity of the clergy, a theme central to the first group of canons but also discussed in the last section (47). Furthermore, a concern for the proper order of the ecclesiastical hierarchy can be discerned. This topic is a central theme of the Theodorian part as well as of the last two sections (45 and 47–50). The holiness of the sacred mysteries and

[51] The reading also appears in the eleventh-century southern Italian manuscript Vat. lat. 1349 (s. XI); for the date of this manuscript, see R. Reynolds, "The Transmission of the *Hibernensis* in Italy: Tenth to Twelfth Century," *Peritia* 14 (2000): 20–50 at 25.

[52] See Kery, *Canonical collections,* 38. It concerns Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LX (58), s. VII/VIII, Italy; cf. E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores* (Oxford, 1934–71), IV. 416 and 510; Suppl., pp. 51 and 53.

the church building also receives full attention (6, 16, 17, 46, 51, and 52). Theodorian sentences on marriage, which are often ignored in later penitential traditions, clearly aroused the interest of the compiler of this text. The canonical canons show an interest in perjury, a theme also discussed elsewhere (29–31, 37, and possibly 9), and in various forms of violence (32, 36, and 37–39). Another theme that is regularly addressed throughout the text concerns the commutation of a specific penance, a theme which is linked to the question of reading masses for the dead (10, 26–27, and 41–42). The *P. Vindobonense C* is exceptional in its choice of themes, which strongly suggests that it was composed as a complement to an existing text. In this respect this is a unique text, since there is no other penitential for which this has been demonstrated.

Can it be established where and when the *P. Vindobonense C* was composed? The Vienna manuscript containing the text, dating from around the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century provides the *terminus ante quem.* From the fact that the *P. Vindobonense C* uses the *P. Merseburgense A* as a source but not the version found in the manuscript that also contains the *P. Vindobonense C,* we can conclude that it is not an autograph but a copy. Otherwise the compiler of the *P. Vindobonense C* would certainly have used the *P. Merseburgense A* in the version which was at his disposal. So the text must be older than the manuscript containing the work, pushing the date of compilation into the ninth century.

The *P. Vindobonense C* apparently has been composed at a centre where several penitential texts were at hand. Not only does it seem to have been composed as a complement to another text, but it also uses five sets of sources. The first set perhaps derives from an old Insular penitential, which has not survived, but canons of which may have reached the continent sometime in the first half of the eighth century in order to be included in the *P. Parisiense simplex* and the *P. Hubertense.* The second group of canons is based on penitential traditions going back to Theodore of Canterbury, compiled after the death of the famous archbishop of Canterbury in 690. The oldest manuscript of the version of the Discipulus Umbrensium, the version clearly used in the *P. Vindobonense C,* stems from the second half of the eighth century, but the text was already known in continental Europe in the first half of that century.[53] The third group of canons show similarities with a

[53] Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek 210 (s. VIII^2, NE France). Canons from this version were used in the *Excarpsus Cummeani* and the *P. Remense,* texts from the first half of the eighth century; see Asbach, *Das Poenitentiale Remense,* 117–24 and 175–76; Kottje, "Paenitentiale Theodori," col. 1415.

group of Frankish penitentials known as the simple Frankish penitentials. Such books were probably first composed in the first half of the eighth century.[54] The fourth group of canons derives from the *P. Merseburgense A,* a text which was probably composed in the second half of the eighth or the first half of the ninth century.[55] So the latest source employed in the *P. Vindobonense C* is the *P. Merseburgense A,* which dates from no earlier than the second half of the eighth century. The *P. Vindobonense C* uses this text in a form which resembles the Italian manuscript V 23 (s. IX ex.), which probably represents a somewhat later redaction of the *Merseburgense A* penitential.[56] From an analysis of the sources we may therefore conclude that the *P. Vindobonense C* is a text dating from no earlier than the second half of the eighth century, the earliest date at which the *P. Merseburgense* could have been composed. Since the *P. Vindobonense C* uses a later redaction of the *P. Merseburgense A,* this most probably pushes its date of composition to a period in the ninth century.

Most of the sources used in the *P. Vindobonense C* were available in Francia in the ninth century. The simple Frankish penitentials come from this region, where the *Iudicia Theodori* were also at hand. The *P. Merseburgense A* is also generally regarded as a text from Francia but later reworked in northern Italy. In this context it has been argued that the Vienna manuscript containing the *P. Merseburgense A* might have been using a northern Italian exemplar.[57] Possibly, therefore, the exemplar of the manuscript containing the *P. Vindobonense C* was also a manuscript from northern Italy. A northern Italian origin of our text is suggested by the close affinity with the *P. Merseburgense A,* in the later, probably Italian, redaction. The similarities between the canonical series of both the *P. Vindobonense C* and the *P. Merseburgense A* point in the same direction. The origin and dissemination of the first series is enigmatic, yet the canon concerning fornicating in church, which is found in the Frankish *P. Parisiense simplex,* appears also in the Italian penitential preserved in the Vatican, Archivio S. Pietro.[58] At some point this canon, therefore, came to be known in Italy. *Iudicia Theodori,* however, were not very well known in Italy.[59]

[54] Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* xxiv–xxv.

[55] Ibid., xxvii; Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 92: "Ende des 8., vielleicht aber auch in der ersten Hälfte des 9. Jahrhunderts."

[56] For the greater authenticity of the version of the Merseburg manuscript, see Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 44; and Körntgen, *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterlichen Bußbücher,* 124.

[57] Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* 54; Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora,* xxvi.

[58] See n. 25 above.

[59] Kottje, "Busspraxis und Bussritus," 374–75.

While it may seem fairly certain that we are dealing with a text which was composed in the ninth century, probably not near the beginning or the end of this century, but rather somewhere, say, between 820 and 880, the exact origin of the text is hard to pin down. If we regard the *P. Merseburgense A* as a Frankish text, then all the sources for composing the *P. Vindobonense C* were available in this region. Yet there are some clear connections to Italy, of which the close affinity with the Italian manuscript V 23 containing the *P. Merseburgense A* seems to be most significant. The manuscript itself might suggest a southern German origin but also demonstrates that the place where it was copied had links with Italy, from where a copy of the *P. Merseburgense A* was obtained. While a French or southern German origin cannot be excluded, the Italian connection seems to be strongest.

If we are really dealing with a text originating in Italy, this has two surprising implications. First, it would show that the U-version of the *Iudicia Theodori* was known in northern Italy. The other implication regards the origin of the *P. Merseburgense A.* The *P. Vindobonense C* not only adopts a section from this text, but its canonical sentences also show similarities with the canonical sentences from the *P. Merseburgense A.* This would suggest that the compiler of the *P. Vindobonense C* had access not only to the *P. Merseburgense A* but also to one of the sources used for that compilation. If the *P. Vindobonense* was indeed composed in Italy, this would strengthen the case for an Italian origin of the *P. Merseburgense A.* The fact that the manuscript of the *P. Vindobonense C* also contains a version of the *P. Merseburgense A* shows that there existed at least some connection between the place where the *P. Merseburgense A* was written and the one where the *P. Vindobonense C* was composed. Both entertained ties with the southern German place where our Vienna manuscript was copied. This implies that if there were two places where these texts originated, they must have had some form of contact, but it is equally possible that both texts originated in the same place. If this is so, it must have been a place where they had ample access to penitential texts, particularly Frankish ones. Not enough is known about ninth-century northern Italian monasteries or episcopal seats where such a collection might have been located, but a monastery like Bobbio would be a good candidate for being the place of origin of the *P. Vindobonense C.*[60]

[60] For canonistic activity in northern Italy, see Hägele, *Das Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I,* p. 93–94; for the interest in penitential literature in Bobbio, see R. Kaiser, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer vornehmlich bußrechtlichen Handschrift aus Bobbio," who reconstructs a manuscript from Bobbio which also contained the *P. Merseburgense A.*

CONCLUSION

The penitential found on fols. 36r–41r of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2225 was probably meant to complement an existing collection of penitential canons. It does not address topics such as homicide, adultery or superstitious practices, which form the main theme of regular penitential texts. The text consists of five groups of canons of which four can be precisely identified, while the first one cannot. From the first batch only a few canons have parallels elsewhere. This group may derive from a now lost penitential, dating from before the middle of the eighth century, which was possibly of Insular origin. The other four groups are based on the U-version of the penitential of Theodore, the "simple Frankish penitentials," the *P. Merseburgense A,* and on conciliar legislation. The *P. Merseburgense A,* dating from the eighth or early ninth century, is the youngest source employed in this text and since it uses a later redaction, the *P. Vindobonense C* most probably dates from the years after the beginning of the ninth century. The Vienna manuscript containing the *P. Vindobonense C* dates from somewhere around the year 900. Since the manuscript can be shown not to contain the autograph of the *P. Vindobonense C* but a later copy, the text must date from before the end of the ninth century. The place of origin cannot be identified with certainty. All the sources which could be identified were easily available in Francia, while the manuscript was written in southern Germany. The text could have originated in one of these regions, but the close affinity with the *P. Merseburgense A* suggests an origin in northern Italy.

Paenitentiale Vindobonense C

(Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2225, fols. 36r–41r)

The edition follows the text of the manuscript closely, except in cases of an obvious scribal error, e.g., where a word has been copied twice. Because penitential texts were meant for being used in the process of hearing confession, it seems preferable to present them in the forms in which they were used, instead of trying to establish the original version of the text. In cases where errors have crept in that might cause problems in understanding the text, a corrected reading is suggested in the critical apparatus. Grammatical errors are generally not corrected. Abbreviations are expanded, "*e*-caudata" is always rendered as *ae*, and erasures are indicated by (...). Although the canons are not numbered in the manuscript, they are numbered in the edition. In the *apparatus fontium* I indicate for the canonical sentences only the corresponding canon from the *P. Burgundense*, since in the synoptical edition prepared by Kottje, the parallels in the other texts can easily be found. In the *apparatus fontium* the following editions are used:

Concilium Nicaenum; Concilium Antiochenum; Concilium Laodicenum, ed. C. H. Turner, *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta iuris antiquissima canonum et conciliorum graecorum interpretationes Latinae*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1899–1939).

Excarpsus Cummeani, ed. H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und das kanonische Bussverfahren* (Düsseldorf, 1898; rpt. Graz, 1958).

P. Burgundense, ed. R. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora Franciae et Italiae saeculi VIII-IX*, CCL 156 (Turnhout, 1994).

P. Columbani B, ed. L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*, with an appendix by D. A. Binchy, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 5 (Dublin, 1963).

P. Cummeani, ed. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials*.

P. Hubertense, ed. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora*.

P. Merseburgense A, ed. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora*.

P. Merseburgense B, ed. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora*.

P. Parisiense simplex, ed. Kottje, *Paenitentialia minora*.

P. Ps.-Bedae, ed. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle, 1851).

P. Remense, ed. F. B. Asbach, *Das Poenitentiale Remense und der sogen. Excarpsus Cummeani: Überlieferung, Quellen und Entwicklung zweier kontinentaler Bußbücher aus der 1. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg, 1975).

P. Theodori U, ed. P. W. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen*, Untersuchungen zu den Bußbüchern des 7., 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts 1 (Weimar, 1929).

Item de alio benitenciali

1. Si quis sacerdos lactum mulieris pollutus fuerit, lxx diebus peniteat. | 36v
2. Si quis sacerdos per cognicionem pullutus fuerit, vii diebus peniteat.
3. Si iungit manum ad manum mulieris, iiii diebus peniteat.
4. Si quis clericus in somnis pullutus fuerit, xx psalmos canet; si gradum habet xxx, diaconus xl, presbyter lx, episcopus c.
5. Si quis manum suam spandit in sinum uirginis, xl diebus peniteat.
6. Si quis fecerit fornicationem in ecclesia, penitentia eius omnibus diebus uitae suae praebeat obsequium domui Dei.
7. Si quis uero in terra fornicauerit, si puer ii annos, uir iii peniteat.
8. Si sub terra uerit, vi annos peniteat; si in consuetudinem uertunt peniteat ad (*sic*)
9. Si quis falsitate commiserit, vii annos peniteat, iii ex his in pane et aqua.
10. Si quis pro criminalibus culpis anno aut duo uel iii poenitentiam agere in pane et aqua | uel pro aliis minutis culpis mense i aut ebdomada uel die uno 37r debet. Haec causa ardua est et difficilis. Ideo quia ita totum forsitan implere non potest, consilium damus ut primus non iterit culpa, deinde psalmos et oratiociones ad ecclesiam festinandum et elemosina cum aliquos dies in penitentia esse debeat. Et qui potest implere quod in penitentialem scriptum est, bonum est; et si hoc infirmitas aut fragilitas corporis et animi adimplere non

5 clericus] cleritus MS 16 forsitan implere] implere forsitan implere MS 18 oratiociones] *lege* orationes

2 (c.1): fons non invenitur.

3 (c.2): cf. *P. Theodori U* I,8,3, ed. Finsterwalder, 300 ("Presbiter quoque si per cogitationem semen fuderit ebdomadam ieiunet").

4 (c.3): fons non invenitur.

5–6 (c.4): cf. *P. Cummeani* II,15, ed. Bieler, 114 ("Qui in somnis uoluntate pullutus est . . .").

7 (c.5): cf. *P. Hubertense* 44, ed. Kottje, 112 ("Si quis obtrectauerit puellam aut mulierem, pectus uel turpitudinem earum . . ."); *P. Merseburgense B* 2, ed. Kottje, 173.

8–9 (c.6): *P. Parisiense simplex* 45, ed. Kottje, 78; *P. Arch. S. Pietro H 58*, c. III,10 ("Si quis in haecclesia fornicauerit, ponitentiam abeat omnibus diebus uite suae et prebeat obsequium domum Dei").

10 (c.7): fons non invenitur; cf. *P. Cummeani* (X),15, ed. Bieler, 128 ("In terga uero fornicantes, si pueri sunt, duobus annis; si uiri, tribus annis uel iiiior; si autem in consuetudinem uertunt, vii annis . . .").

11–12 (c.8): cf. ibid.

13 (c.9): *P. Burgundense* 31, ed. Kottje, 45-49.

14–19 pro criminalibus . . . esse debeat: *P. Ps.-Bedae*, c. XI, ed. Wasserschleben, 230.

16–20 Haec . . . bonum est: *P. Remense*, prol., ed. Asbach, Anhang, 11.

19–20 qui . . . bonum est: *Excarpsus Cummeani*, prol., c. I, *De modis poenitentiae*, ed. Schmitz, 603.

potest, sperit sacerdos medicinam penitentiae; sic iudicet ut corpus uel animus non lassiscat.

11. Omnis penitens instruendus est a sacerdote ut caueat alicui malum pro malo reddi (1 Thess 5:15); magis bonum prestare, nulli nocere, lingua | a 37v
25 maledicto uel detractionem seu blasphemia resstringere, limen ecclesiarum terere, dominicorum die ad missa ad finem usque stare, silentio ori ponere, sacras scripturas adtentius audire, humilis omnibus prestare, sollempnitatibus martyrum occurrere, eorum actas uel passiones audire. Simbolum uel orationem dominicalicem memoriter tenere et in omni sua orationem mane et ues-
30 pere seu ecclesiam ingrediens effuderit; per haec et his similia sua penitentia acceptabilem faciat Domino.

12. Potest presbyter abbatissa consecrare cum missae caelebrationem.

13. In abbatis uero ordinationem episcopus debet missas agere et eum benedicere inclinato capite cum duobus | uel tribus testibus de fratribus suis et dat 38r
35 ei paculum et pedules.

14. Abbas potest pro humiliationem cum permissionem episcopi locum suum derelinquere; tamen fratres elegant sibi abbatem de ipsis si habent.

15. Et ipse sedeat quietus non potest aliquem ordinare de suis propinquis sine uoluntate fratrum.

40 16. Presbyterum non licet peccatum episcopi prodere quia super eum est.

17. Grados non debemus facere ante altare.

18. Si potest fieri candelabra ardeat per singulas noctes; si enim paupertas loci non sinit non nocet eis.

19. Abbati non licet monasterium suum alio dare in potestatem.

45 20. Simili modo si peccauerit abbas nec episcopo licet possessionem monasterii quamvis peccauerit abbas ordinare nisi | una cum consensum fratrum et 38v
abbas qui deliquit sit sub alio abbate in alio monasterio.

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21 animus *e* animas *corr.* MS 23 omnis *e* omnipotens *corr.* MS 29 dominicalicem] *lege* dominicalem 38 sedeat *e* sedeant *corr.* MS; *lege* de antiquitus?

20–22 et si . . . lassiscat: fons non invenitur.
23–31 (c.11): cf. *P. Merseburgense A* 121 (V23), ed. Kottje, 168.
32 (c.12): *P. Theodori U* II,3,4, ed. Finsterwalder, 315.
33–35 (c.13): ibid. II,3,5, ed. Finsterwalder, 316.
36–37 (c.14): ibid. II,6,1, ed. Finsterwalder, 319.
38–39 (c.15): ibid. II,6,4, *prima pars,* ed. Finsterwalder, 320 (sedeat quietus *om. Theod.*).
40 (c.16): ibid. II,2,9, ed. Finsterwalder, 314.
41 (c.17): ibid. II,1,6, ed. Finsterwalder, 312.
42–43 (c.18): ibid. II,1,8, ed. Finsterwalder, 312.
44 (c.19): ibid. II,6,4, *pars posterior,* ed. Finsterwalder, 320.
45–47 (c.20): ibid. II,6,5, ed. Finsterwalder, 320.

21. Maritus qui cum uxorem suam dormierit, lauet se antequam intret in ecclesia.

50 22. Si uir et mulier se coniunxerit in matrimonium et postea dixerit mulier quod non posse nubere ille et uerum fuerit, licet mulieri alium accipere uirum si uoluerit.

23. Qui dimiserit uxorem suam et ad altera se coniunxerit, iterum accipiat propriam uxorem et uii annos cum tribulationem peniteat uel quindecim le-
55 uius.

24. Maritus si se ipsum pro furto aut fornicationem seruum fecerit, mulier habet potestatem alterum accipere uirum.

25. Non licet diaconum laico penitentiam dare.

26. Dionisius Ariopagi ita dicit | plasphema Deo facit qui missas offert pro 39r
60 malo hominem.

27. Augustinus dicit pro omnibus christianis esse faciendum missas quia aut ei proficit aut offerenti consolatur. Haec et Theodorus episcopus in multis. Haec et Hyeronimus et alii sancti dixerunt.

28. Mulieri non licet uirum dimittere licet fornicator sit, nisi forte pro
65 monasterio, Basilius iudicauit.

29. Si quis coactus pro qualibet necessitate periurauerit, iii annos peniteat.

30. Qui alium in periurium ducit ignorantem, viii annos peniteat. Et si suspicatur quod in periurium ducitur et tamen iurat, ii annos peniteat.

31. Et si inuitus aut nesciens periuratus, iii annos peniteat, i ex his in pane
70 et aqua.

32. Si quis furtum capitalem fecerit, id est quadrupedia uel domum effre-

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53 altera *e* adultera *corr.* MS 59 Ariopagi ita] *lege* Ariopagita 62 Theodorus *e* deodorus *corr.* MS (the *sup. l.*) 65 iudicauit *e* indicauit *corr.* MS (iu *sup. l.*) 68 suspicatur *e* suspicator *corr.* MS (u *sup. l.*)

48–49 (c.21): ibid. II,12,30, ed. Finsterwalder, 330.
50–52 (c.22): ibid. II,12,33, ed. Finsterwalder, 330.
53–55 (c.23): ibid. I,14,8, ed. Finsterwalder, 307
56–57 (c.24): ibid. II,12,9 ed. Finsterwalder, 327.
58 (c.25): ibid. II,2,15, ed. Finsterwalder, 315 ("Non licet diacono laico penitentiam dare sed episcopus aut presbiter dare debet").
59–60 (c.26): ibid. II,5,8, ed. Finsterwalder, 319.
61–62 Augustinus . . . consolatur: ibid. II,5,9, ed. Finsterwalder, 319.
64–65 (c.28): ibid. II,12,6, ed. Finsterwalder, 327
66 (c.29): *P. Burgundense* 6, ed. Kottje, 13.
67 Qui . . . viii annos peniteat: *P. Cummeani* III,9, ed. Bieler, 118.
67–68 Et si . . . ii annos peniteat: ibid., III,11, ed. Bieler, 118.
69–70 (c.31): cf. *P. Burgundense* 6, ed. Kottje, 13; *P. Cummeani* III,10, ed. Bieler, 118.

gerit, v annos peniteat, iii ex his | in pane et aqua. 39v

33. Et si infans decem annorum cibum furauerit, vii dies peniteat.

34. Si quis fuerit sepulchri violator, v annos peniteat, iii ex his in pane et aqua.

35. Si quis sibi quolibet membro uoluntate truncauerit, iii annos peniteat in pane et aqua.

36. Si quis quolibet ingenio res alienas tulerit, ii annos peniteat, i ex his in pane et aqua et multas elemosinas faciat; sed prius restituat ei res cui rapuit.

37. Si quis laicus pro cupiditate periurat, totas res suas det pauperibus et tundatur et seruiat in monasterio omnibus diebus vitae suae.

38. Si quis uirginem uel uiduam rapuerit, iii annos cum pane et aqua uiuat.

39. Si quis seruum aut quecumque hominem in captiuitatem ducit, iii annos peniteat, i ex his in pane et aqua.

40. Si quis domum uel aream | ignem cremauerit, vii annos peniteat, iii ex 40r
his in pane et aqua.

41. Si quis ieiunare debet et non potest, pro uno die in pane et aqua cum ueniam psalmos l et sine ueniam lxx, et unum debilem qui se nutrire non ualet saciet per die et a risu conpescat; si ualet et psalmos nescit, pro uno anno det solidos xx et vi.

42. Si quis pro mercede ieiunat et aliena peccata suscipit in se, non est dignus nominari christianus. Ieiunet pro se quantum promisit pro illo ieiunare et quod accepit, det pauperibus.

43. Si quis Deum negat sine necessitatem et iterum conuertit, x annos peniteat, iii extra ecclesia.

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78 quolibet *e* quodlibet *corr.* MS 82 rapuerit] uiolauerit (*rasura*) rapuerit MS 89 si ualet] uiualet MS

71–72 (c.32): *P. Burgundense* 7, ed. Kottje, 13.
73 (c.33): *P. Cummeani* I,13, ed. Bieler, p. 112.
74–75 (c.34): *P. Burgundense* 15, ed. Kottje, 25.
76–77 (c.35): ibid. 21, ed. Kottje, 29.
78–79 Si . . . faciat: ibid. 23, ed. Kottje, 33.
80–81 (c.37): *P. Columbani B* 20, ed. Bieler, 104.
82 (c.38): *P. Burgundense* 37, ed. Kottje, 53.
83–84 (c.39): ibid. 39, ed. Kottje, 57.
85–86 (c.40): ibid. 40, ed. Kottje, 57.
87–88 Si . . . lxx: *P. Merseburgense A* 41, ed. Kottje, 137
88–89 et unum . . . si ualet: fons non invenitur.
89–90 psalmos nescit . . . xx et vi: *P. Merseburgense A* 42, ed. Kottje, 137.
91–93 (c.42): ibid. 44, ed. Kottje, 140.
94–95 (c.43): ibid. 130 (V23 <96>), ed. Kottje, 162.

44. Si quis comam suam incidit pro mortem parentorum aut faciem suam lanicauerit ungulis aut ferro, xxx et vii dies peniteat.

45. Si quis uexatus a diabolo et nesciens se ipsum occidit, | licet orare pro 40v
eo.

100 46. Non licet mulieres oblata nec sindonem ponere super altare.

47. Sacerdos non est prohibendus a sacra mysteria pro inlusione nocturna; nam si sunt alii sacerdotes ut arbitror humiliter debet se abstinere. Illa inlusio est timenda quae aperte sit, qui uero per appetitu gulae rapitur exinde habet animus aliquid reatum.

105 48. Si quis clericus a diabolo vexatur, non licet eum ministrare ministerium clericorum. Nam si per Dei misericordiam et ieiunium mundatus fuerit post x annos suscipiatur ad officio clericorum.

49. Si quis ab episcopo suo excommunicatur presbyter aut diaconus, ab aliis non recipiatur nec exsoluatur.

110 50. Si quis episcopus successorem sibi elegerit, irrita sit huiusmodi ordinatio.

51. Non licet dia|conum ante presbiterum sedere nisi ex iussionem; 41r
similiter minister et clericus honorent diaconum.

52. Non licet ministrum panem dare uel calicem benedicere.

115 53. Non licet in ecclesia manducare uel bibere, aut lectum sternere excepta causa peregrinationis.

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97 ferro] fer(..)ro MS (*rasura*) 103 gulae] guilae MS 108 ab] ab (...) ab MS

96–97 (c.44): ibid. 131, ed. Kottje, 162.
98–99 (c.45): ibid. 121, ed. Kottje, 160.
100 (c.46): ibid. 122, ed. Kottje, 160.
101–4 (c.47): ibid. 90 (V23 <113>, W10 <105>), ed. Kottje, 152–53.
105–7 (c.48): ibid. 109, ed. Kottje, 157.
108–9 (c.49): ibid. V23 <117>, ed. Kottje, 168; cf. *Concilium Nicaeanum,* c.5, ed. Turner 1:118–19, 190–95, 259–60; *Concilium Antiochenum,* c.5, ed. Turner 2:48–51.
110–11 (c.50): *Concilium Antiochenum,* c.23, ed. Turner 2:298–301.
112–13 (c.51): *Concilium Laodicenum,* c.20, ed. Turner 2:360–61.
114 (c.52): ibid., c.25, ed. Turner 2:364–65; cf. *P. Theodori U* II,2,16, ed. Finsterwalder, 315.
115–16 (c.53): *Concilium Laodicenum,* c.28, ed. Turner 2:366–67.

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VARIATIONS ON A THEME ATTRIBUTED TO ROBERT HOLCOT: LESSONS FOR LATE-MEDIEVAL ENGLISH PREACHING FROM THE CASTLE OF PRUDENCE

Alan J. Fletcher

IN recent years it has become increasingly clear to students of late-medieval English preaching how heavily reliant much of the extant vernacular sermon corpus is on a Latin substratum. This reliance may be more or less pronounced: some sermons are extensively dependent upon Latin sources, while in others the dependence is more local and intermittent. Yet in most cases a reliance to some degree is to be found.

The magnetic pull which the Latin centre exerted upon its orbiting vernacular sermon texts is, of course, hardly surprising. Much of the material out of which preachers in the vernacular forged their preaching was first codified in Latin, even if sometimes—as indeed may have been the case with the theme attributed to Robert Holcot that will be investigated here—this codifying was done half with an eye to the material's rendition in English when eventually uttered in the pulpit. After all, theological reading and writing, relatively elite practices, were one thing, while preaching, delivered to all sorts and conditions, was another, and typically both inhabited different, if contiguous, linguistic terrains. Thus, especially in the early days of the flowering of the written production of late-medieval English vernacular preaching, a period whose beginning dates approximately from the 1380s, vernacular sermon authors in search of *materia predicabilis* often had little option but to return to the Latin centre and to quarry it.[1] As yet there circulated relatively few substantial sermon collections in English that might meet the prospective preacher's needs and thus be liable to compete successfully against Latin for his attention. At the beginning of this period of manuscript efflorescence, an interesting example of one vernacular preacher's enforced recourse to Latin rather than to English source material is afforded in John Mirk's *Festial,* compiled probably ca. 1382–90.[2] By the fifteenth century, when this work

[1] Sermons existed in English well before the 1380s, but only from about this time does their bulk in manuscripts become noticeable.

[2] A. J. Fletcher, "John Mirk and the Lollards," *Medium Ævum* 56 (1987): 217–24.

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was enjoying immense popularity in scribal (and from 1483, printed) copies, it was also lending itself to precisely the sort of editing and recycling that wide textual accessibility made possible: once a substantial and relatively comprehensive vernacular sermon cycle like Mirk's had come into being and had been well circulated, sermon compilers and redactors had every opportunity to use it as the point of departure for their own preaching efforts.[3] But when Mirk himself wrote, the option of consulting major sermon collections in English does not seem to have been open to him, or at least it may not have been a viable option, perhaps because no collections suiting his purposes as yet existed.[4] Latin seems to have been Mirk's constant companion as a source because, given the time of his writing and his particular requirements, it was an inevitable one. Indeed, one copy of the *Festial* betrays how close to the surface of Mirk's English prose the current of his Latin source could flow. London, British Library Cotton Claudius A.ii, a particularly early *Festial* manuscript and the one linguistically nearest to Mirk's base at Lilleshall Abbey in Shropshire, occupies a unique place in the *Festial*'s textual tradition.[5] In the course of its sermon for the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, Mirk's principal source, the *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, erupts in undigested Latin directly into the Middle English: "Also in hys prechyng he taghte xij gradus virtutum assignare . . . ," says Mirk of St. Thomas, and so the written text of his sermon proceeds to rehearse the Latin of Jacobus for several lines before reverting once more to the vernacular.[6]

[3] An interesting case is studied in A. J. Fletcher and S. Powell, "The Origins of a Fifteenth-Century Sermon Collection: MSS Harley 2247 and Royal 18 B XXV," *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 10 (1978): 74–96, where the sermon compiler of the particular sermon sequence witnessed in these manuscripts used Mirk as a basis but then looked again for material in some of Mirk's original Latin sources as well as yet other Latin sources that Mirk did not use.

[4] A. J. Fletcher, "Unnoticed Sermons from John Mirk's *Festial*," *Speculum* 55 (1980): 514–22, esp. 514–15. The proposition made there that heterodox Wycliffite preaching may have stimulated Mirk's endeavours now seems quite compatible with a date around 1389–90 suggested for the composition of the vernacular Wycliffite Sermon cycles (P. Gradon and A. Hudson, eds., *English Wycliffite Sermons*, vol. 4 [Oxford, 1996], 8–20).

[5] This place will be explained in the new edition of the *Festial* being prepared by S. Powell, with the assistance of A. J. Fletcher, for the Early English Text Society. Tentative localizations of the written dialects of twenty-six *Festial* manuscripts are given in M. F. Wakelin, "The Manuscripts of John Mirk's *Festial*," *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s., 1 (1967): 93–118; see p. 103.

[6] London, British Library Cotton Claudius A.ii, fols. 14v–15r (compare T. Graesse, ed., *Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea vulgo Historia Lombardica dicta*, 2d ed. [Leipzig, 1850], 36–38). In all other *Festial* manuscripts containing this section, this substantial Latin passage has been fully digested into Middle English. Also, note in Claudius A.ii the appearance of the occasional undigested word in Latin (e.g., *multitudo* for English "multitude," on fol. 43r).

One of the purposes of this article is to illustrate an important corollary to the tendency of vernacular sermon authors to congregate around the vast Latin reservoir of *predicabilia,* however less essential that reservoir may have become during the course of the fifteenth century as the quantity and currency of vernacular sermon collections steadily increased.[7] Since this reservoir was not filled solely by Latin sermons (witness Robert Holcot's *Moralitates* discussed below—not actually sermons themselves although devised by him to be exploited by preachers), it followed that some of the materials siphoned off were not already organized according to the forms that typically prevailed in much late-medieval Latin preaching. These are the forms perhaps most famously set out and recommended in the *artes predicandi,* and they are also to be deduced (though with the exercise of due caution) from observing the implicit principles of composition followed in actual sermon texts. What emerges from many sermons in English—and it is something that each successive Middle English sermon published in this article as texts II to IV makes increasingly clear—is that not only were many vernacular sermon authors seldom concerned to arrange material from Latin sources according to notions of sermon form promoted by the *artes* when they disposed it in English, but also in many cases they would not have been so inclined when several of their sources, like the *Moralitates,* were not already cast in sermon-ready form.[8] It is, however, by no means the case that this inevitably led preachers in the vernacular simply to replicate whatever form their Latin material had when they translated it into English. Nevertheless, the translated material's arrangement into a sermon form fit for vernacular preaching might be achieved by applying the lightest of preaching protocols. For example, the simple addition to the translated material of an opening biblical theme, or of terms of address acknowledging the presence of a congregation, might be sufficient, as might be the provision of bidding prayers or a formulaic concluding prayer, all these being routine components of many a medieval sermon, whether in Latin or in the vernacular. Such touches were evidently adequate in themselves to frame the translated material within a sermon form that was reckoned acceptable, at least to the translators. Thus from inspecting a range of Middle English ser-

[7] The increase is evident notwithstanding an apparent lull after 1409 when Archbishop Thomas Arundel's Constitutions were promulgated. This lull has been observed by H. L. Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1993), 320; for a general account of the consequences of the Constitutions on English prose compositions, see N. Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 822–64.

[8] Such comparative nonchalance is noted in Spencer, *English Preaching,* 267, and A. J. Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry in Late-Medieval England* (Dublin, 1998), 252–60.

mon texts it becomes abundantly clear that many vernacular preachers, facing their task of turning Latin *predicabilia* into English preaching, did not additionally feel themselves constrained by ambient conventions of sermon form of the more exacting sort: for such men an acceptable form was something that could be accomplished in English with relative ease, and the result could be of a kind that might not typically have been prescribed by the grammarians of sermon form, the authors of the *artes predicandi;* indeed, in some cases it would have been proscribed. If this was already so in the period when vernacular preachers were obliged to draw substantially on Latin sources, how much more so when they would be able to avail increasingly of the English ones that were beginning to circulate and in which less constrained forms of sermon construction had already become acceptable?[9]

This is one of the lessons that the Middle English treatment of the narrative of the Castle of Prudence in the sermons published in texts II to IV also teaches, and if the sermon in text V—preserved mainly in Latin—was nevertheless intended for preaching in English, as seems most likely, the lesson is repeated.[10] To be sure, it has already been learnt in contexts other than these,[11] but the present sermons make a particularly arresting case in that they witness to highly contrasting recyclings by four very different authors of an ultimate and predominantly Latin text. Each author incorporated his derived matter into the form of his sermon in a unique way, for each sermon's form exhibits its own distinctive emancipations from norms characteristic of the *artes:* we pass from a comparatively formal—though by no means traditionally systematic—sermon for the first Sunday of Advent found in Oxford, Bodleian Library e Museo 180 to three compositions that are freer still, one possibly for the same occasion in Lincoln, Cathedral Library 133, another for an unknown occasion in Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 96, whose form is so free that it might perhaps more appropriately be thought of as "preachable material" than "sermon," and the last for Passion Sunday in Dublin, Trinity College 75. In the following discussion, these texts, edited as texts II, III, IV, and V, will be referred to respectively as e Museo, Lincoln, Hatton, and Trinity.

[9] Whenever these English sources were themselves sermons, the simplification in them of traditional sermon form may already have occurred. We have examples of English sermons, originally dependent on Latin sources but on which no exacting standard of sermon form has been imposed, themselves becoming available for further cannibalization by yet other preachers. A good case in point is investigated in Fletcher and Powell, "Origins of a Fifteenth-Century Sermon Collection."

[10] On the likelihood of its having been delivered extensively in English, see the discussion below.

[11] Spencer, *English Preaching,* 267; Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry,* 252–60.

But we must begin with the kernel of each of these, the Castle of Prudence motif, in order to see what these subsequent redactions have done to it. In its simplest form, as an independent unit, the moralized "picture" of the Castle of Prudence is to be found among the *Moralitates* of Robert Holcot. To date, however, I am aware of its existence in this context only in a single manuscript copy, London, British Library Arundel 384, where it appears towards the end of the *Moralitates.*[12] Although there are therefore grounds for suspecting that the Castle of Prudence motif was a later addition to the *Moralitates* by another author, the question cannot be finally settled one way or another; indeed, the treatment of the motif certainly makes it resemble other parts of the canonical *Moralitates,* nor would its occasional use of English have been out of character when English also features occasionally in Holcot's preaching.[13]

The Arundel Holcot version of the Castle of Prudence motif runs as follows. A certain king built a castle and decreed that none should enter unless he could construe the three shields hanging in the entrance. The first was silver with three red roses in which was written the word "Vita"; the second black with three silver swords in which was written "Mors"; and the third blue with three gold trumpets in which was written "Iudicium" (see fig. 1 for this and the other shield arrangements as the texts seem to describe them). A philosopher happened along, asked admission of the porter, who told him the law concerning entry to the castle. The philosopher scrutinized the shields and declared that the castle was appropriately named the Castle of Prudence. He interpreted the first shield as signifying that a man in his lifetime must love God in three ways, with all his heart, mind, and strength. This he must do with a pure mind, and that is what the silver on the shield signified, the red of the roses signifying love. The philosopher interpreted the second shield as all-conquering death, and the third as the three possible judgements of a sinner—bodily pain for his sins, the pain of purgatory, or the eternal pain of hell. He interpreted the silver of the swords and black of the second shield as signify-

[12] J. A. Herbert, in vol. 3 of the *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum,* ed. H. A. Ward and J. A. Herbert, 3 vols. (London, 1883–1910; rpt. Bath, 1961–62), 106–13, provides a full list of the *Moralitates* in this manuscript. A conspectus of manuscripts of the *Moralitates* is given in Nigel F. Palmer, "Das 'Exempelwerk der englischen Bettelmönche': Ein Gegenstück zu den 'Gesta Romanorum,'" in *Exempel und Exempelsammlungen,* ed. W. Haug and B. Wachinger, Fortuna Vitrea 2 (Tübingen, 1991), 137–72; see 168–72. No other manuscript of the *Moralitates* extant in the British Isles contains the Castle of Prudence motif; it has not been practicable, however, to check all the continental European manuscripts.

[13] Out of his 119 sermons in Cambridge, University Library Peterhouse 210, four contain English divisions of their themes (see fols. 1r, 32r, 128r, and 139r).

ing that death separates a man from his life and deposes him; and he interpreted the third shield as signifying the Last Judgement at which a triple trumpet will sound, the first of "Rise, you dead, and come to Judgement," the second of "Come, you blessed of my Father," and the third of "Depart, you cursed ones, to the fire." The philosopher finally summed up the shields in a verse quatrain. Then follows a moralization. The castle is heaven, which none enters unless he loves God with his whole heart, mind, and strength, and fulfils the commandments as the king of the castle decreed. A man should also fear the threefold trumpet and the sword of divine vengeance against the reprobate. The inscriptions of "Vita," "Mors," and "Iudicium" on the shields urge men to consider these three things and to perform them. The English equivalents to these contain in all nine letters, three in the first word, "Lyf," three in the second, "Ded," and three in the third, "Dom." The three letters of each of these words reveal the properties or *membra* of what has been understood. Thus "L" reveals that "Lyf" is "Litel," "I" that "Lyf" is "Yuel," and "F" that "Lyf" is "Fykel." Similarly, "D" reveals that "Ded" is "Dolyng," "E" that "Ded" is "Endyng," and "D" that "Ded" is "Deyng." Finally, "D" reveals that "Dom" is "Dome," "O" that "Dom" is "Oppynly," and "M" that "Dom" is "Myghtfully."

It should, however, be noted that the Arundel manuscript readings of the English words are not entirely perfect. The second term, "Ded" (Modern English "Death"), doubtless read "Det" in the original, since without a final *-t,* it is not possible to derive the third *membrum,* "Turnyng," and this is the reading that comparison with the other texts confirms the original to have had. Arundel's "Deyng" is thus erroneous. Also, Arundel's "Dolyng," given as the first *membrum,* must be a misreading of "Delyng," for this is the word required by context and established as original by comparison with the other texts. Finally, the first *membrum* of the third term, "Dom," which is given in Arundel as "Dome," is very likely a misreading of "Derne," a *difficilior lectio* that only the Hatton manuscript has retained intact. The Arundel misreading is explicable in terms of a scribal misapprehension: Anglicana *e* can easily resemble an *o,* and Anglicana long-tailed *r,* before the two minims of *n,* could easily have been read as a third minim to produce an *m,* hence "Dome" here.

The symbiosis between Latin and English in the concluding moralization of the "picture" of the castle and its three emblazoned shields is suggestive, and perhaps it also discloses an attitude to the relation between Latin and English that was prevalent amongst at least some contemporary preachers at the time the *Moralitates* were written, after ca. 1334 and before 1342.[14] The Castle of

[14] For the dating of the *Moralitates,* see B. Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), 146; and on the use of "pictures," see ibid., 165–83.

Prudence author betrays a little self-consciousness about his linguistic change of gear when explaining that "in Anglicana lingua," the words "Lyf," "Ded" [*recte,* "Det"], and "Dom" each contain three letters. In what he was doing here we have a reverse instance, if for rather different reasons, of what was to happen in John Mirk's sermon on St. Thomas the Apostle a generation or so later: there, as was seen, Latin ran close to the surface of Mirk's English necessarily, since a Latin text was his immediate primary source; the Castle of Prudence author, conversely, although he used no immediate primary source in English that we know of, was aware of the possible value of the vernacular, and evidently this awareness ran close to the surface of his Latin while he composed.[15] In fact, only through lapsing into English could he conveniently construct the scholastic, ternary symmetry that he imposed at the end of the moralization of his "picture," since English alone provided the requisite three-letter words that made the moralization possible. This moralization was patently not in all respects structurally complete: "Quere confirmacionem pro membris diuisionis," he advised (see text I.40–41). That is, the reader or preacher consulting his material still had work of his own to do: he had to adduce confirmatory proofs for each *membrum* of the threefold *divisio* applied to each of the words "Lyf," "Ded" [*recte* "Det"], and "Dom." So the Castle of Prudence author had provided readers with no more than the bare essentials. Amplification of those essentials fell to whoever used his "picture." We will see shortly that at least one subsequent vernacular preacher did precisely what was recommended.[16] As earlier suggested, by introducing the vernacular, the Castle of Prudence author may have anticipated the eventual requisition of his motif by preachers whose sermons would be delivered in the vernacular extensively. Certainly, he did nothing to discourage them from further Englishing his work when he chose to use the vernacular himself, even if only locally. Be that as it may, any preacher operating in Latin and drafting in the Castle of Prudence motif would necessarily have introduced into his Latin sermon an English leaven, though this would not in itself have seemed especially innovative or remarkable, given that already well before the middle of the fourteenth century English was making guest appearances in Latin preaching, especially in the guise of proverbs.[17] If we may so interpret his use

[15] If the Castle of Prudence author was in fact Holcot, then we know from other evidence that Holcot had time for the vernacular. He seems to have known the early Middle English poem *The Owl and the Nightingale;* see A. J. Fletcher, "The Genesis of *The Owl and the Nightingale:* A New Hypothesis," *Chaucer Review* 34 (1999): 1–17.

[16] This is γ on the *stemma codicum* (see fig. 3). The status of γ is further discussed below.

[17] On the use of English in Latin sermons, see especially S. Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons: Fasciculus Morum and Its Middle English Verses* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 61–100. He notes that proverbs were among the first vernacular items to appear. In the Castle of Prudence, how-

of the vernacular, the Castle of Prudence motif was conceived, therefore, in what was by now a tolerant, indeed collaborative, borderland between Latin and English, the languages respectively of clerical and demotic discourse. Without question, the motif drew its existence from the linguistic rapprochement of the two, even if we abstemiously insist on limiting this rapprochement to the author's mind alone and refuse to discover in it signs of a wider cultural trend. Nevertheless, a temperate climate in which the commerce between Latin and English might develop and grow is suggested here, and consequently it comes as no surprise to find the Castle of Prudence motif soon being turned fully into English, as texts II, III, and IV will illustrate (and even text V, though committed to parchment largely in Latin, is very likely to have been preached substantially in English by the mysterious Doctor Curteyse to whom it is assigned). However, as will also be seen, the net effect of each sermon is very different from that of the other.

We turn now to the first of the sermons, e Museo (see text II), thus named after its most textually accurate copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library e Museo 180. This manuscript belongs to a group that includes three other related sermon manuscripts, all copied for the most part by the same scribe.[18] The e Museo sermon contains an important clue that its author may not have encountered the Castle of Prudence motif in a copy of Holcot's *Moralitates* such as Arundel 384 witnesses to, but knew it in some intermediary version (the dependence of Lincoln, Hatton, and Trinity on the Castle of Prudence motif was similarly indirect, as will become clear in due course). The intermediary has been designated as γ in the *stemma codicum* (see fig. 3 below). The e Museo sermon is the only one studied here that declares its source (II.30). Its author claimed to have found his *Castrum Sapiencie* not in the *Moralitates* but in the *Gesta Romanorum.* The substantive variant *Castrum Sapiencie,* opposed to *Castrum Prudencie* in the Arundel text, a variant shared also by Lincoln, Hatton, and—with a small difference—Trinity,[19] may help justify the stemma proposed in fig. 3. While the reading *Castrum Prudencie* could theo-

ever, the English was used at structural points (for the headwords of each *divisio* and their threefold members), as it would similarly and more commonly be used from the mid-fourteenth century on in many sermons whose language of written record was substantially Latin.

[18] The others are Lincoln, Cathedral Library 50 and 51 (originally one manuscript now in two modern bindings); Gloucester, Cathedral Library 22 (which does not, however, contain the sermon under present consideration); and Durham, University Library Cosin V.IV.3. For further details, see Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry,* 154–59; a full edition of the sermon cycle in these manuscripts is currently being prepared by Stephen Morrison for the Early English Text Society.

[19] The Trinity sermon does not actually refer to a *Castrum Sapiencie,* but it is clear that its castle was thought to embody *sapiencia* (see text V.15), and thus the Trinity version shares in the tradition lying behind the others (and see also n. 24 below).

retically be explained as being specific to the Arundel manuscript's textual tradition, with e Museo, Lincoln, Hatton, and Trinity more accurately reflecting the original at this point, there are no grounds for believing that the Arundel text is defective anywhere other than in certain of its vernacular elements earlier discussed. Indeed, a *Castrum Prudencie* would seem a *difficilior lectio* in comparison to *Castrum Sapiencie.* But grounds for believing in an intermediary state of the motif represented by γ do not consist solely in this; it is also suggested by the fact that the three sermons preserved extensively in English (e Museo, Lincoln, and Hatton) all share variations on the conversation between God and the damned at the Last Judgement, and other points of substantive overlap will become clear later in the course of this discussion.

The *Gesta Romanorum,* a popular composition existing in various recensions, is known to have drawn on Holcot's *Moralitates* extensively,[20] but the Castle of Prudence "picture" has not been noted amongst the material that the *Gesta Romanorum* incorporated.[21] Therefore, if the ascription of e Museo is to be trusted, and always assuming that the Castle of Prudence motif was indeed Holcot's work and not someone else's subsequent addition, there evidently existed a tradition of another of Holcot's *Moralitates* having entered the *Gesta Romanorum* that has been overlooked. Whence also the beginning of the view developed here that at least one intermediary redaction intervened between the Latin Castle of Prudence source in its original form and the four sermons. In fact, there are additional reasons for believing in the intervention of an intermediary (for example, as earlier noted, all the sermons agree against the Arundel Holcot's Castle of Prudence in referring to a Castle of Wisdom). So whatever the truth of the e Museo author's precise ascription of his source to *Gesta Romanorum,* one thing at least seems clear, and that is the existence of some intermediary redaction coming between himself and the original form of the Castle of Prudence. We will return to questions about the nature of the intermediary later.

In starting with an account of the day's gospel, the beginning of e Museo is reminiscent of a venerable tradition of sermon form and in this is quite unlike Lincoln, Hatton, and Trinity. Its gospel account is a liberal paraphrase, subsequently expounded after one of the higher levels of exegesis, the allegorical level, as the nature of the exegesis in II.23–29 makes clear, and the word "moraliter" that introduces the exegesis evidently here means "allegorically."[22]

[20] Smalley, *English Friars,* 146.

[21] Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances* 3:112–13, no. 53, does not note the *exemplum* in the early printed editions of the *Gesta Romanorum* or in V. H. Oesterley's edition of 1872. Nor does it appear in early printed editions of the *Moralitates.*

[22] See R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List* (Oxford, 1965), 304 ("Moralitas").

"Moraliter" was one of the words commonly inserted into sermon texts to signal the start of any level of exegesis, whether literal, moral, tropological or anagogical. Its wide range of senses therefore makes it a difficult word to render, but the meaning in this case seems evident from the context. Similarly, the "moralle understondyng" of the gospel (II.23) is to be understood as intending the allegorical rather than the moral significance.[23] For many orthodox sermons, as for e Museo, the gospel paraphrase simply provided a point of departure for an exposition which is largely independent of the gospel text.[24] Nevertheless, the procedure of e Museo remains most nearly akin to the "ancient" form of preaching, a form that had never been lost from sight in the later Middle Ages in England, even though the "modern" form, much in favour since the thirteenth century, had tended to eclipse it. Thus in respect of deploying a sermon form with a traditional lineage, the form of e Museo, at least in the beginning (II.1–29), is the most familiar of the four. After the gospel paraphrase, the sermon author announces its interpretation, "after þe seyng of docturs," and concludes with the statement that the castle to which the gospel refers is the castle of heaven. This then prompts the introduction of the *Castrum Sapiencie* motif from "*Gestis Romanorum.*" First comes the shield with its three roses gules on a ground argent, in the first of which is written "Litil," in the second "Ivyll," and in the third, "Fekyll" (contrast the Arundel Holcot, where "Vita" seems to have been written in each; see figures 1 and 2 below). So the sermon author's immediate source has bypassed the headword of the *divisio* (that is, "Lif" or, as the Arundel Holcot proposed it, "Vita") and gone straight to the three *membra* (*membra* inasmuch as, without

[23] See *OED,* "Moral" adj., sub-sense 3b. For another example from a contemporary sermon of "morally" meaning "allegorically," see the first Advent sermon of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 806, fol. 2v. Here, the translated English "Morally" introduces an exegesis that is allegorical (and compare the practice of the so-called "Swetstock" sermons of Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 649; see fol. 14r).

[24] What is of particular interest about the e Museo gospel paraphrase is that it appears to have been drawn from the Later Version of the Wycliffite Bible (S. Morrison, "Lollardy in the Fifteenth Century: The Evidence from Some Orthodox Texts," *Cahiers Élisabéthains* 52 [1997]: 1–24). The Bible-based sermons of the Lollard cycles are perhaps the most conspicuous example in late-medieval England of the tradition of sermon composition which repeatedly refers to the Scriptural text of the day throughout the course of the sermon. The Middle English translation of the French *de tempore* cycle of Robert of Gretham provides an orthodox instance of this method (T. G. Duncan, *A Transcription and Linguistic Study of the Introduction and First Twelve Sermons of the Hunterian MS Version of the "Mirror,"* unpublished B. Litt. thesis (Oxford, 1965). For further cases of an orthodox preference for sermon exposition *secundum ordinem textus,* see G. R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), 309–12, and especially the authoritative survey of the "ancient" (and "modern") forms of English preaching in Spencer, *English Preaching,* 228–68.

a headword, they may only be loosely so described).[25] Second comes the shield with its three swords argent on a ground sable, in the first of which is written "Partyng" (contrast in fig. 2 the Arundel Holcot's different word but essentially similar meaning), in the second "Endyng," and in the third "Turnyng." Here, the "P" of "Partyng" damages the possibility of ever being able to link these three *membra* with some such headword as "Det" as in the Arundel Holcot (see fig. 2).[26] Third comes the shield with its three trumpets or on a ground azure, in the first of which is written "Spedfull," in the second "Dredefull," and in the third "Medefull." Here more decisively still, the possibility of linking these *membra* with some such headword as "Dom" is done away with. It may be suspected that since all the *membra* in the e Museo sermon enter a symmetrical, and hence mnemonically serviceable, rhymed partnership with their associates ("Lit*il,*" "Iv*yll,*" "Fek*yll*"; "Part*yng,*" "End*yng,*" "Turn*yng*"; and "Sped*full,*" "Drede*full,*" "Mede*full*"), this partnership may have been the supervening consideration for the sermon author or the redactor represented in his immediate source, more important than observing headwords or the satisfactory derivation from them of the various *membra.* Next, the clerk interprets the meaning of the shields generally, encapsulating it in a Latin rhyme whose first line is worded a little differently from that found in the Arundel Holcot, and whose second line, "Hec tria scuta sciat quisquis celicola fiat," is not found there at all, and which may therefore either be an elaboration introduced into the postulated intermediary between the original form of the Castle of Prudence and the sermons (γ on the stemma; see fig. 3) or one introduced at some stage subsequent to the intermediary (ε or ζ).[27] The moral explanation of the *Castrum Sapiencie* then follows. The castle is the kingdom of heaven, and the ensuing commentary weaves in two references to the day's epistle (II.71–72 and 76–77). The first shield is interpreted as the shield of man's life, the second that of his death, and the third that of the Last Judgement.

Over the first shield the clerk writes two Latin verses (the first of which, "Vita qua vivis, lex mortis, iudicii vis," is not in the Arundel Holcot).[28] These

[25] It must have been in this particular sermon author's immediate source that this had already happened, because the other sermons behave similarly (see figures 1 and 2).

[26] As will be seen, the Trinity sermon, to which e Museo seems closest, retains the "d" in "Departinge."

[27] Or it may conceivably be a more authentic witness to what was in the original form of the Castle of Prudence, but which appears shortened to one verse only in Arundel 384. However, the fact that this second line of verse is not in the Trinity version perhaps weighs in favour of some late addition to the e Museo textual tradition, perhaps at stage ζ in the stemma (see fig. 3), not something original to the Castle of Prudence author.

[28] This verse must have entered the tradition earlier than ζ, since it is present in Trinity.

verses are then rendered in English. The sermon proceeds to claim that it may be demonstrated that man's life is the "law of death" mentioned in the verse, and goes on to adduce proofs. While recourse to proof texts at precisely this point of the narrative is not quite what the Castle of Prudence author had envisaged, it certainly consorts with his scholastic turn of mind as witnessed, for example, in his tell-tale instruction, "Quere confirmacionem pro membris diuisionis" (I.40–41). Another portion of the day's epistle is woven into the sermon's commentary (II.104–7), and the appropriateness of comparing man's life to the three degrees of the life-cycle of the rose (a motif found also in Hatton and Lincoln, though in the latter with considerable substantive variation, and very succinctly in Trinity) is rounded off with yet another citation from the day's epistle (II.124).

Over the second shield the clerk writes a Latin verse, "Mors habet excerto tria: divido, termino, verto," which this time bears little resemblance to its counterpart in the Arundel Holcot. There are various possible explanations for this. The variation may once again indicate a redaction entering somewhere into the textual tradition, either at the stage of the intermediary γ, or at some stage subsequent to the intermediary, at ε.[29] Alternatively, the Arundel Holcot may itself not be representing the Castle of Prudence author's original faithfully, although this is perhaps a less likely explanation, given the lack of internal rhyme of the e Museo verse, whereas all the Arundel Holcot verses rhyme internally. A third possibility is that both verses, each only singly present respectively in e Museo and in the Arundel Holcot, were together present in the Castle of Prudence author's original (that is, the e Museo textual tradition retained one verse and the textual tradition of Arundel 384 retained the other).[30] A commentary follows which once more and for the last time works in part of the day's epistle (II.157–58).

Over the third shield the clerk writes a Latin verse, "Monstrant tube qualis iudex veniet generalis," which is approximately comparable to that in the Arundel Holcot.[31] A commentary follows which illustrates how the Last Judgement will be "spedefull." This is followed by illustration of how it will be "dredfull," and this section introduces the Doom dialogues—an extended, dramatic passage, based on Matthew 25—between Christ as *iudex mundi* at

[29] This verse is also present in Trinity and therefore could not have been introduced by ζ.

[30] This is conceivable, though I believe less likely. There is a strict consistency to the internal rhymes of the Arundel Holcot that vanishes in the verses reported in the e Museo (and Trinity) witness.

[31] Trinity is a little closer here to the Arundel Holcot, one of the reasons for its location relatively closer to ε on the stemma in fig. 3.

the end of time and the souls of the damned and the saved (in that order, taking its cue from the Castle of Prudence in reversing the saved-damned order found in the gospel). Comparable dialogues, which similarly reverse the gospel's order, are also to be found in Lincoln and Hatton (though in Trinity, as will be seen, the telegraphic lemmata "Venite, benedicti Patris mei," and "Ite, maledicti," restore the gospel order). A short final commentary on how the Last Judgement will be "medefull" concludes the sermon.

We pass now to the second sermon, that in Lincoln 133 (see text III). Although our sense of its form is impaired because it is both acepalous and atelous, it does not seem likely that much text has been lost. Notwithstanding this, it is unlikely that even in its pristine state would its form have had an ancestry as recognizable as that of the first part of the e Museo sermon, and this despite the fact that the Lincoln sermon stands alone among the sermons in explicitly referring to its *theme* (III.137), a term characteristically, though not exclusively, associated with sermons cast in the "modern" mould of preaching.[32] It is clear from what survives that the Lincoln sermon cannot in fact have been thematic in any systematic sense that the "modern" preaching mode typically comprehends, for there are no apparent divisions of the sermon's theme ("Timor mortis conturbat me"), let alone any subdivisions of it. The sermon as extant starts with a comparison of the seven properties of a dead body to the Seven Deadly Sins: the body's stiffness betokens pride; coldness, envy; hideousness, anger; heaviness, sloth; swelling, gluttony; putrescence, lechery; and grasping (that is, the convulsively snatching hands of a dying man), avarice. The narrative continues by observing that when a wicked man dies, he is in dread for four reasons: first, for memory of his sins; second, for dread of pain; third, for dread of damnation; and fourth, for bitterness of everlasting death. This observation immediately leads into the Castle of Wisdom motif.

A "phylosephur," contemplating the febleness of mankind and mankind's inclination to sin, made three gates, each surmounted by a shield, as an example to all. On the first shield, in each of three roses gules on a ground argent was written a letter, respectively "L," "I," and "F'; on the second shield, in each of three swords argent on a ground sable was written a letter, respectively "D," "E," and "T"; and on the third shield, in each of three trumpets or on a ground azure was written a letter, respectively "D," "O," and "M" (see figures 1 and 2, and compare the contrasting way the words are treated in the Arundel Holcot, e Museo, Trinity, and Hatton). A second "phylosephur" came

[32] Though the Trinity sermon implicitly has a theme inasmuch as it begins with a line from the day's epistle.

along, asked the castle porter to let him in, and declared that if he were to enter, he would first have to heed what life, death, and Judgement were.

The moral of all this is then introduced with a sermon formula especially frequent in the second half of the fifteenth century: "Now gostely, frendes, as to owre purpose."[33] The castle is the castle of heaven. The first shield is man's life. A commentary on this then follows which includes four quotations from Job, three of which are also found in the Office for the Dead. (Two of them were also used in a similar context in the e Museo sermon, in the commentary on the first shield.) The commentary concludes by saying that we should have in mind the three letters on the shield, "L," "I," and "F," but the value of the mnemonic acronym is damaged, since "L" is made to stand for "lyfe" rather than the adjective "Litil" that the shield has in the other texts, "I" stands for life's brevity, "hyt ys schorte" (though how, precisely, is not clear, so that here the value of the "LIF" acronym is lost utterly), and "F" stands for "fals" and "fekell," which although it retrieves possibilites for moral interpretation comparable to that introduced by the Arundel Holcot and more fully exploited by e Museo, does so too late to retrieve the general integrity of the sequence.[34] The second shield is man's death, with the letters "D," "E," and "T." "D" signifies that death "delys" ("separates"), "E" that it "endus" ("ends"), and "T" that it "turnus vp so done" ("turns upside down"). Here, the mnemonic acronym works (compare the Arundel Holcot and e Museo in fig. 2). A commentary, approximately comparable to an outline discussion also found in the Trinity sermon discussed below, proceeds to describe three strokes of Death's sword: first, kindred and friends are cut away; next, worldly goods; and last, oneself. The three aforesaid letters, "D," "E," and "T," reveal three things. "D" signifies that one should "deal" one's soul to God and one's goods to the world. To illustrate this, an *exemplum* is introduced from the *Alphabetum narracionum* of a dying rich man who is urged to make a will by his friends.

[33] A. J. Fletcher, "The Meaning of 'Gostly to owr Purpos' in *Mankind*," *Notes and Queries*, n.s., 31 (1984): 301–2, though there are occasional earlier appearances; compare, for example, "So goostly in þis purpose," in Richard Alkerton's Easter week sermon of 1406 (V. M. O'Mara, ed. *A Study and Edition of Selected Middle English Sermons*, Leeds Texts and Monographs, New Series 13 [Leeds, 1994], 60.105). The collocation may also be found outside sermons proper (the earliest instance I know to date is in Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection;* Thomas H. Bestul, ed. *Walter Hilton: The Scale of Perfection* (Kalamazoo, 2000), 176.1129). Spencer, *English Preaching*, 410 n. 159, has observed the collocation in the Middle English poem *Pearl*, a text approximately contemporary with the *Scale*.

[34] It appears that in Lincoln, the usual headword "Lif" has been transferred to the first *membrum* ("lyfe") in place of "litil," which in turn appears to have been transferred to the second *membrum* ("hyt ys schort") in place of "ivyll."

When the clerk noting down his will asks what he is to write, the dying man replies with the verse "Terram terra tegat . . ." (III.112–15). This is said to illustrate all three propositions, how death "separates," "ends" and "turns upside down." The third shield is man's Last Judgement, with "D" standing for "dredfull," "O" for "opon," and "M" for "myghtfull." Here, the mnemonic acronym works within its own terms, and nearly corresponds to the Arundel Holcot *membra,* though it does not fully correspond to the e Museo *membra* (see fig. 2). A commentary follows on "D," "O," and "M."

The last part of the sermon begins by saying that if anyone wants to enter the castle, he must think upon its three shields, that is, upon what life, death, and Last Judgement are. The preacher then repeats his theme, "Timor mortis conturbat me," and the Doom dialogues follow, an eschatological gospel narrative popular with medieval preachers and based ultimately on verses from Matthew 25 but taking its lead from Holcot in addressing the damned first. Christ's judgement of the damned souls, "Ite, maledicti, in ignem eternum qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius" (III.140), is split into six individual utterances ("Ite," "Maledicti," etc.), each a rebuff to the damned souls' petitions. The sermon ends with a description of hell, and although no formal ending is given, the concluding "et cetera" perhaps served as a cue to the preacher to supply one.

The third sermon, or perhaps it might more circumspectly be called *materia predicabilis,* is from Hatton 96 (see text IV). It launches straight into the Castle of Wisdom motif without any preamble. A lord built a beautiful castle, and had set over its gate the three shields now familiar. (There is a small departure from all the other sermons in that the words on the Hatton shields are written around the devices, not inside them; see fig. 1.) The words on the shields are respectively "Lytyl," "Yuyl," and "Fykyll"; "Delyng," "Ending," and "Turning"; and "Derne," "Opyn," and "Myȝtful." The words around the devices correspond to the Castle of Prudence author's familiar *membrum* trios—in Hatton the most closely, in fact, of all the sermons—including the shield word "Derne" ("Dom" in the Arundel Holcot, though since this should properly read "Derne," Hatton seems to be witnessing here to the Castle of Prudence author's original reading). And like the presentation of the trios of e Museo (and, as will be seen, also of Trinity), some of which differ from Hatton's, those in Hatton bypass the first, second, and third headwords (the Arundel Holcot's "Lyf," "Ded" [*recte* "Det"], and "Dom") to proceed directly to the headwords' three *membra.* A philosopher comes along, seeks entry, and the porter tells him that he must first construe the shields hanging over the gate. He does so, explaining that the shields symbolize man's life, death and the Last Judgement.

Hatton then proceeds to unveil the allegory in a commentary. The castle is heaven. The shield with roses represents man's life. Man's life, with its stages of childhood, manhood and old age, is comparable to the three phases of the life cycle of the rose, an idea also developed in e Museo (II.107–23), in Lincoln (III.77–87, though here with considerable substantive variation), and also, though very succinctly, in Trinity (V.23–30) discussed below. The commentary then explains why life is "Litil," "Yuil," and "Fikil" and includes one of the scriptural lemmata (Job 14:5) used at a comparable point in the narrative of Lincoln (III.82).

The shield with swords represents man's death, and the swords represent the three strokes that Death strikes when he comes. A similar idea of Death's three strokes also occurs in note form in the Trinity sermon discussed below, and in Lincoln at a similar narrative juncture, in the commentary on the second shield (III.98–102). The three strokes in Hatton compare with those in Trinity, as will be seen, but differ somewhat from those in Lincoln. In Hatton (and in Trinity), Death first removes man's wit; second, his goods; and third, his friends. What Death has to do with "Delyng," "Ending," and "Turning" is next explained. Death "delyþ" ("separates") everything bound together by law, love and nature. These categories are illustrated. Death "endiþ" well and woe, friend and foe, meat and drink, rest and "swink" ("toil"). These rhymed dyads are illustrated. And finally Death "turniþ" fair into foul, rich into poor, and king into carrion. These dyadic transformations are also illustrated.

The shield with trumpets represents the Last Judgement, and the trumpets represent the three sets of words that God will speak at it. They are "Arysiþ, ded men, and comiþ to þe dome," "Goþ, corsid gostis, into fur þat euir schal last," and "Comiþ, my blessyd chyldryn, to þe blysse þat my Fadir aþ y-dyȝt to ȝow of þe bygining of þe world" (IV.127, 128–29, and 147–48 respectively). Of the four versions, Hatton here is the one that corresponds most closely to the Arundel Holcot and probably, indeed, to the Castle of Prudence author's original. Also, Hatton is probably closest in most respects to the intermediary, γ. The first set of words is illustrated by the quotation from St. Jerome that also appears in Lincoln (though there misattributed to St. John). The second is illustrated from God's dialogue with the damned from Matthew 25, an excerpt used by both Lincoln and e Museo, and also by Trinity, though noted there only vestigially. And the third is illustrated from God's dialogue with the saved from Matthew 25, briefly alluded to in e Museo and Trinity, but not at all in Lincoln. Each of the three conditions of the Last Judgement, as "Derne," "Opyn," and "Myȝtful," is then illustrated in turn. Hatton concludes in a familiar, formulaic way with a rhymed prayer.

Paradoxically our last sermon, whose form, of the four, is the least readily discernible on account of the particular circumstances of its record, nevertheless lays greatest claim to having actually been preached (see text V). The original form is obscured chiefly because the sermon exists now only as a set of notes, but also because its actual delivery may have been in the main via English, not via the macaronic Latin and English mixture in which the notes are written.[35] It is also the only sermon with an attribution to a specific preacher. Evidently it was preached, or had been intended for preaching, by the mysterious "Doctor Curteyse," the "Courteous Doctor," on some Passion Sunday in an unknown year.[36] Palaeography would suggest that the scribe entering the Courteous Doctor's sermon notes was working ca. 1440, so it seems reasonable to suppose that the Passion Sunday for which the sermon was composed fell either in the latter part of the fourteenth or in the first part of the fifteenth century.[37]

Although, then, its form is obscured, enough still remains to permit a tentative, if partial, view of what that form was like. An opening theme lifted from the Passion Sunday epistle is announced (V.1–2), but the subsequent notes do not suggest that the sermon generated from this theme was to be thematic in the sustained way that the "modern" preaching mode typically comprehended, because no apparent division of the theme occurs, let alone any subdivision of it (compare the Lincoln sermon in this respect, where a theme is referred to, but has no structural consequences). Immediately after the theme, two gates are announced, one in the east, of those who enter, which is baptism, and the other in the west, of those who depart, which is penitence.[38] The announce-

[35] The question of the original language of delivery of sermons written in the macaronic style is a matter of some dispute. For the view that such sermons may indeed have been delivered as written, in a macaronic mode, see S. Wenzel, *Macaronic Sermons: Bilingualism and Preaching in Late-Medieval England* (Ann Arbor, 1994); and for a defense of the traditional view, that they are likely to have been delivered chiefly in English, see A. J. Fletcher, "'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini': A Thirteenth-Century Sermon for Advent and the Macaronic Style in England," *Mediaeval Studies* 56 (1994): 217–45.

[36] "Doctor Curteyse" I take to be a sobriquet (compare such well-known examples as the "Doctor Evangelicus," the "Doctor Seraphicus," or the "Doctor Irrefragibilis") rather than a proper name preceded by title. Who the "Courteous Doctor" may have been, however, I have not succeeded in determining.

[37] Compare M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500* (Oxford, 1969; rpt. with minor revisions, London, 1979), plate 10 (i). What palaeography suggests can be further narrowed by internal evidence; see the headnote to text V.

[38] Evidently, this association of baptism and penitence with the beginning and the ending of the seven sacraments is not fortuitous; baptism is the first sacrament that the Christian soul receives on entry into the world, and penitence, which seems here to stand in for extreme unction, a sacrament closely connected with the penitential system, the last on going out of it.

ment introduces an architectural conceit in which is pictured an edifice (a castle or fortified building, presumably, since it has a drawbridge) of theological significance: between this castle's gates are found all the sacraments of the Church. Thus this castle of the sacraments makes an appropriate prelude to the castle and its symbolic shields that follow immediately upon it and that is introduced briskly as a "Narracio poetica" (V.10).

A philosopher, looking for rest, visited many regions. Finally he rested on his staff in a deserted country near a byway and saw a heavenly tower, painted and adorned most elegantly, and arrayed all about with shining shields. Asking the gatekeeper for information about the edifice, he was told that it was one of divine wisdom, and that he would not enter it unless he could explain the shields with perfect clarity. Moved by a love of wisdom, the philosopher inspected the three shields above the gate (now familiar to us but with one small innovation: the three roses on the first shield were depicted respectively as a bud, a mature rose, and a withered rose, according to the stage of man's life that each represented; see fig. 1). The words on the shields are respectively "Litel," "Yvell," and "Fikell"; "Departinge," "Endynge," and "Tornynge"; and "Demavndyng," "Opening," and "Manassyng." And like the presentation of the trios of e Museo and Hatton, those in Trinity bypass the first, second and third headwords (the Arundel Holcot's "Lyf," "Ded" [*recte* "Det"], and "Dom") to proceed at once to the headwords' three *membra.*

Essentially, the remainder of the Trinity sermon draws parallels between the (Old Testament) time of the law and the (New Testament) time of the perfection of the law. God in the Old Testament gave Moses six hundred and fourteen laws to convey to the people, of which three hundred and sixty-six were negative and two hundred and forty-eight positive. On account of the fragile nature of human memory (V.60–61), God distilled this multiplicity of injunctions into the Decalogue, and in the (New Testament) time of the perfection of the law, further distilled them into the two Dominical precepts, which were in their turn further conflated in the Pauline maxim, "Plenitudo legis est dileccio" (V.67). The sermon then proceeds to draw parallels between the action of Moses in Exodus 24 when he consecrated the people and the altar of God with the blood of birds and bullocks, and the actions of a Christian priest who in present times ministers at the altar the sacrament of the paschal bullock of the Christians (the "vitulus Christianorum in die Pasche"; V.71), Christ. Moses called the blood that he sprinkled over the heads of the people the blood of the covenant, and this blood (presumably now being understood as the blood of Christ) will accuse people at the Last Judgement unless they shall have observed it. Concluding sermon formulas were no doubt uttered in the original delivery but were not recorded.

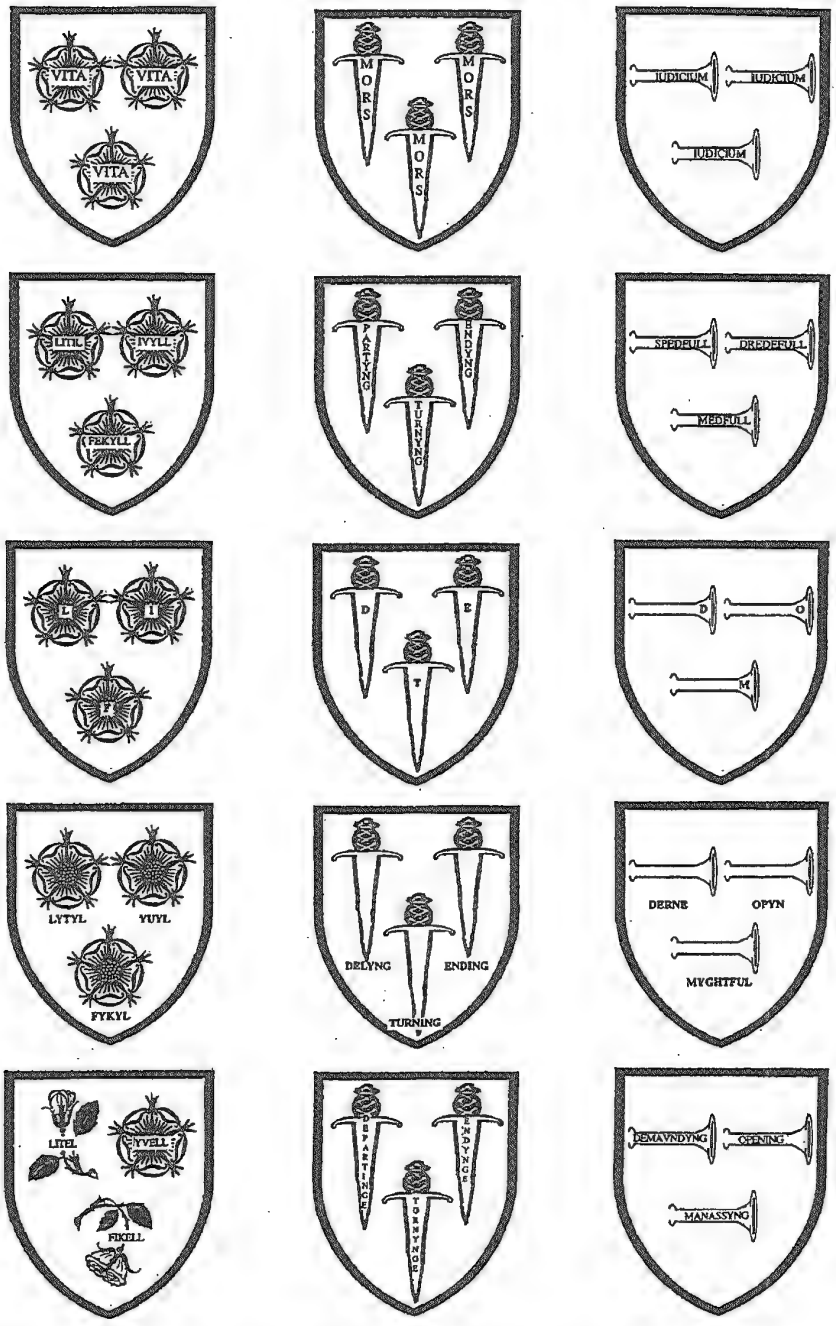
Arundel 384

e Museo 180

Lincoln 133

Hatton 96

Trinity 75



[I thank Helen L. Spencer for providing the artwork for the rose-emblazoned shield of Trinity 75]

Fig. 1: The shields and their blazons

Arundel 384			
Vita – Lyf	Litel	Yuel	Fykel
Mors – Ded [Det]	Dolyng [Delyng]	Endyng	Deyng [Turnyng]
Iudicium – Dom	Dome [Derne]	Oppynly	Myghtfully
e Museo 180			
[No head-words or headletters]	Litill Partyng Spedfull	Ivyll Endyng Dredefull	Fekyll Turnyng Medefull
Lincoln 133			
L, I, F	Lyfe	hyt ys schorte	Fals/Fekell
D, E, T	Delys	Endus	Turnus vp so done
D, O, M	Dredfull	Opon	Myghtfull
Hatton 96			
[No head-words or headletters]	Lytyl Delyng Derne	Yuyl Ending Opyn	Fykyll Turning Myȝtful
Trinity 75			
[No head-words or headletters]	Litel Departinge Demavndyng	Yvell Endynge Opening	Fikell Tornynge Manassyng

Fig. 2: Table of headwords/headletters (as applicable) and their *membra*

Apart from the shields, inherited—if with assorted permutations *en route*—from the Castle of Prudence author, all the sermons share various topics and citations which, while not present in the Arundel Holcot, and indeed probably not in the original ultimately lying behind it, were nevertheless anticipated there with the intruction "Quere confirmacionem pro membris diuisionis"; the user must seek out confirmatory proofs on his own account. The most economical explanation for this state of affairs is that someone took the Castle of Prudence author at his word, expanded his skeletal "picture" as he had recommended, and produced the intermediary γ from which it is reasonable to suppose that all four of the sermons have descended. One possible *stemma codicum* is given in fig. 3.

The Castle of Prudence copy that the compiler of the γ intermediary used, α, seems in certain respects to have been a superior witness to the Castle of Prudence author's original than Arundel 384's copy, β; note, for example, the greater adequacy of some of the vernacular components of the Castle of Prudence "picture" appearing on the α side of the textual tradition and wit-

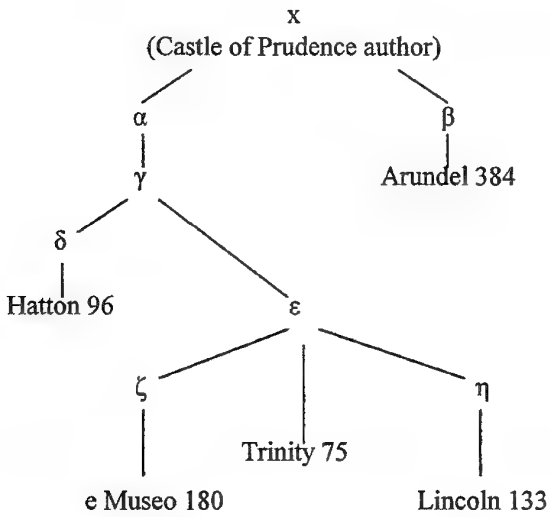


Fig. 3: *Stemma codicum* of the Castle of Prudence versions

nessed in Hatton. Yet even though the sermons share sufficient amplificatory material in common to suggest their mutual origin in a common source, γ, that shared material only broadly agrees: while many of the sermons' topics are, to be sure, comparable in general terms, in terms of the *detail* of their substantive variation their divergences are very extensive indeed. The most likely explanation for this is that the intermediary γ was compiled in Latin (excepting, of course, the minimal vernacular components that were already inherited from the Castle of Prudence author), and that the sermons represent independent translations and/or reworkings that have ultimately stemmed from the γ intermediary. Possibly the γ intermediary was found in a *Gesta Romanorum,* as the declaration in the e Museo text might lead us to suspect; alternatively, it could have been a Latin sermon or some other such compilation offering suitable *materia predicabilis.* In the case of Hatton, an English translation of γ has been postualted in the stemma at δ, when the Latin shield verses present in γ were perhaps also jettisoned. Another recension of γ has been postulated in the stemma at ε in which the shield verses were retained and which generated the English translations represented by ζ and η. A further reason for postulating the translated recension ζ between e Museo and ε is that the Latin shield verses which e Museo shares with Trinity, and which have enough in common to unite these two witnesses against the Arundel Holcot, nevertheless diverge further from the Arundel Holcot's verses than do Trinity's. The postulated translated recension η between Lincoln 133 and ε is also presumed to have dropped the shield verses. Independent translations arising from γ would

go some way towards explaining why the substantive variation of the three sermons recorded in English is so wide: the latitude of translation choices open to independent translators of a common ultimate Latin source would easily account for it. The differences between the three sermons that had necessarily arisen as a by-product of their independent translation, ultimately, of γ (in Hatton's case) and of ε (in the cases of e Museo and Lincoln) were then further complicated by the individual interests, additions, and stylistic idiosyncracies of each sermon compiler, and the net result amounted to a unique composition in each instance. While each sermon was essentially similar to the others (since all had ultimately derived from γ), each became strikingly different in terms of its relative balancing and integration of the Castle of Prudence component within its general structure and in terms of the overall effect that each sermon makes.

What are these overall effects? Another lesson for late-medieval English preaching that the variations on the theme of the Castle of Prudence teach is implicit in their sheer variety. The motif was delivered into the vernacular by men of varied stylistic competences, resources, and aims.[39] As has already been stated, none of the sermons can be satisfactorily classified according to any of the stricter contemporary formulations of what acceptable sermon form should be, and this includes even the e Museo sermon, which comes closest to adhering to a traditionally sanctioned form. What we are dealing with, therefore, is a group of sermons that have been largely liberated from the constraints of theory and tradition into a more telling arena of practice, practice which may itself in due course become a new tradition. How does each very different writer harness in his own unique way the Castle of Prudence motif to accomplish the common aim of drawing minds towards the Last Judgement in which the motif finally comes to rest? Let us first examine each sermon's structure, using "structure" here to refer not to any theoretical standard ordained by the *artes predicandi* but to the actual organization of the texts as they have been recorded. How central is the Castle motif to each?[40]

In the e Museo sermon, the image of a castle first appears in the gospel pericope from Matthew 21:1–9, "Ite in castellum quod contra vos est" (II.5–6). The gospel passage ends "Blissed is he that commethe in þe name of the

[39] It is possible that Trinity 75 too was delivered in English but recorded on the page in Latin. However, the condensed and abbreviated state of preservation of this sermon unfortunately prevents close assessment of the capabilities of its preacher, the Doctor Curteyse.

[40] Where appropriate, the discussion which follows takes due, but silent, consideration of the fact that two of these sermons—Lincoln 133 and Hatton 96—are structurally incomplete (Lincoln certainly and Hatton conceivably), and that Trinity is incomplete by virtue of the circumstances of its record, as a set of sermon notes. These various kinds of incompleteness, however, should not detract from the validity of the general observations made.

Lorde" (II.21–22). If we pass on to the ending of the sermon we find that the opening command of the gospel pericope, "Ite," has reversed into "Venite," the eschatological invitation of Matthew 25:34 (II.201–2), as the historical *castellum* of the opening gospel pericope is displaced by the heavenly one implied by St. Matthew four chapters later. The sermon concludes with the image of the blessed, "Venite, benedicti . . . Blissed be he þat commethe in the name of God . . . blissed be he þat governethe hym so that he may come to þat ioye . . ." (II.201–6), entering God's castle at the end of time. The structure of the e Museo sermon is therefore nearly circular, to the extent that its ending repeats its beginning in transfigured form. The transitions from idea to idea throughout the text are achieved smoothly, mainly by the varied repetition of particular lexical items: the *castellum* of the gospel pericope leads to its allegorical interpretation as the castle of heaven, which in turn provides a link to the Castle of Wisdom; the "labor" of the people of Israel to reach the Promised Land connects with the "grete labor and grete disese" that people experience in this world, and so on. Thus in e Museo the Castle motif is organically worked into the whole. As with the other three sermons, e Museo towards its conclusion indulges in the dialogue between God and the damned inspired ultimately by Matthew 25, but the final note struck by e Museo here is, as has been noted, one of promise and optimism.

Compare Lincoln 133, where the introduction of the Castle motif is far more workmanlike. We are straight into a sermon obviously darker in tone, understandably, given that its (non-biblical) theme is discovered to have been "Timor mortis conturbat me" (III.137). The focus throughout the opening section, as much of it as survives, is on the properties of a dead body, and on their allegorical equivalence to the Seven Deadly Sins. Again turning to the end, it will be seen how the sermon concludes with reflections on the pains of hell, embodied in the familar, sensory images: "Þer schall be stynk orrebell. Þer schall be merkenys-felyng. Þer schall be crying, and seyng of deuells" (III.167–68). The sermon therefore ends as it began, sombrely. The last lines directly address an audience, asking "qwerto, þen, luf ȝe so mekull þe vanyteȝ of thys worde, and lusteȝ to ocubye þe lyfe aftur þe lust and þe lykyng of þi flessche?" (III.170–72). Perhaps the section missing from the beginning of the sermon may be imagined as having struck a note similar to this—the writer, as earlier mentioned, must have announced his gloomy theme and would presumably have followed it with some comment on its substance—but leaving aside the Lincoln sermon's tonal consistency, we do not otherwise find in this

sermon the same sense of an evolving and circular connectedness such as is evident in e Museo.[41]

The Lincoln 133 dialogue with the damned (III.137–61; compare its e Museo and Hatton treatments at texts II.178–93 and IV.125–42 respectively) sees God's address to the damned broken down into six numbered parts, each of which is individually translated. The Lincoln writer displays throughout a penchant for the enumerated catalogue. As well as the "picture" of the three shields, each with its own subdivisions, which is common to all four sermons, we find additionally in Lincoln the seven properties of a dead body and their equation with the Seven Deadly Sins, and the four reasons why a wicked man is in dread of death. The connections between Lincoln's sets of ideas are far less carefully crafted than the connections in e Museo are. The link to the Castle motif, for example, is tenuously contrived. Its stages might be paraphrased as follows: avoid the Seven Deadly Sins; a wicked man suffers much dread in death; therefore a philosopher, mindful of the wickedness of man, made three gates and placed a shield above each. The connecting "therefore" here is perfunctory and quite unconvincing. Equally unconvincing is the way in which the comparison of the life cycle of man to that of the rose is brought in: "For ryght as þe rose florys are fayre to þe syȝt, ryght so monnes lyfe in thys world hyt ys schort and lytyll" (III.77–78). The rose image is treated at greater length and somewhat more convincingly later, but its brusque initial introduction is maladroit. The Castle motif in Lincoln, like many of the sermon's other component parts, could be detached without Lincoln's general organizational plan sustaining any serious damage. The structure of Lincoln, then, is much more episodic.

The Hatton 96 sermon begins without preamble, starting immediately *in medias res* with the Castle motif: "Hit wes somtyme a lord þat let makne a castel" (IV.1). The body of the sermon thereafter is devoted entirely to the description and explication of the three shields, right up to the final section which ends on a short rhymed prayer that we might escape punishment and win eternal bliss. Thus, unlike the use to which the other sermons put it, the Castle motif in Hatton is its sufficient cause. Conceivably, Hatton may have been devised as an adjunct or ancillary text of some sort, preachable matter written to be annexed to a larger discourse if the themes with which it deals were found appropriate to the occasion. In that case, it could then have been elaborated and meshed into some other, wider treatment, just as the Castle motif has been in the e Museo, Lincoln, and Trinity sermons, with varying

[41] The Lincoln sermon, moreover, is left hanging on a Latin quotation attributed to Solomon ("Fatui non poterunt diligere nisi ea que eis placent"; III.152–53), which is untranslated and which could potentially lead into pastures fresh.

degrees of success. Yet since there is no clear evidence of such a purpose, it seems simplest to assume that the Hatton text as it stands is self-sufficient.[42] It appears that the Hatton writer was at liberty simply to move from one description to the next as the Castle motif—mediated through the δ recension—dictated. Within its various sections, he managed transitions between images and ideas with great skill and fluidity. Compare, for example, the relative seamlessness of this associative sequence: the second shield is sable with three silver swords; sable is black, the colour of sorrow; men wear black as a sign of sorrow in time of death; and the three swords betoken Death's three strokes (IV.61–64).

For the reasons noted earlier, the original form of the organization of the Trinity sermon must be spoken of more cautiously. This granted, it would seem that its organization was in part produced by a process of associatively connecting ideas, as the Doctor Curteyse's opening castle of the sacraments seems to have flowed into his treatment of the Castle motif.[43] But thereafter, it is not fully clear how he connected the rest of his sermon, the series of parallels between the (Old Testament) time of the law and the (New Testament) time of the perfection of the law, to what had gone before. There are some apparent moments of connection: a mention of the sacrament of the altar (V.69–70) makes another associative thematic link with the sacraments with which the sermon began; and a mention of the Last Judgement late in the sermon (V.74–75) then leads the Doctor Curteyse into the shield verses, which are set out en bloc, with a final note that the philosopher placed the verses over the gate so that the meaning of the shields would be apparent to anyone who happened to come by. In this sermon, it would seem that the Castle motif was distributed between two major narrative units. First came the castle of the sacraments, then followed the first narrative unit in which the Castle motif made its debut. Next came the reflection on the times of the law and of the perfection of the law, followed by the second narrative unit in which the Castle motif featured again.

Having illustrated the sheer variety of treatments to which the Castle motif was submitted, I will finally examine more closely how its introduction has been managed in each of the three sermons recorded substantially in the ver-

[42] While no indication in Hatton's layout, such as the insertion of a heading, might suggest such a conclusion, the structure of the piece nevertheless has an integrity that its absorption into a larger discourse may well have destroyed. Perhaps, therefore, what we see today is as much as its early readers or audience originally got.

[43] For an outstanding example of contemporary sermon development generated by the associative flow of ideas, see the sermon by the Oxford preacher John Felton analysed in Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry*, 71–74.

nacular (the Trinity sermon being largely disqualified from such consideration on the basis of its telegraphic state of record).

Christ "bowȝte man with his precius Pascion to bryng al mankynde to þe castel of heven. Ensampil of this castel we have, in *Gestis Romanorum*" (II.28–30). Thus e Museo 180. Here, the identity of the castle of heaven with the Castle of Wisdom is established from the inception of the image. After the writer has described the shields in brief and told of the arrival of a "rial and a notabyll clerke" to solve the riddle of their meaning, he proceeds at once to spell out an allegorical explanation: "be this castell is understonde þe kyngdome of heven . . . ther is all maner of welthe and ioye, ever lyȝte and never nyȝte, and more gretter murþe and ioye then hert can þinke or mowþe can speke" (II.55–58). The allegory is already firmly installed, and the wealth, joy, and mirth that are mentioned are at once understood to be not of this world, but of the kingdom of heaven.

The lead-in to the motif in Lincoln 133 has already been noted. The philosopher, beholding the "febulneȝ of monkynd," made "thre ȝateȝ and abofe ych ȝate a schylde of diuers colors" (III.57–58). The shields are then briefly described before we hear that a second philosopher visits the castle. After the porter has explained the law of the castle to him and he has studied its shields, he offers the opinion that the place may be called "a wyse castell" (III.70). Here, the sermon writer's narrative grasp is relatively weak. First we have what seem to be three disembodied gates; then a "castell" is mentioned in passing; finally, and with some delay, it becomes "a wyse castell." Three lines later the writer states: "By thys castell I vnderstond þe castell of heuen," but the allegorical punch, delivered with such determination in e Museo, is here pulled completely.

As mentioned above, Hatton 96 gets straight to business:

> Hit wes somtyme a lord þat let makne a castel in a place þat he loued more þen anoþer and let ordeyne þerin al manere delicys þat ben ymaginyd oþer byþoȝt of man his herte—mete, drinke, golde, siluyr, perri, preciouse stonis, mirþis, ministracy wiþout any cesing—and ȝef þis castel a nome: þe Castel of Wisdome (IV.1–5).

The shields are described summarily and the law of the castle stated; we hear that many come who fail of entry before a philosopher arrives.

Let us compare this moment of the philosopher's arrival in each of the three vernacular texts. In e Museo it runs:

> And at the firste there cam to þis castel a rial and notabyll clerke, and he sadly and discretely understode be his discrescion and notabil connyng, þat þere was direct in these scheldis aforeseyde grete lurnyng of sowle-hele (II.42–45).

And in Lincoln:

> And so hyt befell þer come another phylosephur by thys castell a way and asket entre in . . . [*the castle porter then explains the law of the castle to him*] . . . And þen þis phylosophur lyftand up hys hed and beheld þus thre schyldes and sayde þat þis may be cald a wyse castell (III.64–70).

And in Hatton:

> Þys phylosofre byhuld bysylyche þyse scheldis þat noȝte ne schold astert hym, and at þe last he was warre of þulk dox, dasow lettrys þat were aboute þe rosis, swerdis, and trompis, and saide to þe porter, "Bewe sire, þise ne beȝ noȝt scheldis of armis, bot hit beȝ scheldis þat bytokyniþ manis lyf, deþ, and dome" (IV.15–19).

In these short extracts the narrative strategies of each of the three vernacular sermon writers, their strengths and weaknesses, stand neatly epitomized. The dignified authority conveyed by the vocabulary of e Museo's doublets is complemented in their formal syntactical balance ("rial"/"notabyll," "sadly"/"discretely," "discrescion"/"connyng") and they progress confidently towards the conclusion: the shields blazon "grete lurnyng of sowle-hele." The impression created is that it is the message to be relayed by this "rial and notabyll clerke" that will be all-important, not the events leading to it. The sermon's audience, it will be recalled, has already been primed to expect an allegory on the kingdom of heaven; much of the mystery of the castle has previously been dispelled.

The writer of the Lincoln sermon does not achieve anything like this. That someone chances by and is then told about the law of the castle is less effective in terms of narrative suspense than e Museo's management of the episode (and Hatton's and, for that matter, the Arundel Holcot's and Trinity's).[44] The Lincoln writer fails to capitalize on the potential here. For the rest, his is a bare description of events. While it might be argued that here, too, the ultimate interest is the message, not the narrative, contrast e Museo where, as was seen, the message is lent advance weight by the way in which its bearer, announced as a "rial and notabyll clerke," is presented.

The two extracts from Hatton 96 quoted above suggest a similar conclusion: this was also a writer who, like that of e Museo, invested in the art of

[44] In Trinity, the philosopher's chancing upon the castle is also picturesquely realized (see V.11–15) and suggests comparison with the sudden fabulous appearance of castles to wayfarers in medieval romance (compare, for example, the appearance of Castle Hautdesert to Sir Gawain in the Middle English Romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight;* ed. J. R. R. Tolkien and E. V. Gordon, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight,* 2d ed. rev. N. Davis [Oxford, 1967; rpt. 1985], 22.763–23.–810).

narrative, though he distributed his investment somewhat differently. Hatton's comparatively lengthy description of the castle itself is absent from the other treatments, and note in what the castle's delights consist: food, drink, gold, silver, mirth and minstrelsy. A castle for a lord indeed. Thus far, Hatton's seems an alluringly palpable earthly castle, until the moralizing philosopher solves the riddle. Contrast e Museo, where we were aware from the start that we were dealing with a figure for the kingdom of heaven, and where the "welthe and ioye" of the castle were of a different order, spiritualized and immaterial. Even the name of the castle in Hatton gives no real clue that the text will ultimately be religious. The sermon writer, through his philosopher, acknowledges the potential for misinterpretation: "Bewe sire, þise beȝ noȝt scheldis of armis" (IV.18). Both the theme and mode of address here might have been lifted from romance, as might the reference to the "lord" (IV.1). These details produce a genre resonance absent from the other texts.[45] (In fact, yet again the writer of the Lincoln sermon misses an opportunity by having a philosopher build the castle in the first place. No maker is mentioned in e Museo.) Unlike e Museo and Lincoln, Hatton makes a preliminary effort to tease and then confound audience expectation. Its narrative strategy in this respect seems as important as the message it seeks to convey.

One further noteworthy point arising from the last-quoted Hatton extract is that, unlike the "rial and notabyll clerke" of e Museo who seems certain of the answer to the riddle from the outset and has no need even to look at the shields, and the philosopher in Lincoln who simply lifts his head, beholds the shields, and pronounces his verdict at once, the philosopher in Hatton, "byhuld *bysylyche* þyse scheldis *þat noȝte ne schold astert hym,* and *at the last* he was warre of þulk *dox, dasow lettrys*" (IV.15–17). The italicized words here function on two levels: most immediately, they draw matters out, heightening the suspense; and secondarily, they send out a message, as surely as did the description of the clerk in e Museo, though here in Hatton to different effect, about the value of clerkly learning. In Hatton the answer to the shields does not come pat. Effort is required, even from those who might be expected to know the answer already. This, of course, has an interesting corollary: it takes a "notabyll clerke," to use e Museo's phrase, or a philosopher to uncover and expound the hidden meaning of veiled and symbolic text. Hatton has chosen its own way to dramatize and so reaffirm education and clerkly authority as the prerequisites of trustworthy exegesis.[46]

[45] The Trinity version is perhaps an exception; see the preceding note.

[46] This ideological charge is noticeably present, if in varying extents, in all of the sermons, and it may be taken as a sign of their profound orthodoxy.

Aside from the varying competences manifest in each of the three vernacular sermon authors' respective handlings of the introduction of the Castle motif, also to be reckoned with is a variety that may have arisen as a function of considerations of audience. Important determinations here are each sermon's original provenance and date, and these, as far as they can be fixed, have been presented in the headnotes to texts II, III, and IV (also to V, though for reasons earlier explained, this sermon is precluded from any extended stylistic discussion). Suffice it to say here that the evidence yielded by the sermon manuscripts—perhaps with the exception of Hatton 96—is disappointing. The manuscript copies are too far removed from the original moment of their sermons' birth to afford any reliable indication of whom their sermons may first have been intended for.[47] It is therefore necessary to look to the sermons themselves for any internal clues they can provide about the four men who created them and about the possible audiences those men had in mind.

The search for this information obliges some reflection on the implications of linguistic choice, including the choice of Latin or the vernacular, in e Museo, Lincoln, and Hatton (the linguistic choices of Trinity constitute a special case unavailable for discussion in this respect).[48] At the most basic level, there is the question of how Latin is used. It may be observed that the use of Latin steadily decreases from e Museo to Lincoln to Hatton. The e Museo sermon has no fewer than thirty-five separate instances of Latin items or quotations, mainly biblical; in Lincoln the number falls to twenty-one, again mainly biblical; and Hatton dwindles to a mere two, one from Job, the other from Solomon. As the vernacular sermons are all of approximately similar length, these are interesting statistics. One particularly noteworthy feature of e Museo is its inclusion of the Latin verses which the clerk wrote over each of the gates in the castle. These are found, with more or less variation, in the Arundel Holcot, but not in either Lincoln or Hatton (their near kinship to the verses appearing in Trinity, discussed above, providing one of the bases for postulating ε ultimately lying behind e Museo and Trinity in the stemma). The e Museo writer provides English verse translations for these rhyming Latin couplets, though admittedly the meaning of the translation for the verse over the roses of the first shield is a little opaque:

> Vita qua vivis lex mortis, iudicii vis,
> Vita notata rosis brevis est, mala, plena dolosis.

[47] Hatton 96 is perhaps an exception (see the headnote to text IV). It is nevertheless true that the manuscript copies may contain clues to the nature of *subsequent* audiences that the sermons came to cater for. Lincoln 133, surprisingly, was owned and copied by a draper, while e Museo was apparently a commercial product intended for the book market.

[48] This is the issue of the status of macaronic sermon writing; see n. 35 above.

This is rendered

> Thy lyfe it is a lawe of dethe,
> A strengþe of dome the to begyle.
> Fygurde be these rosis redd
> It is full ivill and lastythe but a whyle (II.87–92).

Niceties of translation aside, can the use of such verses give any indication of the type of audience for which this sermon was intended? After all, verses were commonly used in late-medieval preaching, even if more austere preachers frowned upon them as an adulteration.[49] Might verses indicate a more popular pitch on the preacher's part and a concession to his audience's relative lack of education or sophistication? Fortunately, the e Museo sermon may elsewhere shed some light on this question, for its author has characterized his audience by opening with the formulaic address, "Good men and women." His sermon was evidently designed for a mixed audience, and therefore probably not one evenly educated to the same altitude. Although some members of an audience like this, perhaps the majority, might not have understood the Latin used in the sermon, they might nevertheless have understood the Latin's general purpose.[50] In the e Museo sermon, then, it may be that the use of Latin reveals more about the sermon writer than it does about his target audience. As already suggested, in a sermon concerned to surround its internal message-bearer, the philosopher, with an aura of authority, its use of Latin could only confer a similar advantage upon the external message-bearer, the preacher himself.

The writer of the Lincoln sermon was somewhat less sedulous in his attention to Latin and its handling. There are no verses, either Latin or English, in this sermon. Quoted authorities are either Church Fathers (whether rightly or wrongly attributed) or biblical. The first biblical quotation, from "Dauid" ("Mors peccatorum pessima," III.24), is neither translated nor glossed, and in III.117 there appears to be a scribal error, precipitated perhaps by some indecision about how the translation should be conducted. The sermon ends, as mentioned earlier, with an untranslated quotation from Solomon: "Fatui non poterunt diligere nisi ea que eis placent." The reason why no translation or gloss is given is unclear. As the *et cetera* following the quotation suggests, the line may simply have been recorded for use as a cue, should subsequent expansion be required. Whatever the case, this dangling quotation adds to the Lincoln sermon's general air of incompleteness and episodic form.

[49] For a thorough discussion of the use of verses in sermons, see Wenzel, *Verses in Sermons*, 61–100.

[50] See Spencer, *English Preaching*, 56.

On the question of the use of Latin, the Hatton sermon is perhaps the most interesting. It has already been noted that here only two Latin citations are to be found. One is a reference to Job 14:2 which Hatton shares with Lincoln (IV.27–28); the other is from "Solomon" (Ecclesiastes 1:11; IV.100). Seven further authorities are invoked by the Hatton writer, among them Jerome, Bernard, and Gregory (whether rightly or wrongly attributed). In fact, the Hatton writer's range of *auctoritates* is wider than that of either of the other two vernacular sermons. Yet when he adduces these *auctoritates,* he either renders them already translated into English ("Iob saiþ þat 'mannis days beþ sort and þe tal of is monþ is toward þe,'" IV.52–53) or he paraphrases them ("Seint Gregori saiþ þat þe dome schal be ful grisful, wan man schal y-se aboue hym God wroþ þat is boþe domisman and party," IV.164–65). A further notable example of his insistent vernacularity resides in the fact that his dialogue between God and the damned takes place entirely in English (contrast its e Museo and Lincoln treatments). Stylistically, the Hatton dialogue thus duplicates the unbroken flow of the original gospel narrative more nearly than does the corresponding dialogue section in Lincoln and e Museo, where the flow is interrupted by self-conscious exchanges between Latin and English.

The Hatton writer also employs vernacular verses but, unlike those of e Museo, his are neither translations of nor in any way related to the verses derived from the Castle of Prudence motif. The above-quoted English verse translation of e Museo may be compared with the following verses on old age found in Hatton, and the striking differences between the two poems in terms of their tone and register noted:

> Wan þat is wyte waxit falou
> And þat is cripse waxit calau,
> Wen þi neb ryveliþ as a roket
> And þin hein porfilin as scarlet,
> And þi nose droppiþ as a boket,
> Þan þou beon y-clipid kombir-flet (IV.43–48).

Hatton's homely imagery (caught especially in the cluster of similes in lines 3–5) is completely at odds with the metaphorical texture and stately tone of the e Museo verse. If the vernacular verses of e Museo bear the hallmark of an authority that they have redacted from their Latin models, no comparable *gravitas* is cultivated by Hatton's verses. Even so, the Hatton writer could also be said to have had some concept, if one more broadly based, of literary authority. Apart from providing wonted fare from the Bible and Church Fathers to prove his point, and offering verse like that just quoted, he also distils proverbial wisdom (IV.87–88) and appeals to what common sense should

make self-evident: "Þys dom schal be myȝtful. Wat schold mor myȝt þan wiþ a blast of is mowþe gadyr togedyr al eorþe and heuen and helle and al þat is þerin?" (IV.171–73). Thus poetry, proverbs, and appeals to common sense seem raised to a virtual parity with *auctoritates* of the more familiar sort.

Were the presence of Latin taken as the benchmark of education and authority, the Hatton writer might seem on the face of it the least imposing of the three vernacular sermon authors. But what does the lack of Latin reveal about him and his audience? In fact, it is not possible to infer from this absence any reciprocal lack of education on his part, for his avoidance of Latin is hardly in itself evidence of his inability to use it. Since it appears that the essentials of his sermon were ultimately translated from a Latin text in the first place, the Latin recension γ postulated in the stemma, he obviously knew his Latin. It may be more profitable to look to the sermon's putative recipients for an answer to why its authorities were offered almost entirely in English. Here arises the question of the "implied audience" that the sermon may suggest. Yet any attempt to uncover an implied audience must be aware that what is actually being traced is the phenomenon that Walter Ong has termed the "created audience," that is, the audience created by the writer in the act of writing.[51] While we try, at this remove, to conjecture from a sermon its original contemporary audience, we have to reckon with the possibility that the sermon writer composed for an audience that he anticipated, not for one that he actually had. The distinction, though nice, needs to be made. As will be seen, it may well be that the implied audiences of e Museo, Lincoln, and Trinity were similar, yet as a result of their writers' respective skills (or lack of them), the sermons are stylistically very different.

What, then, is the implied audience in the case of the e Museo sermon? It has already been noted that e Museo points the way to an answer in its "Good men and women" formula, for this suggests a mixed, lay congregation, in all likelihood one innocent of clerical learning. Other aspects of the sermon, however, seem to point in a different direction. Its overall structure, its comparatively generous use of Latin, its poised prose occasionally decked in doublets and alliteration (e.g., "we so fekill and so feynt in feythe and so freyle and so fals in oure lyvyng," II.133–34), along with its references to the *Gesta Romanorum* (II.30) and the *Poetria nova* (II.61), may all imply an audience whose intellectual capacity, if uninformed according to narrowly clerical standards, was nevertheless not to be slighted or patronized. The sermon writer created a text whose main argument was understandable by an audience with an educational formation that was modest enough, but at the same

[51] W. J. Ong, *Interfaces of the Word: Studies in the Evolution of Consciousness and Culture* (Ithaca and London, 1977), 53–81.

time, the argument could also have been appreciated by an audience not insensible to its niceties of dress and manner of conduct; that is, if his audience's members were not actually sermon connoisseurs, then at least they may have been people of educated sermon tastes.

On the surface, Lincoln shares some of the features of e Museo. There is use of Latin (if less frequently), use of an *exemplum* attributed to the *Alphabetum narrationum* (III.103–17), and a hint of academically respectable structure in the marshalling of various numbered divisions and in the mention of a sermon theme. However, the abiding impression left by Lincoln is that while its writer was someone who had an inkling of how sermon theory should in principle guide preaching practice, he was simply not very adept in translating that theory into being. If his target audience was of similar calibre to that conjectured for e Museo, its members may well have found the less-than-pristine form into which he pressed his matter disappointing.

The implied audience in Hatton's case would seem, on the face of it, to have been rather different. As noted earlier, although several recognized *auctoritates* are referred to, only two are quoted in Latin and both are then translated. In Hatton there is by contrast an equally great investment in "homely," vernacular authority: in vigorous English verses, proverbs, and appeals to common sense. Of a piece is the introduction of such practical information as rosewater being "holsum to manis heyn" (IV.24; see the note on this) or advice that when a man is dead one must at once "turne im out of is bed on þe colde erþe and leþ a torf on is womb for swelling" (IV.73–74; see also the note on this). The imagery here and throughout the sermon is vivid and concrete.

The manipulative narrative strategy of the Hatton writer has been noted earlier. He seems also to have had an interest purely in the language in which he chose to present his narrative. This interest was of a complexion somewhat different from that shown by the writer of the e Museo sermon. There, language displayed moments of impressive control and tight, formal balance, witnessed in such features as the repetition of certain words to link various thematic ideas, and in the use of alliteration and doublets. In Hatton the style is a little less mannered, though still by no means artless. Observe, for example, this anaphoric accumulation in Hatton: "Ryȝt so mannis lyf waxit among þornis, now of worldelyche bysynisse, now of bodylyche secknisse, now heer, now sowe, now rype, now moue, now hole, now sek, now lyȝe, now wep" (IV.24–26); or these doublets: "deþ endyþ weel and wo, frend and fo, met and drink, rest and swink" (IV.93–94). The first example, man's life growing among thorns, equips the "life as a rose" image, also more rudimentarily present in the other two vernacular sermons, with an additional

series of allegorical "thorns";[52] and the second example, the things that Death brings to an end, shows the writer indulging not only his taste for doublets but also a fondness for casting them in rhymed dyads. While the language here and elsewhere in Hatton, then, may be playful, it is so in terms that nevertheless emphasize the domestic and homespun.

Because Hatton corresponds least of our three vernacular sermons to official ideals of received sermon form, it seems to offer proportionally more access to the mind of the man who wrote it, in as much as it reveals him to have been unconcerned by traditional expectations in this regard. Yet that nonchalance would not seem to have been the offspring of any unfamiliarity with those expectations; it is a safe assumption, for reasons mentioned earlier, that he had been educated to a reasonably high standard, and as such he was likely to have encountered received ideals of sermon form. He also betrays some acquaintance with and sympathy for the resources of secular literature in the quasi-romance opening discussed above (IV.1–5), and occasional touches elsewhere (references to a "king and quene," IV.119; to "cloþis of gold," IV.72; and to jousting "of werre oþyr of pes," IV.110) evince the sort of interest in a high-class secular milieu that the romance genre typically shares. Yet he was at the same time a man with a common touch, someone who could wear his learning and contact with those literary and cultural contexts lightly. Most importantly, perhaps, given the dedicated purpose of his text, he was a person aware of the need to capture the attention of an audience and of how to go about doing that, contriving his *captatio benevolentiae* deftly. What can be deduced about that audience? Given the characteristic strategies of the Hatton author, it may be that his implied audience was not itself highly educated, and his indifference, on this occasion at least, to received norms of sermon composition may indicate an audience for whom those norms, or even the paying of lip service to those norms, were not a *sine qua non* of acceptable preaching. The touches evocative of romance by no means necessarily imply a courtly milieu and they are, moreover, far outnumbered by images selected from life lived lower down the social scale.

So in sum, when all four sermons are gathered for comparison, it becomes apparent how very different their growths from the same Latin kernel are, growths whose differences are to be explained not only by the differing narrative competences of their authors but also by possible differences in audience calibre. The sermons also demonstrate forcefully that by the fifteenth century, if not indeed already before, the sermon genre had become a rela-

[52] Since such thorns appear in the Trinity sermon (V.28–31), however, we should probably not regard them as an innovation on the part of the compiler of the sermon reflected in Hatton.

tively fluid discourse in which the application of regimented ideas of sermon form, so frequently the burden of the theorists, was no longer—even if it had ever once been—the overriding concern of sermon practice.[53] And once the conduct of actual practice had rendered the more rigorous theoretical forms negotiable, the boundaries of the discourse were prone to a striking variety of realignments, especially when sermons in practice were left free to absorb matter that more rigorous theoretical forms could less comfortably accommodate.[54] This was the more liberal and practical environment, then, in which all four sermons edited here were fostered, and in which they were also left free to develop in such very different directions. Somewhere tending towards the redundancy or in some cases the collapse of pristine theoretical ideals of sermon form must have been the imperative that clerical culture, at a pastoral level at least, conduct itself in the vernacular, in some cases using vernacular components ill suited to fulfilling the requirements of theories of sermon form that had been drafted with Latin preaching models chiefly in mind. The Castle of Prudence author's admission of English was symptomatic of his time, and prophetic of even more conspicuous consequences for the sermon genre as time went by. His tolerance foretold a flexibility, a pluralism, that came increasingly to characterize pastoral writing conducted, as inevitably much of that writing must be, at the Latin and English interface of clerical and lay culture. Through the very necessity of speaking English in pastoral circumstances, Latinate clerical culture would help lay a foundation for its own invasion through English. It unwittingly collaborated with the agenda of those English voices that would eventually be raised against the Latinate exclusiveness of clerical learning. However, before the latter years of the fourteenth century when those voices would become strident, the seeds of this paradoxical collaboration were quietly being sown in the very moment that the preaching clergy sought to fulfil their evangelizing and catechizing mandate.[55]

[53] This point may have implications for critics of Middle English literature who attempt to demonstrate a conformity to the rules of the *artes predicandi* in such literary works as they seek to persuade us are influenced by medieval sermon form. It may be that any influence from the medieval sermon genre will be rather more diffuse than narrow appeal to the *artes* alone can warrant.

[54] Compare, to cite but one example, the English lullaby around which a sermon, copied in the first half of the fourteenth century and formerly preserved in Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, was constructed (see Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry,* 32–39).

[55] I would like to express thanks to Dr. Jonathan Black for helping to guide a complex submission into print, to an anonymous reader for useful suggestions, and to Professor Stephen Morrison for letting me consult a section of his edition of e Museo 180 in advance of its publication with the Early English Text Society.

EDITORIAL METHOD

In the edition of texts I, II, III, IV, and V, all abbreviations have been silently expanded and word divisions regularized without notice. The Greek letters χρ which are sometimes used in the *nomen sacrum* are rendered by the letters *Cr-*. Pen flourishes added to certain letters but appearing to have no significance as abbreviations are treated as otiose and disregarded. Punctuation has been supplied and capitalization normalized according to modern conventions. The consistent use of *y* rather than *þ* throughout III, though an orthographical characteristic of its scribe's northerly written dialect, has been altered; *þ* replaces it.

Texts I, III, IV, and V are edited from their unique manuscripts. Their scribal copying errors have been silently emended in the text and noted in the apparatus. Text II, found in multiple copies, is a critical edition, whose apparatus also records the substantive variants of its other witnesses. No provision has been made for routinely recording marginalia, although marginalia that may be of interest are indicated in the textual notes. Two slanting strokes, ` ´, enclose material which the scribe has marked for insertion, and angle brackets, ⟨. . .⟩, enclose text that is either illegible or irrecoverable for some other reason.

I

London, British Library Arundel 384, fols. 93v–94r

Refert Hermes Egipcius quod quidam rex condidit quoddam castrum quod vocabatur Castrum Prudencie, et precepit quod nullus intraret nisi sciret describere tria scuta que in foribus castri pendebant. Primum scutum erat de argento cum tribus rosis rubeis, quarum due fuerunt superius et tercia inferius. Secundum scutum erat nigrum cum tribus gladijs de argento a singulis angulis pendentibus. Tercium scutum erat de azorio cum tribus tubis aureis. In tribus rosis rubijs primi scuti scripta erat "Vita." In gladijs secundi scuti scripta erat "Mors." In tubis tercij scuti scriptum erat "Iudicium." Contigit igitur quemdam philosophum venire illuc et petiuit ingressum, cui ianitor respondit quod lex castri erat sic statuta, quod nullus intraret nisi sciret illa scuta describere. Et philosophus respiciens erectis oculis ad scuta, et statim intellexit ipsorum interpretacionem. Et ait ianitori, "Vere, racionabiliter vocatur istud castrum Castrum Prudencie, et racionabiliter est lex posita castri, et ideo ut ego ualeam intrare, dico quod primum significat quod homo debet in uita sua tripliciter diligere Deum, scilicet, ex toto corde, tota mente, tota uirtute, et hoc ex mente pura, quod interpetatur per scutum argenteum et tribus rubeis | rosis, nam pu- 94r
ritas interpretatur in argento et in rubedine amor. Secundum signat mortem quam omnes sustinebimus. Triplex gladius signat triplex iudicium peccatoris, quia aut iudicabitur ad penam corporalem pro peccatis faciendam, aut penam purgatorij, aut penam eternam. Per hoc quod gladij sunt argentei, et scuta nigra signant quod mors diuidit a uita et detrudit in ingredientem mortis. Tercium scutum signat finale iudicium in quo sonabit triplex tuba. Prima sonabit "Surgite, mortui, venite ad iudicium." Secunda erit sentencia beatorum que sonabit "Venite, benedicti Patris mei," et cetera. Tercia erit omnibus terribilissima que sonabit aduersos reprobos, "Ite, maledicti, in ignem," et cetera. Et continuo subiunxit:

Splendor in hijs scutis monstrat documenta salutis.
Vita notata rosis breuis est et plena dolosis.

This *moralitas* is headed *De iudicio* in the manuscript.

1 Hermes Egipcius: Here the Castle of Prudence author seems to be referring to Hermes Trismegistus of the Hermetica, but I have not been able to determine what actual source he was using. On the knowledge of the Hermetica in the later Middle Ages, see L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science,* 8 vols. (London, 1923–58), 2:219 ff.

15 ex . . . virtute: Cf. Mc 12:30.

24 Venite . . . mei: Mt 25:34.

25 Ite . . . in ignem: Mt 25:41.

Mors datur a tergo tribus ensibus omnibus ergo.
Monstro tubis quale erit examen generale.

Moraliter. Istud castrum est celum, quam mansionem nullus intrabit nisi diligat Deum ex toto corde, et cetera, et impleat mandata sicut ipse rex huius castri precepit. Si uis ad uitam ingredi, serua mandata. Et eciam ut timeat triplicem tubam et gladium diuine vlcionis in reprobos. Et ad ista consideranda et implenda incitaret triplex scriptura in scutis predictis que est "Vita," "Mors," et "Iudicium." Vnde in istis vocabulis in Anglicana lingua sunt nouem littere, scilicet, tres in primo, tres in secundo et tres in tercio. Sic: "Lyf," "Ded," "Dom." Vnde tres littere cuiuslibet indicant proprietates rei intellecte. Per "L" notatur quod uita est "Litel"; per "I," "Yuel"; per "F," "Fykel." Vnde vita hec est "Litel," "Yuel," & "Fykyll." Quere confirmacionem pro membris diuisionis. Secundo mors est "Delyng," "Endyng," "Turnyng." Et tercio, iudicium finale erit "Derne," "Oppynly" & "Myghtfully," et cetera.

41 Delyng] dolyng MS 42 Turnyng] deyng MS Derne] dome MS

II

Oxford, Bodleian Library e Museo 180, fols. 177v–185v

The three operative manuscripts for this edition are Oxford, Bodleian Library e Museo 180; Lincoln, Cathedral Library 50; and Durham, University Library Cosin V.iv.3. They have respectively the sigla *O, L,* and *D* in the apparatus. All are written on paper by the same scribe in a hand dating probably to the late fifteenth century (his hand also appears in Gloucester, Cathedral Library 22, although that manuscript lacks the sermon edited here). Nothing is known about this scribe, other than the fact that he seems, on linguistic grounds, to have been writing a variety of Middle English whose orthography locates in southern Bedfordshire, towards the Buckinghamshire border. His multiplication of what is fundamentally the same vernacular *de tempore* sermon cycle suggests that he produced his manuscripts for retail.

Good men and women, ȝe schal vnderstonde that the Gospel of þis day makethe mencion what tyme that owre soveren Sauiowre Criste Ihesu went

1–19 Good . . . cryed] *lac. L* 1 Good . . . women] Ffrendys *D* 2 what] of the *D*

1 Good men and women: This is a common opening for many vernacular fifteenth-century sermons *ad populum,* and here indicates that the text's intended congregation comprised both sexes. (If, as seems likely, the sermon author's intended congregation was parochial, there are

withe his discipyls here on erthe in þis present lyfe, and came ny3e to the cite of Ierusalem in the cuntre of Bethfage, at the mownt of Olivete. Then Ihesus sent his tweyne discipyls and seyde to hem these wordis, "Ite in castellum quod contra vos est, et statim inuenietis asinam alligatam et pullum cum ea." Go 3e into the castel þat is a3enste 3ow and anon 3e schal fynde an asse tyed and a colt withe hyr. Vnbynde 3e them and bryng hem to me. And if eny man that seythe to 3ow enyþing, sey 3e that the Lord hathe nede to hem, and anon he schal leve hem. Truly al this was done that was seyde be the prophete seyng þus, "Dicite, filie Syon, ecce rex tuus venit tibi mansuetus, | sedens su- 178r
per asinam et pullum filium subiugalis." Sey 3e to the dow3ter of Syon, loo thi kyng commethe to the homly or mekely sittyng on an asse, and a foole the sonne of a beest vnder 3oke. Fforsothe the discipils went and dyd as Ihesus commawnded to hem, and they brow3t an asse and the foole and leyde there cloþis on hem, and made owre Sauiowre Ihesu to sitt above on hem. And so þer was moche other pepil that leyde ther cloþis in þe way, and some pepill dyd cutt braunchys of trees and strewyd in the wey. But the company that

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3 on] one *O* : in *D* and] *add.* so when he *D* 4 in] *add.* to *O* 5 his tweyne] ij of hys *D* 6 alligatam] alligatum *D* et[2]] *add.* pl *et canc. O* 7 anon] þer *D* 8 a colt] hyr foole *D* them] hyr *D* hem] hyr *D* 9 that seythe] sey ow3t *D* enyþing *om. D* to hem] to hyr *D* 9–10 anon . . . hem *om. D* 10 al *om. D* that was seyde *om. D* 11 Dicite] Discite *O* 13 homly] lovyngly *D* on] vp on *D* 14 of a] of *D* Fforsothe] þen *D* 15 to hem] þem to do *D* an] the *D* 16 on[1]] vp on *D* to *om. D* on[2]] vp on *D* 17 other *om. D* 17–18 and . . . wey *om. O* 18 company] pepyll *D*

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signs that it was possibly one of greater than average sophistication; see the earlier discussion on the pitch of the e Museo 180 text.) "Good men and women" is John Mirk's favourite opening throughout his *Festial,* at least some of which was destined for parish preaching in St. Alkmund's, Shrewsbury (T. Erbe, ed., *Mirk's Festial,* EETS, ES 96 [London, 1905], 1, 6, 11, 15, etc.; and see Fletcher, "John Mirk and the Lollards" [n. 2 above], 217–24). The words "makethe mencion" (line 2) also coincide with an opening sermon formula. Cf. John Wyclif's Latin usage at the start of some of his sermons: "Hoc evangelium facit mencionem . . ." (J. Loserth, ed., *Iohannis Wyclif Sermones,* 4 vols. [London, 1887–90], 1:9, line 4).

5–6 Ite . . . ea: Mt 21:2, part of the day's Gospel (Mt 21:1–9).

8–9 if eny man that seythe to 3ow enyþing: The ellipsis evident here has been avoided in the *D* reading. (The *L* text is wanting at this point.) The omitted item, if supplied, would at its simplest need to be the present subjunctive of the verb BE, whose subject would be "eny man." (This assumes that the presence of the word "that" is not an error. On the non-expression of the finite verb, see T. F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax,* Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique 23 [Helsinki, 1960], 510.)

11–12 Dicite . . . subiugalis: Mt 21:5.

17–18 and . . . wey: The reading, adopted here from *D,* lacks a direct object pronoun, but it is clear from the preceding clause (see Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax,* 144–45). The use of the auxiliary DO in an affirmative declarative sentence is rare at this date (see A. Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do* [Stockholm, 1953], 179 and 182).

went before and tho that sued behynde cryed and seyde, "Osanna filio David;
20 benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini." Þat is to sey, we pray the saue vs, þu
þat art þe sonne of Dauid. Blissed is he that commethe in þe name of the
Lorde, osanna in hyȝeste thyngis.

Moraliter. The moralle vnderstondyng of this Gospell after þe seyng of doc-
turs, where as Crist commawnded | tweyne of his discipils to go to þe seyde 178v
25 castell, is to vnderstonde that þis precius Lorde Criste Ihesu cam firste to
make man, and after that gafe to hym a law to govern hym by. Another tyme
he cam to by man what tyme that he cam and toke flessche and bloode of þe
glorius virgyn our Lady, and after that bowȝte man with his precius Pascion to
bryng al mankynde to þe castel of heven.

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19 sued] folowyd *D* seyde] *add.* þus *LD* 20 Þat . . . sey *om. D* we] I *O* 21 is] be *LD* 21–22 the Lorde] god *L* 22 osanna . . . thyngis *om. D* 23 Moraliter] *add.* So gostly to owre purpose *LD* The . . . Gospell] by this gospell I vnderstonde *D* 24 tweyne] ij *LD* 24–25 seyde castell] castell afore seyde *D* 25 to vnderstonde *om. D* Criste Ihesu] almyȝti god *O* 26 that] *add.* he *D* to hym] hym *D* Another] The secunde *D* 27 he cam to] crist cam for to *L* by man] make man free *D* that *om. O* þe] that *D* 28 Lady] *add.* Seynt Mary *LD* that] *add.* he *D* to] for to *D* 29 to] in to *D*

19–20 Osanna . . . Domini: Mt 21:9.

22 thyngis: The word is redundant. The translator has thought it necessary to supply the Latin adjective "excelsis" with an explicit noun for it to govern. Compare the similar treatment as "hiȝ thingis" in the Wycliffite translation (J. Forshall and F. Madden, eds. *The New Testament in English* [Oxford, 1879], 44, verse 9).

23 Opposite in left margin: "Moraliter."

23–29 The moralle . . . heven: I have not been able to identify the source of this exegesis. Since the author refers to it as the "seyng of docturs" (23–24), it would appear to exist somewhere in an *auctoritas.* (It also happens that the "processe" of an unrelated sermon for the second Sunday of Advent in London, British Library Royal 18 B.xxiii has practically identical contents; see W. O. Ross, ed., *Middle English Sermons,* EETS, OS 209 [London, 1940], 314, lines 16–20.) It is not to be found in either the *Catena aurea* or the *Glossa ordinaria.* Since it is composed of three main distinctions, it resembles many of the entries found in collections of *distinctiones.* One of these might provide a source, though again I have not located it in any of the more influential *distinctio* collections (such as Thomas of Ireland's *Manipulus florum* or the works of Nicholas Gorran and Nicholas Biard). Equally, however, the exegesis may derive from one of the fourteenth-century alphabetical compendia (themselves the direct descendants of the earlier *distinctio* collections) designed specifically for preachers. For a basic corpus of thirteenth-century English material, see A. Wilmart, "Un répertoire d'exégèse composé en Angleterre vers le début du XIIIe siècle," *Mémorial Lagrange* (Paris, 1940), 307–46; and for a general discussion of the *distinctio* genre, see R. H. and M. A. Rouse, "Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 49 (1974): 27–37. See also H. G. Pfander, "The Mediaeval Friars and some Alphabetical Reference Books for Sermons," *Medium Ævum* 3 (1934): 19–29.

30 Ensampil of this castel we have in *Gestis Romanorum,* that þer was in the olde tyme a castell þat was calde "Castrum Sapiencie," the Castell of Wisdom, and in the entryng of this castell there was deput iij scheldis. The firste schelde was of siluer withe iij rosys as it had ben gooldis, and in þe firste rose was wreton "Litil," in the secunde rose was wreton "Ivyll," and in the therd
35 rose was wreton "Ffekyll." The secunde schelde was of sabyll withe iij swordis of siluer, and | vpon the firste sworde was wreton "Partyng," and in 179r
þe secunde, "Endyng," and in þe þerde, "Turnyng." The therde schelde was of asure withe thre trompis of golde; and vpon þe firste trompe was wreton "Spedfull," and on þe secunde, "Dredefull," and vpon þe therde, "Medefull."
40 So the law was ordend at þat tyme that ther scholde no man enter into this castell, but if case were that he kowde discerne and construw the cawse and the intent whi they were so sett and so portrude. And at the firste there cam to þis castel a rial and a notabyll clerke, and he sadly and discretely vnderstode be his discrescion and notabil connyng, þat þere was direct in these scheldis
45 aforeseyde grete lurnyng of sowle-hele. And þen he wrote over the ȝatis þese ij versis:

Splendet in hiis scutis tibi gens doctrina salutis;
Hec tria scuta sciet quisquis celicola fiet.

30–56 Ensampil . . . heven *om. D* 33 of] on *L* 34 Litil] *add.* And *L* 36 the *om. L* 36–37 in þe secunde] on þe secunde sworde was wreton *L* 37 in þe þerde] on þe þerde swerde was wreton *L* 38 þe firste] every *O* 39 and[1] *om. O* secunde] *add.* tromppe was wreton *L* therde] *add.* tromppe was wreton *L* 42 they] þat þese scheldys *L* 45 hele] helthe *L*

30–59 Ensampil . . . ende: A stylistic change in the prose of this passage is registered in its increased use of two specific syntactic features. The existential "there" construction (Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax,* 337) appears five times within a short space, at lines 30, 32, 41, 42, and 44. Doublets are also prominent, particularly at lines 55–59. The doublets help impart a rhythm to the prose, while existential "there" allows the postponement of the subject to a final emphatic position in the prose unit. Such devices are appropriate to the language of the storyteller.

31 Opposite in left margin: "Castrum Sapiencie."

32 Opposite in left margin: ".1." None of the recorded Middle English senses of the word "deput" will do here. The context requires a word with a sense similar to "painted." Possibly the word is in some way a corruption of "depeinte," used often in the sense of emblazoning arms (see *MED,* "depeinten"), and this sense is the one particularly appropriate for "deput" here and throughout the sermon. The word also appears at line 82.

33 it: The singular pronoun presumably has a plural antecedent, "rosys."

34 Opposite in left margin: ".2." and ".3."

47–48 Splendet . . . fiet: For these lines the Arundel Holcot reads simply "Splendor in hiis scutis monstrat documenta salutis" (I.27). See also V.76. The second line of the sermon, if in fact intended as a dactylic hexameter, does not scan properly.

In these scuchyns þat schynythe | so bryȝt 179v
50 There is doctrine to the pepyll of gostly well.
These thre muste he con aryȝt
That in heven desyrethe for to dwell.

And after þis he wrote versisover [every] schelde conteynyng the mater in þe schelde, as ȝe schall here more pleynlyer in the explanacion.

55 Moraliter. Gostly to owre purpose, be this castell is vnderstonde þe kyngdome of heven, the whiche is a suer castell and a perfite plesaunt abidyng, for ther is all maner of welthe and ioye, ever lyȝte and never nyȝte, and more gretter murþe and ioye then hert can þinke or mowþe can speke, ever duryng worlde withe owten ende. Now frendys, I can þinke that ȝe wolde feyne enter
60 into this castell, þat is to sey, the passyng ioyes of heven. But as Galfridus Anglicus, in *Nova poetria* seythe, "Sunt alij qui scire volunt sed non operari." There bythe moche pepyll that wolde feyne haue heven but they | kepe not ne 180r
they wyll not labor therfore. So we rede in holy Scripture of þe pepil of Israell, when they herd of the plentowse contre of the londe of promyscion,
65 ffeyne they wolde haue ben þere. But when þei herde of the grete bateyle þat þei scholde haue or they cam theder, þen þei were passyng wery of there iurney and repentid them sore of there grete labor. So in like wise moche pepill of the worlde wil not remember themselfe, how þei haue grete labor and grete

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50 well] helthe *L* 51 he] be *L* 53 every] overy *O* 54 schelde] scheldys *L* 54–55 in . . . Moraliter] aftyrwarde So *L* 57 all] *add.* of Ioye *et canc. O* of *om. L* and[1]] *add.* all maner of *D* and more] more *O* 58 ever] evermore *D* 59 Now] But *L* 60 þat . . . heven *om. L* the passyng] in to the *D* 62 moche pepyll] many *L* wolde feyne] feyne wolde *D* 62–63 kepe not ne they *om. LD* 66 þen *om. D* 67 sore *om. D* wise] *add.* þere is *D* 68 worlde] *add.* wolde feyne haue heven but þei *L* : *add.* þat *D* and grete] and *O*

49–52 In . . . dwell: These lines, like all other pieces of verse throughout the manuscript, are written as prose. They were probably noticed to be verse by the scribe, however, since he has separated each line by putting an oblique red dash at the end of it. The verses eluded C. Brown and R. H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), and R. H. Robbins and J. L. Cutler, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington, Ky., 1965).

55 Opposite in left margin: "Moraliter."

61 Sunt . . . operari: This line is taken from the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf (P. Leyser, *Historia poetarum et poematum medii aevi* [Halle, 1721], 273.2020). The sermon text is slightly corrupt; "alii" reads "aliqui" in Geoffrey. It is interesting to observe elsewhere how Geoffrey's works might find their way into the fifteenth-century clerical miscellany. One such example is contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 832, a paper production from the second half of the fifteenth century, which was owned by a parish chaplain and which contains excerpts of the *Poetria nova*.

63–67 So . . . labor: The lines refer to the accounts of Numbers 14:1–4.

disese in this worlde, and how they schall procede and passe owte of this
70 worlde, ne they wot never how sone, whether to peyne or to ioye. And
therfore seythe the Apostil Paule in þe Pistill of this day, "Scientes tempus
quia hora est iam nos de sompno surgere." We know this tyme that the owre
now is come that we owȝte to rise fro slepe. Þat is to sey, now þe tyme is com
þat we scholde | ryse owte of synne and slepe no lengar þerin. But as fast as 180v
75 we may, wake into vertues lyvyng becawse of the commyng of Criste. As
who seythe, þe tyme of his Natiuite. "Nunc enim propior est nostra salus
quam cum credidimus." Ffor now owre helthe is nere. That is to sey, the tyme
is commyng þat Criste wolde be borne for mans redempcion. Therfore, and ȝe
purpose to enter into this castell aforeseyde, þat is to sey, into the perpetuall
80 ioye, þe kyngdome of heven, then muste ȝe haue ever in ȝowre remembraunce
these iij scheldys aforeseyde. The firste is the schelde of mans lyfe, the
whiche was deput withe roses. The secunde is the schelde of dethe þat was
peynted withe iij swordes. And þe therde is the schelde of the dredeful day of
dome, þe whiche was figurde be þe tromppis. The ffirst I sey is þe schelde of
85 mans lyfe, and over þat scheld withe roses þis clerke aforeseyde wrote these
versis,

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70 whether] ne wheder *L* : other *D* or] *add.* els *D* 71 day] *add.* þus *LD* tempus *om. OLD* 72–73 We . . . come] knowe ȝe þat þe owre is now comyn *D* 73 now . . . com] þe tyme *L* : þe tyme is commyng *D* 74 scholde] owȝte to *L* owte of] from *L* 75 we] *add.* make *et canc. O* 76 his] cristis *D* propior *om. D* 77 quam cum credidimus *om. OL* Ffor] fforsothe *D* nere] nyȝe *L* 79 to enter] for to enter *LD* this] þe *D* into[2]] to *O* 80 ioye] Ioyes of *D* ever] evermore *LD* 81–94 these . . . indurythe] the departyng owte of þis worlde *D* 84 The *om. O* þe schelde of *om. O* 85 lyfe] *add.* withe rosys *L* withe roses *om. L* 85–86 these versis] þis verse *L*

71–72 Scientes . . . surgere: Rom 13:11, part of the day's Epistle (Rom 13:11–14). None of the Vulgate variants on this text in P. Sabatier, ed. *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1751), omits "tempus," as do all the manuscripts here. Since its presence is also implied in the vernacular paraphrase, it has been inserted. (Where possible, Vulgate variants in the *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem* [Rome, 1926–] have been consulted.)

73–75 Þat . . . Criste: This tropological interpretation compares with the gloss of Haimo in the *Glossa ordinaria* (see *Biblia sacra cum Glossa ordinaria,* 6 vols. [Antwerp, 1617], 6:117): "Dicit ergo omnibus credentibus: Hoc scientes simus, quia tempus est nos de somno pigritiae et desidiae surgere: de somno quoque infidelitatis, vitiorum atque ignorantiae. Ille surgit, qui iacebat: et si nos hactenus iacuimus in vitiis, et torpore vitiorum, surgamus ad bona opera agenda, et laboremus viriliter studioseque."

76–77 Nunc . . . credidimus: Rom 13:11.

81 Opposite in left margin: ".1."

82 Opposite in left margin: ".2."

83 Opposite in left margin: ".3."

86 Opposite in left margin: "versus."

Vita qua | vivis, lex mortis, iudicij vis; 181r
Vita notata rosis brevis est, mala, plena dolosis.

Thy lyfe it is a law of dethe,
90 A strengþe of dome the to begyle;
Ffygurde be these rosis redd
It is full ivill and lastythe but a whyle.

That mans lyfe is a law of detheit may well be prevyd, and litil tyme indurythe. Ffor like as ȝe see þat temporall law desisiþe and termynethe debatis
95 and stryvis and ȝeldythe every man his owne, so in like wyse dethe endythe all thyngis betwene the body and þe sowle. Þerfore whyle þu haste space to amende þi lyfe, it is grete wisdome for þe to cast awey the derke and mystye spottis of synne, and grownde the in grace of good lyvyng. Ffor as ȝe see that

87 Vita . . . vis *om. L* 94 temporall *om. O* desisiþe and *om. LD* termynethe] determynythe and endythe *L* 95 stryvis] *add.* bytwene one man and a noþer *L* and[2]] *add.* so *D* in like wyse] dothe *O* dethe] *add.* in like wise *O* : when dethe commythe he *D* endythe] determynythe and endythe *L* 96 Þerfore] And therfore *D* haste] *add.* tyme and *D* space] *add.* here *L* 97 lyfe] *add.* for *D* for þe] and *LD* 98 in] *add.* vertu and *L* : *add.* þe *D* Ffor] *add.* lyke *D*

87–88 Vita qua . . . dolosis": Cf. V.77–78. For these lines the Arundel Holcot reads simply "Vita notata rosis breuis est et plena dolosis" (I.28).

90 strengþe of dome: The Latin is adequately translated in this rendering, but the significance of the phrase remains unclear.

93 prevyd: The use of the word is interesting, suggesting as it does a scholastic turn of mind for which the necessity of proof texts was axiomatic.

96–97 whyle . . . lyfe: This is the first instance of a change from the plural personal pronoun to the singular in this sermon. The second part of the sermon favours the use of the singular. The usage may be a stylistic device, a "deictic" usage to impress the sermon's message more immediately upon the individual members of a congregation. Many contemporary sermons make use of this singular/plural alternation; and this feature also appears, for example, in the Signs of Death lyric of John Bromyard's *Summa predicantium* (A. J. Fletcher, "A Death Lyric from the *Summa Predicantium,* MS. Oriel College 10," *Notes and Queries,* n.s., 24 [1977]: 11–12). However, a further feature is also to be noted in that singular and plural may be brought together within the same prose unit. The "ȝe . . . thi" alternation in lines 98–101 may be an example of this, although it is conceivable (if perhaps unlikely) that "ȝe" may be an instance of the "polite plural" usage and bear a singular number (Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax,* 126–28). Nevertheless, in line 194, "frendys . . . remember þiselfe," the usage is unmistakable.

97–98 Alliteration is prominent in these lines (cf. also lines 133–34). It is used as an ornament for local effect in the sermons of e Museo 180, but never in any sustained way. Sermons existed whose prose was by contrast consistently alliterative over long passages (e.g., excerpts of the sermons in London, British Library Additional 41321 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. C. 751, manuscripts which to a large extent contain overlapping collections (ed. G. Cigman, *Lollard Sermons,* EETS, OS 294 [Oxford, 1989]). But amongst the corpus of fifteenth-century Middle English sermon manuscripts, few contain sermons quite so extensively comparable.

a rose florisschythe more and is more fresscher when the lyȝt of the day is
100 comen and þe nyȝt before `is´ past, so on the same maner wyse when þe
derkenes of synne is past, þen almyȝti God ȝevithe lyȝte into thi sowle, and so
cawsithe | a vertues man or woman to increce more and more in vertu and 181v
grace of good lyvyng. And so berithe witnesse þe Apostill Paule in the Pistill
of this day, "Nox precessit, dies autem appropinquauit." The nyȝte went
105 before but the day hathe nyȝhede. "Abiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum." Ther-
fore, seythe the Apostill, caste we awey þe werkis of derkenesse. "Et indua-
mur arma lucis." And be we clothed withe the armor of lyȝte. Ffor mans lyfe
may well be likened be roses in iij degreis. Ffirste there is a bud in þe whiche
the rose is closed in. And after owte of this bud spryngethe a feyre rose, a
110 swete and a delicius, and sone after withe wyndes and weders the levis
fadythe and fallythe to þe grownde, and so turnethe to erthe. So gostly, in
every man and woman of the worlde there bythe iij ages. The firste age is

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99 more and is] and is more and *L* : *add.* and more and is *D* 100 comen] come *L* : commyng *D* before `is´ *om. D* 101 thi sowle] ȝowre sowlys *D* so] þat *O* 102 increce] be incresyd *D* more and more *om. LD* in] wythe *D* 103 so] þat *D* witnesse *om. D* 104 day] *add.* and seyþe þus *L* : *add.* and seiþe *D* precessit] precedit *D* appropinquavit] appropinquabit *D* 105 but] and *L* Abiciamus] Abiciamur *D* 105–6 Therfore . . . Apostill *om. LD* 107 we *om. O* Ffor mans lyfe] ffor þi lyfe *O* : Mans lyffe *L* : ffor the lyffe of man *D* 108 likened be] fygurde by *L* : lykened vn to *D* in[1]] ffor I conceyve in a rose *D* in[2] *om. D* 109 rose is] rosis ben *L* in And] and *D* owte of *om. O* bud] *add.* in þe whiche the Rose is *O* 111 fadythe and fallythe] fallythe and fadythe *O* fallythe] *add.* awey *L* gostly] in lyke wyse þere is *L* : *om. D* 112 the] this *D* there bythe *om. L* iij] *add.* degres of *L* age *om. LD*

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104 Nox . . . appropinquauit: Rom 13:12.

107–23 Ffor . . . abidyng: The text here is printed from the *L* manuscript by G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1961), 534. The theme of man's life as a flower is ultimately a biblical topos, figuring particularly in the sapiential books of the Old Testament. The simile was widely used and developed in religious literature, as in Richard Rolle's early work on Job: "Flos speciosus est in estate sed postea marcescit, et qui primo placidus erat oculis intuencium, subito redigitur in pulverem, et conteritur in nullum. Sic florescit homo in annis iuvenilibus, et transacto lacune tempore, cum iam senescere incipit, velut flos egrediens in mortem cadit" (Oxford, Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 528, fol. 61r). The simile finds a natural place in this Advent sermon in helping to convey the message of the impermanence of life and its inevitable ending, a message liturgically expected at this time of the year, and which, when eloquently expressed, may help to wean affections from created things to things uncreated. On the tradition of the graphic contemplation of the signs of Old Age, see R. Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), 102–3; and for the use of such material in a sermon context, see A. J. Fletcher, "Death Lyrics from Two Fifteenth-Century Sermon Manuscripts," *Notes and Queries,* n.s., 23 (1976): 341–42.

111 Opposite in left margin: "Moraliter."

112 The firste age: Opposite this line in the left margin is written "Primum principale." The

childhode, in þe whiche the flowris of manhod and womanhode ben closed in. Ffor ther is no man can | tell what schall falle of a childe in tyme commyng, 182r
115 whethere he schall be riche or pore, good or bad, wyse or vnwyse, riche or recheles. Ffor his flowris schall spryng, increce and growe after governaunce. And after þis commethe ȝowthe; then hathe he or sche lyȝtnes, swiftnes, wantonnes and many other ornamentis of kynde. But þen at the laste commethe age; then schrynkethe his flessche, then fadythe his colowre. His bonys be
120 very sore, his lymmys wexythe febyll, his yeesyȝte felythe and wexithe very dyme, his bake begynnythe to bow and croke downwarde to the erthe þat he cam of. Then his flowris declynethe and fallythe awey to þe grownde. And so man hathe none abidyng. Therfore seythe the Apostill Paule in þe Pistill of this day, "Sicut in die honeste ambulemus." As in a day walke we honestly.
125 As who seythe, the tyme of owre | beyng here, dispose vs honestly in þe mo- 182v
ste vertues wyse to the plesure of God. Ffor þe dayes of owre beyng here ben full ivyll. "Dies mali sunt." And when þu schalt passe owte of this worlde, þu schalt not take all thy wordly gooddys withe the. "Homo cum inter`i´erit non

113 flowris] flowre *O* and] or *D* womanhode] woman *D* ben] is *O* in[2]] there in *D* 114 man] *add.* þat *LD* 115–16 riche or recheles *om. L* 116 Ffor] *add.* as *D* schall spryng] ben spryngyng so schall he *D* 117 þis] childhod *D* ȝowthe] *add.* and *LD* 118 þen *om. LD* 119 age] *add.* and *LD* colowre] *add.* And *D* 120 very[1] *om. LD* sore] *add.* and *D* 120–21 his[2] . . . dyme *om. L* 120 felythe] *add.* hym *D* 120–21 wexithe very dyme *om. D* 121 to[1]] for to *L* 121 bow *om. L* and] or *O* : *om. L* : *add.* to *D* 122 of] *add.* And *LD* his] *add.* feyre *L* awey] *add.* and so fallythe *O* 123 none] no sure *L* abidyng] *add.* here and *L* : *add.* and *D* 124 day] *add.* thus *L* 125 here] lete us *D* honestly *om. D* 128 take *om. L* all *om. D* thy] maner of *O* : *add.* ri *et canc. L* wordly] *add.* riches and þi *L* inter`i´erit] interieret *D*

second and third *principale* divisions are found in the manuscript in the margins approximately opposite the words of lines 142 and 170 respectively. Originally, the *principale* divisions were more strictly applied to the primary divisions of the theme before they were themselves subdivided (on this, the "University," or more appropriately, "modern" mode of preaching, see H. G. Pfander, *The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England* (New York, 1937), 17, 45–66; and especially Spencer, *English Preaching* (n. 7 above), 228–68. By the fifteenth century, *principale* divisions were being used to denote any multiple divisions of material, whether these occurred in a sermon with a strict "modern" structure or not.

118 ornamentis: The first two qualities mentioned here, "lyȝtnes" and "swiftnes," are at least morally neutral; the third, "wantonnes," never appears to have had other than morally dubious overtones. The sermon author would hardly describe "wantonnes" as an "ornament" unless he were being ironic, and this is not likely here. Consequently, the word "ornamentis" might best be glossed as "attributes" to cover all three qualities.

124 Sicut . . . ambulemus: Rom 13:13.

127 Dies mali sunt: Eph 5:16.

sumet omnia." And þe prophete seythe, he schall haue somwhat withe hym
130 and þat is but smalle. Ffirste he schall have vij foote of erthe to ley his body in
and a wyndyng schete. Thus þis maner of remembraunce of owre synfull
lyvyng, and also of owre litil abidyng here, and also the ivill `s´pendyng of
owre tyme in þis present lyfe, and then we so fekill and so feynt in feythe and
so freyle and so fals in owre lyvyng. All thys scholde cawse vs to vnbynde
135 owre sowlis from synne. And so scholde it be vntyed frome the devyll, and
then browȝte into the castell of heven. But in conclucion, of oure lyvyng here
Iob seythe, "Homo natus | de muliere breui viuens tempore," pro primo; "Re- 183r
pletur multis miseriis," pro secundo; "Qui quasi flos egreditur et conteritur,"
pro tercio. A man is borne of a woman, lyvyng but a schorte tyme, ffor þe
140 firste, and he is fyllyd withe moche miseri and wrechidnes, ffor þe secunde,
and we schall passe as a flowre and not long tyme indure here, ffor the therde.

The secunde schelde þat I spake of I seyde was þe schelde of dethe, the whiche was figurde be the swordes, and over that schelde þis forseyde clerke wrote this verse:

145 Mors habet excerto tria: Diuido, termino, verto.

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129 þe *om. O* 130 in] there in *O* 131 and] *add.* ȝit he schall have *D* Thus *om. L* 132 and[1]] *add.* as *et canc. O* also[1] *om. L* also[2] *om. L* 133 owre *om. O* fekill] synfull *D* and[3] *om. D* 135 so . . . vntyed *om. L* : also *D* 136 then] be *L* : so *D* into] vn to *L* 140 and he is fyllyd] it is here fulfylled *O* 141 we schall passe *om. D* we] he *L* passe] *add.* awey *L* flowre] *add.* fadythe and fallythe awey *D* indure here] indurythe *D* 142–46 The . . . new *om. D* 142 schelde *om. L*

128–29 Homo . . . omnia: Ps 48:18. The Vulgate has "quoniam," not "homo." This might be a conscious or unconscious alteration of the Latin to give the clause an independent status; as such it fits the context of the delivery better. The psalm is used again at lines 152–53.

131–34 Thus . . . lyvyng: A textual corruption may account for the anacoluthia of these lines, but they might equally be reflecting the ellipsis common to speech patterns. The appearance of disjunctive rather than discursive syntax in speech is widely noted; see, for example, B. M. H. Strang, *A History of English* (London, 1970), 66–67.

137–38 Homo . . . conteritur: Job 14:1–2. These lines are often repeated in the sermons of the period and would have been widely familiar from their appearance in the fifth lection of the second Nocturn of the Office of the Dead (see *Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum,* ed. F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, 3 vols. [Cambridge, 1879–86], 2:276–77; and *The Hereford Breviary,* ed. W. H. Frere and L. E. G. Brown, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society 26 and 40, [London, 1904–10], 2:44).

140 and he is fyllyd: Emendation of the *O* text here ("it is here fulfylled") makes better sense, but it is conceivable that the *O* reading was the one taken from the exemplar.

142 Opposite in left margin: "Secundum principale."

145 Mors . . . verto: Cf. V.79. The Arundel Holcot reads "Mors datur a tergo tribus ensibus omnibus ergo" (I.29).

"I parte," seythe Dethe, "I ende, I turne all new." What trowiste þu that Dethe departiþe when he commethe? Ffirste he departiþe every man and woman frome all there good frendys in þis worlde, and he bryngethe mans lyfe to an ende and turnethe þe sowle from þe body. And þen departythe the body to þe
150 erthe þat he cam of, | and the gooddis to the worlde, and þe soule to the wey 183v
of everlastyng dampnacion or els into the wey of everlastyng salvacion. As David seythe, "Relinquent alienis diuicias suas et sepulcra eorum et domus illorum in eternum." They schall leve þer riches behynde them and there grave schall be þer howse witheowten ende. Therfore resist all maner of synne
155 that commethe of þe flessche whyle þu art alyve, and not to haue a delyte in metis and drynkis and long liyng in beddis. Ffor so commawndythe þe Apostill Paule in the Pistill and seythe, "Non in comessacionibus et ebrietatibus, non in cubilibus et inpudicicijs, non in contencione et emulacione." Þat is to sey, not in superflue of festis and dronkennessis, not in beddis and unchasti-
160 teis, not in strife and in envy, "Sed induimini Dominum Ihesum Cristum," but be ȝe clothed in the Lorde Ihesu Criste, as who seythe, be ȝe indued withe mekenes and perfit lufe and charite, withe the remembraunce of dethe at the

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146 ende] *add.* and *L* 147 every] bothe *D* 148 all *om. O* there] his *D* good *om. O* þis *om. L* 150 to[2]] in to *LD* 152 David] *add.* þe prophet *L* alienis] alieni`a´s *D* divicias *om. D* 154 howse] *add.* worlde *L* resist] *add.* þu *L* synne] *add.* from þe *L* 155 flessche] fowle flessche *L* 156 metis . . . and[2] *om. O* metis] delycate metis *D* þe] *add.* holy *L* 157 seythe] *add.* þus *LD* et *om. O* : *add.* in *D* 158 contencione] conntenttentacione *O* : contempcione *D* 159 superflue] superfluens *LD* dronkennessis] of dronkennessys *D* 160 induimini] induemini *OL* : induamini *D* 161 and[1]] *add.* in *D* at] and *LD*

147–51 Ffirst . . . . salvacion: The motif here of the three effects of Death is loosely comparable to the motif of Death's three strokes in Lincoln 133 (III.98–102), Hatton 96 (IV.63–81), and Trinity 75 (V.34–39).

152–53 Relinquent . . . eternum: Ps 48:11–12. The Vulgate variants do not record an "et" between "eorum" and "domus."

155 not to have a delyte in: This infinitive construction has an imperative force. Possibly the preceding and regular imperative construction sets a semantic "tone" which an infinitive may be capable of bearing (cf. the modern construction "Not to worry.") Conversely, the use of an infinitive as an imperative is found widely in Middle, as in modern, French, and perhaps the type of construction used here has originally been suggested by French precedent. (The use of the infinitive as an imperative has not been recorded by Mustanoja, *Middle English Syntax.*)

157–58 Non . . . emulacione: Rom 13:13.

159 superflue: The variant in *LD*, "superfluens," gives the earliest example of the word with this spelling as yet recorded (see *OED*, "Superfluence"; first cited ca. 1530).

160 Sed . . . Cristum: Rom 13:14. The form normally found among the Vulgate variants is "induimini," and the text has been emended accordingly. The *OL* readings "induemini," the second-person plural future indicative passive of "induo," make no sense.

departyng owte of þis worlde. | And so schalt þu fynde occasions and cawse 184r
to ryse owte of synne into þe state `of´ vertu and grace, by þe whiche þu
165 schalt haue þe more grace and help of God at thi departyng to passe and pro-
cede into the castell of heven, of þe whiche spekythe Criste in þe Gospell of
Iohn seyyng thus, "Hec est vita eterna vt cognoscant te verum Deum et quem
misisti, Ihesum Cristum." That is to sey, this is þe lyfe that ever schall last
that they know þe very God in Trinite and whome þu sendist, Ihesu Criste.
170 The therde schelde that ȝe schall haue in mynde is the schelde of the dred-
full day of dome as I seyde was figurde be þe trompis. And over this schelde
þis forseyde clerk wrote this verse:

Monstrant tube qualis iudex veniet generalis.

The trompis schewe the how and what wise þu schalt come to þe dome. It
175 schall be passyng spedefull, ffor all schall come to the dome þe whiche toke
cristendome. As the holy Apostill Paule rehersiþe and seythe, "Canet enim
tuba et mortui | resurgent incorrupti." All tho that toke þe sacrament of bap- 184v
tym schall ryse aȝene in þe lickenes as they were in þe firste begynnyng. But
it schall be passyng dredfull, ffor to all soche as at that tyme stondythe in þe
180 wey of dampnacion, almyȝti God schal sey þese wordys, "Discedite a me
maledicti in ignem eternum qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius." That is

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163 departyng] peynefull departyng *L* worlde] present lyffe *LD* 164 to] for to *D* synne] *add.* up *L* state] *add.* and *et canc. O* and grace *om. D* 165 grace and *om. L* to] when þu schalte *L* : And so for to *D* 165–66 procede] to procede *O* 166 into] to *L* 166–67 of Iohn] of Seint Iohn *L* : *om. D* 170–93 The . . . hell *om. D* 170 in] in ȝour *L* 171 this] þat *L* 172 forseyde *om. L* 174 The] þese *L* wise] wyse that *L* dome] dome and *L* 175 all] all tho *L* þe whiche] þat *L* 176 Canet] canit *OL* 177 incorrupti] primi *OL* 178 lickenes] same lykenes *L* were in] were at *L* 179 soche] tho *L*

167–68 Hec . . . Cristum: Jo 17:3. The Vulgate readings normally have "solum verum" or "unum (et) verum" for the simple "verum" recorded here, but the text is not emended.

170 Opposite in left margin: "Tercium principale."

173 Monstrant . . . generalis: Cf. V.80. The Arundel Holcot reads "Monstro tubis quale erit examen generale" (I.30). The line of the sermon, if in fact intended as a dactylic hexameter, does not scan properly.

176–77 Canet . . . incorrupti: 1 Cor 15:52. No Vulgate readings have the form "canit" which appears in *OL* (*D* omits the text of this section). Since the future tense is more apt, it has been inserted. Also, since the form "primi" makes less sense than the recorded Vulgate form "incorrupti," it has likewise been emended.

180–81 Discedite . . . eius: Mt 25:41. Excerpts of the same chapter and verse are used subsequently at lines 186, 188, 189, and 191. This interchange between Christ as *iudex mundi* and the souls of men in lines 178–93, here dramatically conceived in direct speech, is a favourite

to sey, "Go hens awey fro me cursed pepyll into the endlesse fyre of hell, the whiche is ordend to the devyll and to all his aungels." Þen if case be þat þu myȝtiste sey vnto almyȝti God thus, "Now good Lorde, syn it is so þat þu
185 commawndiste vs to go fro the, suffer vs nyȝe the," þen seythe þe good Lorde as I seyde, " Discedite a me," "Go ȝe awey fro me." "Now good Lorde, syn þu wilt not suffer vs ny the, ȝit grawnt vs þi blissyng." He seythe aȝene, "Maledicti," "ȝe schall departe fro me acursid." "Now good Lorde, graunte us a comfortabyll place to abyde in." He schal | sey aȝene, "In ignem eternum," 185r
190 "Into everlastyng fyre of hell." "Now good Lord, grawnte vs þat owre peynes may have a schorte tyme." He schall sey aȝene vnto hem, "In eternum," "everlastyng." "Now good Lorde, grawnt vs good compeny and good felischip." He schall sey aȝene, "ȝe schall have non oþer but all the devyls in hell."

Now frendys, for the grete mercy of owre Lorde, remember þiselfe þu þat
195 art a synner, ffor now þu mayste vnbynde þi sowle frome synne and haue the mercy of God. But when þe naturall lyfe is past frome the body, þen schall the ryȝtwisnes of God procede and no mercy. And therfore seythe Criste in þe Gospell of this day, "Soluite et adducite michi." "Breke atwo the halter of synne, aske mercy and þu schalt come to me."

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182 ȝe cursed pepyll] acursid *L* endlesse *om. L* hell] *add.* everlastyng *L* 183 all *om. L* 184 almyȝti *om. L* 185–86 þen . . . seyde] he schal sey aȝene *L* 186 awey *om. L* 187 ȝit *om. O* seythe] schall sey *L* 188 Maledicti *om. O* ȝe schall departe] departe ȝe *L* me *om. O* 189 eternum *om. L* 190 everlastyng] þe *L* 191 tyme] ende *L* vnto] to *L* hem] hem þus *L* In *om. L* 193 He] þe good lorde *L* aȝene *om. L* all . . . hell] þe devil and all his aungells *L* 194 owre Lorde] god *LD* þiselfe] ȝowre selffe and *L* 195 ffor *om. L* the] *add.* grete *L* 198 Breke] *add.* ȝe *LD* 199 þu] `þen´ ȝe *D* schalt] schall *D*

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preaching theme, as not only the sermons edited here testify. A sermon for the tenth Sunday after Trinity in Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 95, fol. 73v, for example, employs a similar interchange. The usefulness of the Latin text "Discedite a me" to the medieval preacher is seen again in the first complete sermon of Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. C. 751, where individual parts of this chapter of Matthew become, metaphorically, the seven knots of the scourge of the Last Judgement; see Cigman, ed., *Lollard Sermons,* 207–40. It may also be noted that the Doom dialogues were a favourite element in the Judgement scenes of medieval drama. They are eloquently treated in the York play of the Mercers (ed. R. Beadle, *York Plays* [London, 1982], 406–15). Examples are also found in the Chester play of the Judgement (ed. R. M. Lumiansky and D. Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle,* EETS, SS 3 [London, 1974], 1:438–65), and the Towneley Judgement (ed. M. Stevens and A. C. Cawley, *The Towneley Plays,* 2 vols., EETS, SS 13 and 14 [Oxford, 1994], 1:401–25). The dialogues of these sermons, however, are somewhat different in that they take place *after* the damned have accepted their doom, and are seeking for some mitigation of hell torment. The rhetorical balance of question with its uncompromising answer points up the grim finality of their sentence.

198 Soluite . . . michi: Mt 21:2.

200 The therde I seyde it schall be passyng medefull. Þat is, to all tho þat schall stonde in þe wey of saluacion almyȝti God schall sey, "Venite benedicti Patris mei." Come ȝe blissed | childern of my Fader to everlastyng blisse. And then 185v may I sey as it is in þe Gospell, "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini." Blissed be he that commethe in þe name of God. As who seythe, blissed be he 205 þat governethe hym so that he may come to þat ioye and blisse þat almyȝti God bowȝt vs to. To the whiche, et cetera.

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200 The . . . is] And *D* to] *add.* sey *L* all tho] hem *O* 202 blissed childern] childerne blessyd *L* : blessyd *D* to everlastyng blisse *om. D* to] in to *L* blisse] Ioye and blys *L* 202–6 And . . . vs to *om. L* 203 it is] I seyde *D* 204 be] is *D* 205 þat[1]] þe *D* cetera] *add.* Amen *D*

201–2 Venite . . . mei: Mt 25:34.

203 Benedictus . . . Domini: Mt 21:9.

206 To the whiche et cetera: This is a cue to the preacher to supply the remainder of the ending, probably the same as that written at the bottom of fol. 139v in this manuscript: "To the whiche Ioye god bryng bothe ȝow and me that dyed for us on þe Rode tre Amen." Sermon endings were frequently rhymed, and some, as the one here, were widely current. Compare, for example, Oxford, University College 28, fol. 90ra, "to yis kyngdom blissed ihesu bryng ȝow and me ye quilk dyed for us on ye rode tre"; and again, in a slightly different form in Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 750, fol. 86v, "to þat ioyȝe bryngē ȝow he þat with his blod bowt vus on þe rode tre"; or again, in London, British Library Harley 2383, fol. 81v, "to þe wyche Ihesu bryng bothe yow and me þat dyyd for us on þe Rode tree."

III

Lincoln Cathedral Library 133, fols. 98r–101r

Lincoln, Cathedral Library 133 is written on paper, and much of it may have been copied over a period of time. On the face of it, its theological and pastoral content might suggest that it was owned by a parish priest; the more remarkable truth, however, is that it appears to have been copied by Giles Wright, a draper, for his personal use. On fol. 46r appears the note indicating his ownership, "Iste liber constat Egidio Wryȝt," written almost certainly in the hand which copied the first major item in the manuscript on fols. 8–46, and perhaps much more of the manuscript subsequently. He appears again in a will on fol. 47v as "Egidius Wryght de Flixton." This information, together with a date recorded in a *probacio testamenti* on fol. 50r, "quarto die mensis Marcii anno Domini M^{o} cccc^{o} lxxx^{o}," helps to locate the manuscript in place and time. The Flixton referred to is almost certainly Flixton in Lancashire (the written dialect of the manuscript locates in the northwest Midlands; A. McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and M. Benskin, ed., *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English,* 4 vols. [Aberdeen, 1986], 1:98, locate their linguistic samples from it in the adjacent county of Cheshire), and at least this portion of the manuscript appears to have been copied

up in 1480. Apart from Flixton, Wright also had connections with Oxford (for details, see R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* [Cambridge, 1989], 102–4). The first major work in Wright's manuscript is an acephalous collection of clerical statutes and *constituciones* in Latin deriving from William Lyndwood's *Provinciale* (fols. 8r–46r). Then there follows a group of Latin wills and testaments, amongst which the names of various testators, including Wright's, are to be found (fols. 47r–50r). After this comes an excerpt from a Latin and English *Speculum Christiani* (fols. 51r–67v; this copy of its text was not noticed by Gustav Holmstedt in his edition for the Early English Text Society). Then there follows a Latin tract "De officio Misse" (fols. 68r–97v), and finally, the group of eleven vernacular sermons of which all except the first (edited here) derive from John Mirk's *Festial;* these are itemized in Fletcher, "Unnoticed Sermons from John Mirk's *Festial*" (n. 4 above), 522.

. . . dedely synne ys because of seuen propurteȝ þat ys in a dede body þat are lyke to þe Seuen Dedely Synneȝ. The fyrst ys, a dede body ys starke and styf and noȝt plyant ne mendable. Ryght so a prowde mon ys styf and starke agaynus almyghty God and wyll noȝt meke hym ne obey hym to almyghty God ne to Holy Kyrke. And ryght as a mon ys ded to oure bodely syȝt, ryght so a prowde mon ys dede in þe syȝt of God and all hys angellus. And þe secunde propurte of a dede body ys qwen þe herte ys borston `and´ þe kyndely hete passys away and þe body waxeȝ colde. Ryght so þe herte of þe envious mon þat for deseȝ þe wrencheneȝ of charyte so fer forthe þat þe hete of charyte wyll noȝt abyde in þe brest of a invious mon. And þe thryd propurty of þe dede mon ys þis: he ys ferefull and vugly to loke apon. Ryȝt so on þe same wyse an angre mon, wyll he ys in þe synne of wrathe and ys sterede to styke or to kylle hys euen cristyn, he ys more vugly to loke apon gostely þen ys þe dede body. The fourte propurte of a dede body ys þis: hyt hys ponderant and heue in þe seruys of God and makes hym vnlusty to any gode werkes worchyng. And þe fyfte propurte of a dede body ys þis: qwen þe herte ys borston þe body rancles and bolneȝ. Ryght so þe synne of glotere hyt makes a

4 hym[2]] *obsc. in* MS 5 to oure] *obsc. in* MS 8 body] *obsc. in* MS so] *add.* y (?) *et del.* MS 11 he] *add.* h *et canc.* MS 17 rancles *e* ranches *corr.* MS

3 mendable: "capable of improvement." This usage antedates the first recorded instance in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1533). It is not recorded at all in the *Middle English Dictionary.*

7 qwen: "when." kyndely: "natural"

9 deseȝ þe wrencheneȝ: The meaning of this remains obscure.

12–13 sterede to styke: "provoked to stab"

14–15 ponderant and heue: "lumpen and heavy"

15 vnlusty: "out of sorts"

17 rancles and bolneȝ: "festers and swells" glotere: "gluttony"

mon wgly, for qwy ryȝt als a mon þat ys in þe cumruns dropsy ys bolne and swellande, and euer more drynkande and euer thrusty, so ys a drokyn mon
20 swellande full of all maner of synne, for then he ys redy to bakbyte and to sle with hys tong and to do all þe harme þat he may. And þerfore, frendes, as ȝe se a dede body ys swellant bodely aftur hys dethe, ryȝt so schall a gloton be swellant aftur hys, gostely, in þe euerlastyng payne of helle. For as says þe profet Dauid, "Mors peccatorum pessima." And allso þe wyse mon says in a
25 verse aȝaneȝ droken men þat sex thynges þay lesyn:

Forma, genus, mores,
Sapientia, sensus, honores:
Morte ruunt subita,
Sola manent merita.

30 Schappe, kynde and manerys | and manes wysdam, wytt and honours—all 98v
thys sex takys þe synne of gloteny for ⟨. . .⟩ mon. The sexte propurte of a dede body ys þis: yf he be kepet long aboue þe erthe he turneȝ to sty`n´ke and to corrupcyon. Ryght so þe synne of lechere ys vset in þis worde and hyt turneȝ to stynke and to corrupcyon in þe syȝt of God and all hys angellus. And þe
35 seuet propurty of a dede body ys þis: qwen þe paynus of dethe comus owuer man or womon, quat thynke þay lay honde þer on þay holde hyt fast. Ryght so on þe same wyse þe groppe of couetyse hyt closeȝ mens hondes so nowondays, þat quat thynke þat þay lay honde on þay holde hyt fast, for þay wyll part with ryght noȝt wyll þay hafe lyfe in thys worde, and aftur þayre dethe
40 þay schall hafe lytyll nede for þayre kepyng. Here I fynde in Scripture qwere I in þis gospell of Sente Luce xij qwere I fynde of a ryche mon þat hade mech gode gedurt togedur and sayde to hymselfe on þis wyse, "Body, þu hast goode ynoȝe. Ete fast and drynke fast and take þe nese at þine awne lyst." And þen at þe last almyghty God apperyt vnto hym sayng to hym on þis wyse, "O

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18 cumruns dropsy: "cumbrous dropsy" bolne: "swollen"
24 Mors peccatorum pessima: Ps 33:22.
25 lesyn: "lose"
26–29 Forma . . . merita: This is a common tag; see H. Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum,* Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina I/1, 2d ed. (Göttingen, 1969), no. 6759.
33 worde: "world"
35 seuet: "seventh" owuer: "over"
36 thynke: "thing"
37 groppe: "grasp"
38 wyll: "while"
40 qwere I: This is pleonastic, anticipating "qwere I" in line 41.
42 gedurt: "gathered"
43 ynoȝe: "aplenty" þe nese . . . lyst: "your ease at your own desire"

stulte, anima tua hac nocte egrediatur a te. Que ergo congregasti cuius sunt?" Luce xiij^{o}. "O yow fole, þis nyȝt þi soule schall be takyn fro þe. Quose godeȝ ar þos þat þu has gedyrt togedyr?" For þyn ar þay noȝt. For ryght noȝt broght þu with þe hedyr, ne ryght noȝt schall þu ber away with þe.

Therfore, frendes, þes Seuen Dedely Synneȝ þat are lyke to þe seuen propurtys of a dede body schall ȝe see and beholde, and þerfore be wrothe be hom and exchewe hom as meche as ȝe may, for as Scripture says, "Mortuo homine impio, non erit vltra spes." "Of þe dethe of a weket mon ys no hope of forgyfneȝ." For qwen a wyket mon deȝ he ys in mekyll drede, fyrst for mynde of synne, þe secunde for | drede of payne, þe thryde for drede of damnacyon, 99r þe faurt for bytturnys of dethe euerlastyng. Þerfore, beholdyng a phylosephur þe febulneȝ of monkynde, how febull hyt ys and how redy to syn, to gyf vus ensampull of oure lyffyng he made thre ȝateȝ and abofe ych ȝate a schylde of diuers colors. Þe fyrst schylde was of syluer with thre red rosse, and in ych rose a lettur. In þe fyrst was a "L," in þe secunde a "I," in þe thryd a "F." And þe secunde schylde was of sabull with thre swordys of syluer, and in ych sworde a lettur. In þe fyrst sworde was a "D," in þe secunde sworde a "E," in þe thryde was a "T." And þe thryde schylde was of aser with thre trompus of golde, and in ych trompe a lettur. In þe fyrst trompe was a "D," in þe secunde trompe was a "O," and in þe thryd trompe was a "M." And so hyt befell þer come another phylosephur by thys castell a way and asket entre in, and þe porter of þis castell vnswarede and sayde þat þe lorde of þis castell hade ordant syche a laghe þat þer schulde no mon entur into þis castell but yf he colde discrete þus thre schyldeȝ þat hengun ouer þe castell ȝateȝ. And þen þis phylosophur lyftande vp hys hede and behelde þus thre schyldes and sayde þat "þis may be calde a wyse castell." "Qwy?" sayde þe porter þen. "For yf I wyll entur into þis castell, me behoweȝ to take hede qwat my lyfe ys, and quat dethe ys, and quat dome ys."

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49 Synneȝ] *add. litteram et canc.* MS 62 thryde[1]] thyde MS And] *add.* in MS schylde] sworde MS 68 ouer] oyer MS

44–45 O stulte . . . sunt: *recte* Lc 12:20
50–51 wrothe be hom: "be angry with them"
51–52 Mortuo . . . spes: Prov 11:7.
52 weket: "wicked"
62 aser: "azure"
67 ordant syche a laghe: "ordained such a law"
68 discrete: "tell apart," not in the *OED* as a verb until 1646, and not in the *MED* at all
þus: "these"
71 me behoweȝ: "I must"

Now gostely, frendes, as to owre purpose. By thys castell I vndurstonde þe castell of heuen, into þe qwech no mon may entur bot yf he take hede quat ys lyfe and quat ys dethe and quat ys dome.

By thys fyrst schylde þat was of syluer I vndurstonde ȝogh and mannes lyfe, þe qwech þat ys fayre and fecull. For ryght as þe rose florys are fayre to þe syȝt, ryght so monnes lyfe in thys worde hyt ys schort and lytyll, and þerfore says Iob þat monnes lyf ys bott schort: "Homo natus de muliere breui viuens tempore." | "Mon borne of a womon lyfus bott a lytyll qwyle." For qui 99v
noo mon con tell ⟨. . .⟩ how long ne how schorte qwyle. Þerfore sayeȝ Iob, "Breues dies hominis sunt." "The days of men ben schort." No nowmbur of thys wekys, mon, in þe, so þat mons lyfe ys bott schort and lytyll. And allso hyt ys fals and fecull and lyke vnto wyntt, or elleȝ as a flore. And þerfore sayeȝ þe Scripture, "Memento mei, Domine, quia ventus est uita mea, nec aspiciat me visus hominis." "Lorde, haue mynde on me, for my lyfe ys but a wynde, for þe syȝt of a mon may nott beholde hyt." "Qui quasi flos egreditur et conteritur, et fugit velut vmbra et vmquam in eodem statu permanet." For ryght as a flore ys fayre in þe mornyng and desolet in þe euen, and flys away as a schado and neuer more schall be in þe same state, ryght so mons lyfe hyt ys fals and fecull and full of mony desyese. Þerfore yf þu wylt entur into þe castell, hafe these thre letturs in þi mynde þat are wrytyn in þe schylde, þat ys to say, "L," "I," "F." "L," ffor þi lyfe; "I," for hyt ys schorte; and "F," for hyt ys fals and fekell. And yf þu take hede to theȝ thre well, schalt þu entur into þis castell.

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94 ys *om.* MS

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73 Now gostely . . . to owre purpose: This is a tag used to introduce one of the levels of exegesis or interpretation above the *sensus litteralis* in vernacular sermons and is especially noticeable in sermons of the second half of the fifteenth century.

76 ȝogh: "youth"

77 fecull: "fickle" florys: "flowers"

79–80 Homo . . . tempore: Job 14:1. This lemma is used also in the e Museo sermon: see the note on II.137–38. It is also found in the Sarum Breviary, Office of the Dead, second Nocturn, fifth lection (Procter and Wordsworth, *Breviarium* [II.137–38 above], 2:276–77).

82 Breues . . . sunt: Job 14:5. This is also found in the fifth lection of the Office of the Dead (Procter and Wordsworth, *Breviarium* 2:277).

84 wyntt . . . flore: "wind . . . flower"

85–86 Memento . . . hominis: Job 7:7.

87–88 Qui . . . permanet: Job 14:2. This lemma is used also in e Museo 180 (see the note on II.137–38) It is also found in in the fifth lection of the Office of the Dead (Procter and Wordsworth, *Breviarium* 2:277).

91 desyese: "disease"

The secunde schelde was of sabull with thre swordeȝ of syluer and with hor thre letturs "D," "E" and "T." "D," for hyt delys; "E," for hyt endus; and "T," for hyt turnus vp so done. Bott theȝ thre swordeȝ smytyn thre strokys. At þe fyrst stroke þat dethe smyteȝ at þe with hys sworde hyt smytes away fro þe þi kynraden and þi frende. The secunde smytes away þi wordly goodes. For þe the thryde smytes a stroke þat ys for to drede sarest. Þat ys qwen he strykes þi body fro þi soule. Bott þen þis thre letturs beforesayde telne þe thre thynkes. "D": how þu delys þi soule to God and þi goode to þe worde. Acordyng þerto I fynde in a boke þat ys caltyt *Alphabetum narracionum,* how þer was a ryche mon þat lay on deyng and hys fryndes come to hym and bade hym dele hys goode and make hys testament. And þen thys ryche mon calde a clerke and bade hym come and wryte hys testament. Aftur þe consell of hys frendes þis clerke, because | he knew þat he was a ryche mon and hade myche goode, he 100r
broȝt with hym a parchyment skynne. And qwen he come to þe ryche mon he asket hym quat he schulde wryte, and þe ryche mon vnswaret agayne and bade hym wryte:

Terram terra tegat.
Demon peccata resumat.
Mundus res habeat.
Spiritus alta petat.

"The erthe schall couer þe erthe. My synneȝ I beqwethe to þe deuell and my goodes þe worde schall haue, and my saule to heuen schall craue." And þerfore by thys take ȝe emsampull how dethe delys and how hyt endus and how

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100 $þi^2$ *e* $þ^e$ *corr.* MS 108 was *om.* MS 109 hym] *add.* he a *et canc.* MS 117 goodes] *add.* to MS

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96 hor: "their"
97 delys: "separates"
98 vp so done: "upside down" theȝ: "these"
98–102 Bott theȝ . . . soule: The motif here of Death's three strokes, loosely comparable with the substance of the e Museo 180 text (II.147–51), is more closely comparable with Hatton 96 (IV.63–81) and Trinity 75 (V.34–39).
104 smyteȝ at þe: "smites at thee"
100 kynraden: "kindred"
100–101 For þe the thryde: the meaning is not cleat
101 sarest: "most grievous"
102 telne: "tell" thynkes: "things"
104 caltyt: "called" *Alphabetum narracionum*: This is a collection of tales for the use of preachers, alphabetically arranged according to subject and probably compiled early in the fourteenth century; see Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances* (n. 12 above), 3:423–28; but I have not noticed this particular tale amongst catalogued and published versions of the *Alphabetum.*
112–15 Terram . . . petat: Walther, *Initia,* no. 19239.

hyt turnys vp so downe. And þerfore conselande vus þe wyse mon and says
120 euer þis wyse, "Memorare nouissima tua et in eternum non peccabys." "Haue mynde," says þe wyse mon, "on þe last ende," þat ys for to say, on dethe, "and þu schalt neuer synne."

The thryde schylde was of asure with thre trompus of golde. And in þe fyrst trompe was wryton a "D," for þe dome of almyghty God ys dredfull. In þe
125 secunde trompe ys wryton a "O," and þat betokyns sygnifycacyon þat hyt ys opon. And in þe thryde trompe was wryton a "M," in signifycacyon þat hyt ys myghtfull. Therto acordes well þe holy doctur Sent Iohn sayng on þis wyse, "Siue comedo siue dormeo, semper sonet in auribus meis vox tremendi iudicij." "Qwether I ete or I slepe or quat thyng þat I do, euer hyt swoneȝ in myne
130 ere þe dredfull voyce of Goddes dome." Therfore, frendys, syn þis goode holy mon dredes þus mekull þe dome of God, mecull more aght vus þat arun synners to dred þis dome.

Therfore, yf þu wylt entur into þe castell, þe behoueȝ to take hede and haue in mynde þes thre schyldes, þat ys to say, quat ys lyfe, quat ys dethe, and quat
135 ys dome. For Sent Iohn says: "Si mortuus fuerit, viuet." "Yf þu be ded, ȝet schall þu lyfe." And yf þu take no hede to goode lyuyng in thys worde | þou 100v
⟨. . .⟩ wordes in my tyme: "Timor mortis conturbat me," et cetera. The thryd dethe, þat ys dethe of body and sawle togedyr, and þat ys most to be drede, for

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119 conselande: "counselling"

120 Memorare . . . peccabys: Eccli 7:40.

128–29 Siue . . . iudicij: This quotation, erroneously attributed here to St. John, is normally ascribed to Jerome in various *distinctio* collections. The *Manipulus florum* of Thomas of Ireland quotes thus: "Quociens diem illum considero, toto corpore contremisco, sive bibo sive aliquid aliud facio, semper videtur michi illa tuba terribilis sonare in auribus meis, 'Surgite, mortui, venite ad iudicium'" (Oxford, Oriel College 10, fol. 390va; here it is cited as Jerome "in epistola Heliodorum monachum," but is not in fact to be found there). Simon of Boraston's *Distinctiones* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 216, fol. 68vb) and the *Speculum laicorum* (Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 474, fol. 56v) ascribe the quotation simply to Jerome. The nearest parallel that I have been able to find amongst Jerome's works is in the *Regula monacharum* of Ps.-Jerome (PL 30:430, "De Consideratione extremi diei iudicii"): "Semper tuba illa terribilis vestris perstrepat auribus; Surgite mortui, venite ad iudicium." This has possibly been conflated with another part of the same work: "sive leges, sive dormies, sive scribes, sive vigilabis, Amos tibi semper buccina in auribus sonat" (387).

129 swoneȝ: "sounds"

133 þe behoueȝ: "it is necessary that you"

135 Si . . . viuet: Jo 11:25.

137 tyme: "theme" Timor mortis conturbat me: see the Sarum Breviary, Office for the Dead, third Nocturn, responsorium 7 (Procter and Wordsworth, *Breviarium* 2:278, following the lection from Job 17, "Spiritus meus attenuabitur . . ."): "Peccantem me quotidie et non poenitentem timor mortis conturbat me. Quia in inferno nulla est redempcio miserere mei Deus et salva me."

in þat ys no redempcyon ne turnyng agayne qwen almyghty God schall say to
140 þe, "Ite, maledicti, in ignem eternum qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius."
"Gose, ȝe curset, into þe fyre of hell qwech ys ordente to þe deuell and all hys
angellys." Fyrst þis Lorde says, "Ite," "Go ȝe." Ȝette þu may aske grace of þi
Lorde and say, "Lorde, and we schall go fro þe and noȝte abyde with þe, we
beseche þe, gyf vus þi blesyng." Then comus þe secunde worde and forbarrus
145 hom qwen he says, "Maledicti," "curset" or "warede." Ȝette may þu aske
anoþer grace and say, "Lorde, and we schall go fro þe in þi cursyng and noȝte
in þi blessyng, gud Lorde, putt vus in such a place qwere we may be withowte
desses or payne." Þen comus þe thryde worde and forbarrus hom, þat ys,
qwen he says, "In ignem," "Into þe fyre." Ȝet may þu aske anoþer grace and
150 say, "I besech þe, Lorde, þat þe oure may be schortutt and sone haue ende."
Then comus þe furth worde and forbarres hom qwen he says, "Eternum,"
"Into þe fyre euerlastyng." "A, Lorde, and we schall go fro þe in þi cursyng to
þe fyre þat ys allway lastyng because of oure cursyt lyuyng, ȝett we besech
þe, Lorde, of a bone, þat ȝe wyll put vus vndur a gouernanse of sech a gouer-
155 nore þat wyll be frendfull and ese to vus." Then comus þe fyfte worde of
dyscomfort qwen he says, "Qui paratus est diabolo," "Qwych þat ys ordent to
þe deuell." Ȝett may þu aske anoþer grace and say, "Lorde, yf we schall go fro
þe in þi cursyng to þe fyre of hell þat ys ordent for þe deuell, goode Lorde,
putt vus in such a company as wyll be abowte to schorton | and lesson oure 101r
160 payne." Þen comus þe sexte worde and forbarrus hom þat qwen he says, "Et
angelis eius," þat ys, "to þe deuell and all hys angellus."

By þese sex wordeȝ ben sayde, nawþer þe praer of Oure Lady ne of all þe
senttes of heuen may nott avayle þat tyme, bott þis sentens schall be gyfyn
and sayd to hom þat schall be dampnet, for þen þay go to dethe of payne. For
165 þer schall be gnascyng of tethe and wepyng of teres, sorow and ȝellyng, cry-
ing and dred, and tremelyng and quakyng. Þer schall be stynk orrebell. Þer

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151 hom *om.* MS 153 because] be ⟨.⟩ cause MS 163 be] *add.* com *et canc.* MS
165 ȝellyng] *praem.* w *et canc.* MS

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140 Ite . . . eius: Mt 25:41.
141 ordente: "ordained"
143 and[2]: "if"
144 forbarrus: "prevents"
145 warede: "accursed"
148 desses: "disease"
150 oure: "hour" schortutt: "shortened"
154 bone: "favour"
155 frendfull and ese: "friendly and lenient"
162 By . . . nawþer: "Once these six words are uttered, neither"

schall be merkenys-felyng. Þer schall be crying, and seyng of deuells, and so mekull soro þat na mon con tell, ne herte may thenke, ne ee see. Woo, woo, my broþer, syn so mekull sorow and so mekull vgsumneȝ schall be to þe
170 sawle allonly for þe syȝt of þe deuels, qwerto, þen, luf ȝe so mekull þe vanyteȝ of thys worde, and lusteȝ to ocubye þe lyfe aftur þe lust and þe lykyng of þi flessche? Salamon: "Fatuj non poterunt diligere nisi ea que eis placent," et cetera.

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167 merkenys-felyng: "palpable darkness"
168 ee: "eye"
169 vgsumneȝ: "ugliness"
172–73 Fatuj . . . placent: Cf. Eccli 8:20; the sermon ends without any apparent formal conclusion of the sort often used to round off a sermon. Since many of these were formulaic (see the note to II.206), it may have been left to the sermon user to improvise one.

IV

Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 96, fols. 193r–197r

Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 96 is a paper manuscript copied by several scribes (A. McIntosh and M. Wakelin, "John Mirk's *Festial* and Bodleian MS Hatton 96," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 83 [1982]: 443–50, distinguished at least five major hands at work in it), and it contains for the most part homiletic materials in English and Latin. The hands date to around the middle of the fifteenth century, thus making Hatton the earliest of the vernacular manuscripts studied here (the macaronic sermon in Dublin, Trinity College 75, may be nearly contemporary, or a little older; see the headnote to V). The written dialect of the present sermon has been located by McIntosh and Wakelin in west Worcestershire, and this is probably the region of the language of the scribe's exemplar because this particular Hatton scribe (designated as scribe A in McIntosh and Wakelin's classification) seems to have been a *litteratim* copyist. It also seems possible that the manuscript was assembled by a priest for his personal use. Note in this respect the slip of paper inserted on fol. 49 which records on its verso a set of marriage banns in a contemporary hand; also, that the woman to be married was a servant of one Thomas Bewdley, whose surname corresponds to the eponymous town in Worcestershire. The Bewdley of the banns could never prove the manuscript's provenance, but given the West Midland complexion of some of its Middle English, Bewdley draws attention to the possibility that Worcestershire was indeed the county in which Hatton 96 was compiled.

Hit wes somtyme a lord þat let makne a castel in a place þat he loued more þen anoþer and let ordeyne þerin al manere delicys þat ben ymaginyd oþer by

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2 oþer] *praem.* o *et exp.* MS

þoȝt of man his herte, mete, drinke, golde, siluyr, perri, preciouse stonis, mirþis, ministracy wiþout any cesing, and ȝef þis castel a nome: þe Castel of Wisdome. He let depeynte ofir þe castel ȝate þre sceldis. Þat on wes of siluire with þre rosis of goulis; þe secunde sabile with þre swerdis of siluir; þe þridde asure with þre trompis of gold. He let wryte in huche schelde þre wordis. In þe sceld wiþ þe ros þuse þre: "Lytyl," "Yuyl," "Fykyl." About þe þre swerdis: "Delyng," "Ending," "Turning." About þe þre trompis: "Derne," "Opyn," "Myȝtful." And þan he ordeynid for lawe þat þer ne schulde no man come in þe castel bot he couþe deuise þilke þre scheldis.

Biful þat moni come þat woldine in þat ne couþe noȝt diuisyn þe scheldis and faylydine of entre. At þe last come an fyloȝofre and axide entre. Þe porter told hym þat þe law of þe castel wes þat þer ne scholde no man come þerin bot he couþe deuysyn þe scheldis ofyr þe ȝate. Þys phylosofre byhuld bysylyche þyse scheldis þat noȝte ne schold astert hym, and at þe last he was warre of þulk dox, dasow lettrys þat wer aboute þe rosis, swerdis, and trompis, and saide to þe porter, "Bewe sire, þise ne beȝ noȝt scheldis of armis, bot hit beȝ scheldis þat bytokyniþ manis lyf, deþ, and dome." Þise Lorde God almyȝty.

Þis castel | hys heuen, in wyche buþ al delycys. Þe scheld with þre rosys 193v
bytokniþ mannis lyf, for acordaunce þat is bytwene þe cunde of man and þe kunde of rosys. Þe rose waxit among þornis and also by defouling of þe rose is makyd watyr þat is holsum to manis heyn. Ryȝt so mannis lyf waxit among þornis, now of worldelyche bysynisse, now of bodylyche secknisse, now heer,

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4 Wisdome] Wisdomo MS 19 deþ *e* de⟨.⟩ *corr.* MS 21 wyche] add. *h* et *del.*

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3 perri: "jewelry"
5 sceldis: "shields" goulis: "gules"
7 huche: "each"
11 couþe deuise þilke: "knew how to explain the same"
12 Biful . . . scheldis: "It happened that many came who wanted to enter but who did not know how to explain the shields"
15 fyloȝofre: "philosopher"
16 þat noȝte . . . hym: "that nothing should escape him"
17 dox, dasow: "obscure, dim"
18 Bewe: "Fair" (a courteous form of address, deriving from the French word *beau*)
19–20 Þise . . . almyȝty: The sense is evidently disrupted by an ellipsis.
22 for acordaunce . . . rosys: "on account of the likeness that is between man's nature and the nature of roses"
23 defouling: "crushing"
24 "is makyd . . . heyn: The use of the rose in eye balms is well attested in medieval recipes; cf. M. S. Ogden, ed., *The "Liber de Diversis Medicinis,"* EETS, OS 207 (London, 1938; rpt. 1970), 11, lines 33–35.

now sowe, now rype, now moue, now hole, now sek, now lyȝe, now wep. So
þat man nys neuer on houre of a day stabylich in o state. As Iob sayþ: "Nun-
quam in eodem statu permanet." Þat is to sugg, man lastyþ neuer in o stat.
And skylfollich mannis lif is tokind to þe rose for þre statis þat is in mannis
30 lif: þe furst is chyldhede; þe secund is manhed; þe þryd is held. By þe rose,
wan he comiþ vyrst hout and sonnyþ furst is red lemys in May, his bytoknyd a
chyld on is norice lappe of on ȝer old oþir tuo þat is fayre and lykful, for ȝong
þing is comunlich quemfol. Þan he schall be a person, a byssoppe, a gret lord.
But wel were is modir ȝiff he mowe boe a god sepherd, for to þe sepherdys
35 broȝt furst þe angel tyþingys of Goddis burþe, aftyr a fewe of Goddis der-
lingys, Mary and a fewe oþir. Þe secund stat of þe ros is lems buþ sprad abrod
and is in most rode, and bytokniþ a man in is best stat with ful rode and ful
streynþe. And wiþ is long lokkus and oþir ioliftese a weniþ he schal neuer be
feblyr ne foulir þan he is þan. And þarfor me sayþ, he is in is flouris. Bote it
40 wol far of hym | as it fariþ of þe rose. Furst he vadiþ, weltryþ, and welouþt, 194r
and wrynkeliþ, fallyþ to þe eorþe an rotiþ. So schal man in held falouyn and
weltrin and swyndin away. Wan:

Wan þat is wyte waxit falou,
And þat is cripse waxit calau,
45 Wen þi neb ryveliþ as a roket,
And þin hein porfilin as scarlet,
And þi nose droppiþ as a boket,
Þan þou beon y-clipid kombir-flet.

Bot nim heod. About þe þre ros verin y-writ þre wordis: "Litil," "Yuil,"
50 "Fikil." Þat bytokniþ þe condicion of mannis lif. Þat manis lif be litil wit-
nisiyit holy lore (Salomon) and sayþ: "A litil and wiþ tene is þe tyme of oure

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25–26 now heer . . . now wep: "now ploughed, now sown, now ripe, now rotten, now whole, now sick, now laughing, now weeping"; the sense of "lyȝe" as "laughing" here antedates the first recorded example in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1690).

28 Nunquam . . . permanet: Job 14:2.

30 held: "old age"

31 vyrst . . . lemys: "first out and first suns its red gleams"; the use of the verb "sonnyþ" in this sense antedates the first recorded example in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1519).

33 quemfol: "delightful" person: "parson"

36–37 is lems . . . rode: "its gleams are spread abroad and is at its greatest ruddiness"

38 wiþ . . . a weniþ: "with his long locks and other jollity he thinks"

39 in is flouris: "in his flowers" (i.e., "is flourishing")

40 vadiþ, weltryþ, and welouþt: "fades, withers and wastes away"

41–42 falouyn and weltrin and swyndin: "grows sere and withers and vanishes away"

43–48 Wan . . . kombir-flet: This lyric and its lexis is discussed above (see also Fletcher, "Death Lyrics" [II.107–23 above], 341–42).

49 nim heod: "take heed"

lif." And Iob saiþ þat "mannis days beþ sort and þe tal of is monþ is toward þe." Noȝt alon of monþis, bot of huch step þat of þi fot, huch þoȝt of þin hert his y-wryte in Goddes bok. Manis lif is also yuil, for it waxit among þornis of worldelich bisinisse, of sekniss, of onsykyrnes of lif, of sikyrnes of deþ, and oncerteyne weþir he schal to wele oþir to wo. Hit is also fikil, for it byhot pes and it is fol of werre, hit byhot sikyrnis, it is ful of falsnis. For a man not wat deþ he schal deye, ne how, ne wenne, ne wer. Þus is mannis lif litil, yuil, fikil. Tak of litil "l," of ifil "i," of fikil "f," and þat wol make manis lif. So þat lif of is kunde is litil, iuil, fikil.

Þe secund scheld wasse sabil with þre swerdis of siluir. Sabil, þat is, blac, is colour of deol, for men in tyme of deþ buþ cloþed with blac in tokne of deol. And sckylfolich is deþ bytoknid by þre swerdis for þre strokys þat deþ smit whan he comiþ. Furst he bynemiþ a man al is wyttys. Wan is þat:

Wan is heyn turniþ, | 194v
And is breþ stynkyþ,
And þe fet coldeþ—
Þan farwel, wyt!
Farewel, wyf and child!
And weel is þan forȝet.

Þe secund strok he bynymyþ a man al is godis þat wan þe breþ is ago, for be a man neuer so rych, þoȝ a lyg in a cloþis of gold, in tapitis ant cortenis of gold and perri, as swyþe as he is ded, turne im out of is bed on þe cold erþe and leþ a torf on is womb for swelling. He is a party pore þat noȝt ne haþ bot herþe next im, ne noȝt hab ne may bot at oþir menis wyll.

51–52 A litil . . . lif: Sap 2:1 ("Exiguum et cum taedio est tempus vitae nostrae").

52–53 mannis . . . toward þe: Job 14:5 ("Breves dies hominis sunt; numerus mensium eius apud te est").

53 huch step . . . fot: "each step that [comes] of thy foot"?

55 onsykyrnes: "uncertainty"

56 byhot: "promises"

57 not: "knows not"

62 deol: "mourning"

63 sckylfolich: "by reason."

63–81 for þre strokys . . . deþis þre strokys: For the motif of Death's three strokes, see e Museo 180 (II.147–51) and especially Lincoln 133 (III.98–102) and Trinity 75 (V.34–39).

64 bynemiþ: "deprives of"

65–70 Wan . . . forȝet: This is discussed above (and see Fletcher, "Death Lyrics," 341–42).

72 þoȝ a lyg: "though he lies" tapitis: "tapestries"

73 as swyþe as: "as soon as"

73–74 turne . . . swelling: The reference here may be to some medieval laying-out practice.

74 a party: "somewhat"

75 herþe: "earth"

Þe þrid stroke he bynymyþ a man al is frendis. Þat is, wan he is leyd in is put and þe rof of is hous lyþ on is mouþ. ȝut as long as he lyþ on ber is frendis doþ hym som solace of massis, of diriges, of sauters. Bot wan he is leid in þe erþe, farwel frend, farwel wyf and child. Þe wyf most habb an housbond, þe
80 heyr most habb a wyf, so þat þilk þat al houned noȝt nay. Þis beþ deþis þre strokys. Bot ȝut þer wer þre wordis about þe þre swerdis and wer þise: "Deling," "Ending," and "Turning." Furst deþ delyþ al þilk þat but i-bound togidir by lawe, by loue, and by cunde. By lawe buþ y-bound togidir þe man and is wyf, þe lord and is bondman. Bot wan þe deþ comiþ, þan deliþ he þe
85 wyf fram þe housbond, þe lord from þe seruaunt. He delyþ al þilk þat buþ y-bound togidir by loue, as wyf and child. Þat schold most loue, hy habbyþ oftsonis forȝut. As me saiþ on hold Englis: "Wan deþ haþ i-bite and is last strok y-smite, þan ay loue ys lef forȝut." He deliþ also | so þulk þat buþ i- 195r
bound togidir by cund. By kund buþ y-bound in man þe foure elemente, fur,
90 watyr, eorþe, and eyr, also manis body and manis soul. But wan deþ comiþ, habuþ to dreuid uchon is way. Þus deþ deliþ al þat beth y-bound togidir by lawe, by loue, by kund.

Þe secund word was "Ending," for deþ endyþ weel and wo, frend and fo, met and drink, rest and swink. For ȝif a man be her in weel and go to heuen, al
95 þe weel of þe world nis bot a pine of deþ in reward of þe blisse of heuen. ȝife a be in pine and go to heuen, ȝut wol þe blysse þen seme more ioy. ȝif he be in pine and go to helle, al þe pine and þe wo of þe world wer a blysse in reward of þe lest pine of helle. So þat deþ ondeþ weele and wo, frend and fo. For haue a man neuir so god frend, be he ded, farewell frendssipe, for he is

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77 put: "pit (of burial)" rof . . . mouþ: "roof of his house lies on his mouth" (this is the common medieval conceit of "grave as house"; see C. Daniell, *Death and Burial in Medieval England,* 1066–1550 [London and New York, 1997], 68–69) ber: "bier"

78 massis . . . sauters: These are the traditional components of medieval exequies; compare Daniell, *Death and Burial,* 48, and Erbe, ed., *Mirk's Festial* (see II.1 above), 296, lines 23–34.

80 þilk . . . noȝt nay: "that same man who owned everything [has] nothing at all"

86–87 Þat schold . . . forȝut: "They that ought to love [them] most, they have forgotten [them] soon enough"

87 As me saiþ on hold Englis: "as it is said in old English"

87–88 Wan deþ . . . forȝut: This rhymed proverb is not recorded in B. J. and H. W. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly before 1500* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), Brown and Robbins, *Index of Middle English Verse,* or Robbins and Cutler, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse.*

90–91 But wan . . . is way: "But when Death comes, each goes its separate way"

95 pine: "affliction" in reward of: "in respect of"

96 ȝife a be: "if he be"

98 ondeþ: "undoes"

100 forȝute. For Salomon saiþ, "Non est priorum memoria," et cetera. "Þer nis no mynde of hem þat beþ ago." He endiþ so. For be a man ded, ne recchwhym neuir war he lygge no more þan a ston oþyr a clot of erþe. Þise silfe maner he endiþ met and drink, rest ant swynk.

And also deþ turniþ fayr into foul, rych into pore, king into karoyne, for he 105 ne sparyþ no man. Furst he turniþ fayr into foul, for þer was neuir man by way of kunde þat as swiþe as he wer ded, þat he nas gastful and lolich and wondirlich abhominable to manis kunde. As Seint Austin sayþ, for loue of wymmen men brekyþ hous, passiþ heggis, wall, and watris. Bot take þe fayrist wyȝt þat euir wes, lat hir be an þre dayis ded, þulk þat woldin by hyr lif 110 iovst for hir of werre oþyr of pes, he nold þan | for al þe good þat he hauiþ 195v onis kus hir mouþ. Manis kund nis noȝt eschu of ded ox oþir a cou, bot me schal onneþ fynd ani so bold þat durst a nyȝt lig by a ded man, ne by is dame, ne by is sire, so abhominable and so wlatsum is þo kund to þoþir. Þus þan turneþ deþ fair into foul. He turniþ also rych into por, for deþ bynymmyþ a 115 man al is wittis and al is godis and al is frendis. Deþ castiþ is caroyne to eorþe, þat is wormys met, for of þe brain kenniþ a tad, and of þe marowe of þe eschin kenniþ a neddre, and of the þoþir del oþir wormis inowe. He turniþ also manis soul God wot weþir, to rest oþir to trauail, to blisse oþir to pine. He turniþ also king into karoine, for he ne spariþ no man. For king and quene, 120 lord and lady, por and rych, al hy habbyþ on maner coming into þis world and going owt. Þus þan deþ deliþ, endiþ, an turniþ. Tak of deling "d," of ending "e," of turning "t," ant þat wol mak deþ. So þat det of is kund beriþ wiþ him þis þre: deling, ending, turning.

Þe þrid scheld was of asur with þre trompis of gold, and bytokniþ þe dome, 125 and skylfollich, for þre wordis þat God wol spek at þe dome. Of þe furst spekyþ Seint Ierom and saiþ, "Weþir I slep oþir waak, sitte oþir go, me þinkyþ

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119 king and] *add. litteram et del.* MS 125 skylfollich] skyfollich MS

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100 Non est . . . memoria: Eccl 1:11.

101–2 ne recchwhym neuir: "no one cares at all"

106 gastful and lolich: "ghastly and loathsome"

107–8 As . . . watris: I have not found anything close to this in St. Augustine's works.

109 wyȝt: "creature"

109–10 þulk . . . pes: "those that while she is alive will joust for her 'of war' (with a sharp spear or lance) or 'of peace' (with a blunted spear or lance)"

111 onis: "once" manis . . . cou: "man's nature is not repelled by a dead ox or cow"

112 onneþ: "hardly"

113 wlatsum: "disgusting"

116–17 of þe brain . . . inowe: "for a toad breeds from the brain, and an adder breeds from the marrow of the *eschin* (shin-bone? ashes?)"

þat þilk tromp blowiþ in myn eer, 'Arysiþ, ded men, and comiþ to þe dome.'" Þe secund word þat God wol spek is, "Goþ, corsid gostis, into fur þat euir schal last." Þan schal ben a chest bytwx þe damnud soulis and þe god. And hy wolliþ sug, "Leue Lord, ȝif we schol go fram þe in wom is al blis, | al weel, 196r wolt ȝefe ous þi blessing þat we mowin go þe miryer?" Þan wol God sig, "Nay, goþ fram me. Mi cors go with ȝow." Þan scholliþ hy syg, "Lord, we schol go fram þe þat art wele of lyf and rote of blys and ek hab þy cors. Wodyr schol we go?" Þan wol he syg, "Goþ into þe fur of helle." Þan schollyþ hy syg, "Lord, we scholle go from þe wyþ þy cors into þe fur of helle. Woldist do ous þilk grace þat þe fur hab sumtim end?" Þan wol he syg, "Goþ from me. My cors go wiþ ow into þe fur þat euir schal last." Þan scholliþ hy syg, "Wy scholle we go fram þe and hab þy cors, and into þe endeles fur of helle?" Þan wol God say, "For Ich wes hongry and ȝe ne ȝef me no met. Ich wes þursty; ȝe ne ȝef me no drink. Ich wes seek; ȝe ne confortyd me noȝt. Ich wes in prison; ȝe ne vysityd me noȝt. Ich wes a gyst, and oncouþe, and pilgrim; ȝe ne herborouid me noȝt. And þerfor ȝe scholle into endeles pine of helle." Bot now nym hed. Siþ þe Gospel saiþ þat hy schollip hab pine of helle þat ȝifeþ noȝt her good for Godis loue, wat schollip hy hab þat beþ robberis and mansleeris and lybbyþ in dedly sin to har liues end? Hy schollip al go to helle, bot þulk robberis and þeuis schollip hab endeles mor pine þan þoþyr. Þe þryd word þat God wol spek is, "Comiþ, my blessyd chyldryn, to þe blysse þat my Fadir aþ y-dyȝt to ȝow of þe bygining of þe world." Þan hy syg as þoþyr þat beþ y-damnid sayd: "Lord, scholle we | we go wyþ þe þat art rote and weele 196v of al blysse and hab þy blessing and ioy bout end?" Þan God syg, "Ȝa, ȝe scholle go with me and hab my blessyng and þe blysse of heuen day bout end." Þan hy scholl" syg, "Wy?" and he wol ansuerr, "For wan Ich wes hongri and þursty and nakyd and in prison and sek ȝe fedd me and cloþyd me and

136 Þan] $þ^{t}$ MS 144 for Godis loue] fordisloue MS 148 bygining] bygning MS 150 hab *om.* MS

126–27 spekyþ . . . dome: Compare this citation from "St. Jerome" with III.106–7.
128–29 Goþ . . . last: Mt 25:41
129 chest: "strife"
130 sug: "say" in wom: "in whom"
133 ek hab þy cors: "also have your curse"
133–34 Wodyr: "whither"
139–42 For Ich . . . herborouid me noȝt: Mt 25:42–43
141–42 gyst . . . oncouþe . . . herborouid: "guest . . . stranger . . . gave lodging"
143 Siþ: "since"
145 lybbyþ: "live" har: "their"
150 bout: "without"

confortyd me, and þerfor ȝe scholl" hab þe blysse of heuen and be Godis
155 derlingys and lyb euir in weel with God and with is angelys."

Bot ȝut about þe þre trompis wer þis þre wordis: "Dern," "Opin," "Miȝtful." Þat is þe condicioun of þe dome. Þat þe dome be derne wytniswith Crist in þe Gospel and saiþ þat day no man bot þe Fadir no Sone not it noȝt, in as much as he is man. And þerfor Crist hymsilf saiþ in þe Gospel: "But algat
160 aredy, for ȝe ne wytþ neuir þe day ne þe tyde." Hit is also opin. Þe dome schal be so opin as Seint Bernard sayþ, þat alþing þat euir God makid he wol bryng with hym to þe dome, and þat oþir to ber wytnisse with man þat he wel haþ despendid Godis creaturis, oþir to ber wytinis aȝeyins man to is dampnacion. And Seint Gregori saiþ þat þe dome schal be ful grisful, wan man schal y-se
165 aboue hym God wroþ þat is boþe domisman and party, byniþe hym helle opyn with endelese pine al redy, within hym is conscience gulty, without hym deuelis accusing, and al about hym þe world al brenning. Ȝif riȝtful man schal onneþ be saf, sinful þus y-kaȝt wydir schal he biturþin? He schal say to þe dalys, "Helie ous," and to þe hullis, "Fal apon ous." Hyd him may he noȝt,
170 and aperin darre he noȝt. He hys y-bound with pine in eche halue. So þis dom is opin inow. | Þys dom schal be myȝtful. Wat schold mor myȝt þan wiþ a 197r
blast of is mowþe gadyr togedyr al eorþe and heuen and helle and al þat is þerin? Þer schul al stond at Crystis barre and vndyrfong as hy habbyþ a seruyd, wel oþyr wo. Þus, þan, is dome derne, opin, myȝtful. Take of derne
175 "d," of opin "o," of myȝtful "m," and þat wol make dome. So þat dome of ys kund ys derne, opyn, and myȝtful. Nou Godde for is mercy amiȝt, let vs scape þat dome aryȝt, and wynne þe blisse þat to vs diȝt. Amen.

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161 he] *add.* b et *canc.* MS 163 dampnacion] dampnacom' MS

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156 dern: "secret"

158 no man . . . man: Mt 24:36. Something seems to be missing; the sense should be "no man but the Father knows it, nor does the Son know it in as much as he is a man."

159–60 But . . . tyde: Mt 25:13.

160–63 Þe dome . . . damnacion: I have not located this reference in St. Bernard's works.

164–67 Seint Gregori . . . brenning: This derives in fact from Anselm of Canterbury, *Meditatio* 1 (ed. F. S. Schmitt, *Sancti Anselmi Opera omnia,* vol. 3 [Edinburgh, 1946], 78–79).

164 grisful: "terrible"

165 domisman and party: "judge and litigant"

168 sinful . . . biturþin: "to where shall the sinful man caught in this way turn"

169 Helie: "cover"; lines 168–69 derive from Apoc 6:16, "Et dicunt montibus, et petris: Cadite super nos, et abscondite nos a facie sedentis super thronum " (cf. Os 10:8 and Lc 23:30).

170 in eche halue: "on every side"

173 barre: "bar (of Judgement)" vndyrfong: "receive"

176 amiȝt: "almighty"

177 þat to vs diȝt: "that [he] prepared for us"

V

Dublin, Trinity College 75, fols. 2v–3r

Dublin, Trinity College 75 is an imposing parchment manuscript whose various scribal stints—and the identity of one scribe in it with a copyist whose hand features elsewhere in another group of contemporary manuscripts—are particularly important to hold in focus. This is so not only because the affiliation that Trinity 75 contracts with this manuscript group sheds light on the cultural context in which the sermon of the Doctor Curteyse is situated, but also because it bears upon larger questions concerning the propagation of vernacular and Latin Wycliffite writings between ca. 1400 and the middle of the fifteenth century. For the fact is that, wherever Trinity 75 was copied, its earliest portions (the work of scribe A in the scribal analysis below) were executed at a centre of Lollard book production, if not indeed England's chiefest centre of Lollard book production. Scribe A, whose hand is the one reappearing in the affiliated manuscript group, was a copyist of key Lollard texts and was active ca. 1400. The hand of the scribal monogram "Peruei," added at the foot of fol. 217rb, most nearly resembles that of scribe A, but there is too little script in the monogram to make the identification stick. (The possibility that the monogram was that of John Purvey, an eminent Lollard, has been dismissed, though without adequate reason, by A. Hudson, "John Purvey: A Reconsideration of the Evidence for his Life and Writings," in *Lollards and their Books* [London, 1985], 85–110; see 104 n. 92.) Scribe A's work in Trinity 75 was subsequently corrected and supplemented around the middle of the fifteenth century by scribe B (and in any event after ca. 1440–41; see further below on this). Scribe B, also a copyist of Lollard materials, was probably responsible for marrying the two originally separate parts which constitute Trinity 75; I believe the rubricator at work in the second part of the manuscript to be one and the same with scribe B identified in my scribal analysis (see also J. Scattergood and G. Latré, "Trinity College Dublin MS 75: A Lollard Bible and Some Protestant Owners," in *Texts and Their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society,* ed. J. Scattergood and J. Boffey [Dublin, 1997], 223–40, esp. 229). These facts give pause for thought: what business had a sermon as thoroughly orthodox as that of the Doctor Curteyse in a manuscript such as this, whose contents are predominantly Wycliffite—even the seemingly innocent letter of the rector of Chiddingfold, fols. 255ra–257ra, makes (unacknowledged) use of John Wyclif's *Opus evangelicum*—and whose Wycliffite tenor is respected and further amplified by scribe B? The Doctor Curteyse's sermon, by contrast, elects a preaching style that Lollards and Lollard sympathizers characteristically abhorred. Furthermore, there is good palaeographical reason to believe that none other than the coordinating scribe B copied and included the Doctor Curteyse's sermon. Possible explanations for why some scriptorium evidently committed to disseminating Lollard material may also have disseminated at least some material that was impeccably orthodox are suggested in Fletcher, *Preaching, Politics and Poetry,* 119–42, but the account there (p. 131) of the scribal stints of the Trinity manuscript is misleading and requires revision according to the scribal analysis below.

The most comprehensive published account of the scribal stints of Trinity 75 is in McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English* 1:76–77. (I have followed their scribal designations in the analysis below; as a result, my analysis begins not serially from A, as otherwise would be appropriate, but with scribe B.) The analysis does not include corrections made by scribe B to the work of scribe A (for example, the line of Luke 11:5, "who of ȝou schal haue a frende," omitted by A but added by B in the right margin of fol. 71rb).

1r–2v	Latin harmony of certain gospel episodes	Scribe B (s. xv med.)
2v–3r	Macaronic sermon of the Doctor Curteyse	B
4r–11r	Latin table of epistle and gospel lections	Scribe A (s. xiv/xv)
11v–13v	English prologues to Mark, Luke, John, and the Apocalypse	B
14r–217v	English Wycliffite New Testament, generally, though not exclusively, Early Version	A, with stints by B on fols. 106v (15 lines in col. a) 107r (bottom, 9 lines) 133v (21 lines in col. b) 134r (29 lines in col. a) 157r (15 lines in col. b) 168v (8 lines in col. b) 179r (bottom, 5 lines) 182v (bottom, 4 lines) 185r (bottom, 6 lines) 187r (bottom, 6 lines) 189v (bottom, 4 lines) 190v (8 lines in col. a) 193v (7 lines in col. b) 196r (bottom, 4 lines) 196*r (bottom, 3 lines) 196*v (bottom, 13 lines); by scribe C (s. xv^{1}) on fols. 66r–v 214r–215v; and by scribe D (s. xv med.) on fols. 148v–153v
218r–281r	Wycliffite Prologue to the Old Testament items on the Prologue to the Psalter, excerpt concerning the four senses of Scripture from the General Prologue to the Wycliffite Bible, a prayer in English, the twelve articles of the Faith in English, an exposition of Mark 16:12–20 in English, a Latin letter of John Witton, rector of Chiddingfold, ca. 1441, to Cardinal Henry Beaufort, and the Old Testament lections read during the Church year in English.	Scribe E (s. xv med.), corrected by B on fols. 222rb (right margin) 225rb (right margin) 231ra (left margin) 235rb (right margin) 237va (left margin) 238ra (left margin) 248va (left margin) 249ra (left margin) 252va (left margin)

Sermo. Doctor Curteyse. Dominica in Passione. "Christus assistens pontifex proprium sanguinem introiuit in Sancta."

Due porte < Intrancium in oriente. Baptismus.
Exestencium in occidente. Penitencia.

Que habent vnum drawȝht brigge. Aperta iacet in die huius vite, et clauditur in nocte mortis, quando tenebre oriuntur in sensibus et aues cantare cessant, et ffures vagare desiderant, et laborare incipiunt executores, familia, heredes, et cetera. Inter has portas omnes sacramentales.

Narracio poetica.

Quidam philosophus quesiuit requiem. Fecit diuersis passagiis iter ad diuersas regiones. Demum in deserta patria requieuit super baculum, et iuxta orbitam, id est, bypaht, vidit turrem celestem depictum et ornatum curiosissime, splendentibus clipeis circumornatum. Cuius muralis edificii nomen ab hostiario requirens, respondeatur, "Hec diuinalis sapiencia." "Quod edificium," dixit hostiarius, "non intrabis, nisi scuta apposita apertissime enucliare te disponas." Philosophus amore diuinalis sapiencie motus, videbat supra portam tria scuta. Primum fuit of golde with iij roses of gowles. Hanc rosam considerans philosophus, et per primas litteras trium diccionum in rosis scriptas que ffuerunt, L. I. F., adiunxit et faciunt "Lif." Prima rosa fuit borgening, budded and closed. In ista prima rosa fuit scripta "Litel." Secunda rosa fuit fresscheli spred and opened. In ista fuit scripta "Yvell." Tercia rosa fuit weltred, steyned and faded. In ista fuit scripta "Fikell." Sic intellexit hanc rosam fore consideracionem tocius status humane condicionis. Per primam ȝowht considerando formam illius rose et scripturam eius. Per secundam manhode and sad wommanhode moraliter considerando illam rosam cum scriptura. Per terciam age and febilnesse considerando, et cetera. Et notandum

2 Sancta *om.* MS 11 iter *om.* MS 16 diuinalis] dimanalis MS 24 moraliter] inoriter MS

1 Doctor Curteyse: The collocation "Doctor Curteyse" seems less likely to be formed from a noun + proper noun than from a noun + adjective, that is, the sobriquet "Courteous Doctor" (moreover, no eligible "Doctor Curteyse" is on record at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge). I have not determined who he may have been.

1–2 Christus . . . Sancta: The lemma condenses Hebr 9:11–12, the opening of the epistle for Passion Sunday.

4 Opposite in the left margin: "Anthema" (probably written in error for "Antethema").

18 Opposite in the left margin: "Primum scutum."

est quod sicut rosa licet sit pulcherima crescit super a scharp þorn, | sic hu- 3r
manitas nostra cressit super a scharp pricked stalk, scilicet, in natiuitate cla-
30 mando, "repletur multis miseriis." Et sunt tres thornes illius stalk humanitatis nostre, scilicet, sekenes, besines, remors of synne. Secundum scutum ffuit off sable cum tribus gladijs argenti. Scribebatur in primo gladio "Departinge"; in secundo gladio "Endynge"; in tercio gladio "Tornynge." Considerauit philosophus hec tria principia istorum trium verborum et percepit "Deht." `Applica
35 narracionem de domina cum tribus filiis et v ffiliabus´ ffiliabus obsessa in castro per tortores mortis. Ffugit ad cameram cordis vbi deponentes secreta vite thesaura. Isti tres gladij percutiunt in morte tres asperimos ictus, quia smitiht awey all a manys wittes, all a manis goodes, all a manis ffrendis, þre cruel and scharpe strokis, quia "post mortis morsum, vertit dileccio dorsum."
40 Tercium scutum quod ffuit de celestina azura with iij trompis off golde. Scribebatur in primo "Demavndyng"; in secundo "Opening"; in tercio "Manassyng." Adiunxit philosophus tria principia istorum verborum et resultat "Dome," id est, extremi iudicij. Pro primo, "Surgite, mortui, venite ad," et cetera. Pro secundo, "Opening." Manifestabunt consideranda, quia noluisti
45 per penitenciam in via aperire cameram peccati, et facit `sine´ dilatione econtrario modo quibus dicitur, "Venite benedicti Patris mei," et cetera. Pro tercio, "Manassing." "Esuriui, et non dedisti mihi," et cetera. "Ite maledicti," et cetera.

Numery primo, nota Iosephi Antiquitates et Liram.

Ad instanciam populi, Moyses dedit eis a Deo vj c xiiij precepta. Rabi
50 Moyses, libro primo Iudaice legis, dicit quod de predictis preceptis, iij c lxvj

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37 percutiunt] percutunt MS 40 celestina] celestin MS 48 Iosephi Antiquitates] Ioseph' antiquit' MS

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30 repletur multis miseriis: Job 14:1.

31 Secundum scutum: These words are written in the left-hand margin.

34 Applica: Note here the direct instruction to the user/preacher of the sermon, and its implications; such direct instructions appear also at lines 54 and 59. I have not been able to determine the source from which the Doctor Curteyse derived the *narracio* of a woman besieged in a castle with her sons and daughters (lines 35–36).

39 post . . . dorsum: This is apparently proverbial, though I have traced no exact Latin source; cf., however, the Middle English proverbs on the theme that the dead have no friends (Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases,* 120, D71).

40 Tercium scutum: These words are written in the left-hand margin

43 Surgite, mortui, venite ad: This citation is non-biblical; I have not located its source.

46 Venite . . . mei: Mt 25:34.

47 Esuriui . . . mihi: Mt 25:35. Ite maledicti: Mt 25:41 (Vulgate: "Discedite a me maledicti").

48 Iosephi Antiquitates: The expansion here is tentative. If it is in fact a reference to *The*

ffuerunt precepta negatiua, quia tot dies in anno in quolibet illorum precipit non offerendo Deo, et de predictis preceptis ij c xlviij fuerunt affirmatiua, quia tot ossa et iuncture sunt in humano corpore, sic totum hominem et quamlibet eius partem voluit seruire Deo et fore seruientem Dei. Applica illud ad Pascha. Post transitum mare, id est, penitenciam quadragesimalem. Ffilii Israel videntes Deum, id est, cristicole. Per affeccionem sicco pede, nota sine slyme, id est, affeccione carnalis peccati. Aqua moyste, id est, desiderio terrestri. Petiuit a Moyse, id est, curato, obligari Deo in signum transitus maris. Per nouam legem, id est, sacramenta data a Deo. Et applica vt supra omnem diem et totum hominem. Postea scribitur per Moysen quomodo Deus considerauit fragilitatem humane memorie, igitur tollebat illam multitudinem preceptorum et solum dedit x precepta Decalogi. Deinde in perfeccione legis, Matthei 5, sermo Domini in monte, dixit Saluator, "Dictum est antiquis," et cetera, et dedit solum duo precepta: "dilige Dominum ex toto corde," et cetera, "et proximum tuum sicut te," et cetera. "In his duabus pendet," et cetera. Vltimo per suum secretarium Paulum dedit totum vnum dictum, "Plenitudo legis est dileccio." Et nota quando Moyses dabat populo vj c xiiij precepta, vt supra patet, accepit Moyses, id est, curatus, sanguinem auium et vitulorum, id est, sacramentum Ihesu Christi, et ascendebat in locum, id est, altare eminentem, et vngebat seipsum. Et postea sanguinem, id est, Christi, qui fuit vitulus christianorum in die Passche, super capita populorum respersit et vocauit sanguinem federis, id est, reconsiliacionis; quasi diceret, "hodie ffeceritis pro beneficiis suis nouam proffessionem obseruare legem desideratam per vos et acceptam," scilicet, istorum preceptorum. Qui sanguis in facie iudicii extremi vos accusabit nisi eam obseruaueritis.

Splendet in his scutis tibi gens doctrina salutis.
Vita qua viuis lex mortis, iudicij vis.
Vita nota rosis est mala, plena dolosis.

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65 duabus] duobus MS 67 xiiij *om.* MS 71 respersit *om.* MS (cf. Ex 24:8)

Antiquities of the Jews by Josephus, it is not immediately clear how it is meant to relate to Numbers 1, cited at the start of the line. Possibly, too, "Liram" in the same line refers to some gloss of Nicholas of Lyra on this passage of Scripture. Both references seem to have the air of being informal *obiter dicta* addressed to the person using the sermon.

52 Opposite in left margin: "nota."
63 Dictum est antiquis: Mt 5:21.
64–65 Dilige . . . te: Mt 22:37–39.
65 In his duabus pendet: Mt 22:40.
67 Plenitudo . . . dileccio: Rom 13:10 Opposite in the left margin: "A pasch."
76 Opposite in left margin: "Versus pro tribus scutis."

Mors habet hec certo tria: termino, diuido, verto.
80 Monstro tubis qualis venio iudex generalis.
Surgo latenter, pando patenter, flecto potenter.

Istos versus posuit philosophus super portam vt aperiretur sensus scutorum accedentibus.

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79 certo] certe MS

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81 Surgo . . . potenter: This seems like a *distinctio* tagged on from some untraced source.

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THE *LAUS BEATISSIME VIRGINIS* AND THE CANON OF ALEXANDER NECKAM*

Christopher J. McDonough

THE task of authenticating Alexander Neckam's *oeuvre* and establishing the relative chronology of the works remains a work in progress, despite the advances made by the pioneering studies of Mario Esposito and Josiah C. Russell and the more recent investigations of Richard Hunt.[1] The extent of the problem can be inferred from Margaret Gibson's statement that Hunt had compiled a list of no less than twenty-eight texts that had been assigned to Neckam at one time or another, some plausibly, others arguably not.[2] Into this indeterminate category also falls the large mythographic commentary on the *Ecloga Theoduli,* which continues to be fathered on Neckam, even though the evidence for his authorship has never been systematically assessed.[3] Mystery of a different kind surrounds the so-called *Laus Beatissime Virginis.* The warrant for its existence and authenticity rests on no less an authority than Alexander Neckam himself.[4] At the beginning of the *De naturis rerum,* he refers the reader to his work on the blessed Virgin for a more detailed discus-

* I am grateful to Jonathan Black for posing a number of questions that forced me to rethink certain conclusions contained in an earlier version of this note and to an anonymous reader for suggesting several stimulating lines of enquiry, which I intend to pursue in a separate study.

[1] M. Esposito, "On Some Unpublished Poems Attributed to Alexander Neckam," *The English Historical Review* 30 (1915): 450–71; Josiah C. Russell, "Alexander Neckam in England," *The English Historical Review* 47 (1932): 260–68; R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157–1217),* edited and revised by Margaret Gibson (Oxford, 1984), 19–31 and 125–49 (Appendix A. Nequam's Works).

[2] Hunt, *Schools,* 147.

[3] Jane Chance, *Medieval Mythography: From Roman North Africa to the School of Chartres, A. D. 433–1177,* vol. 1, (Gainsville, 1994), 61: "There is also a commentary on the *Ecloga Theoduli* by Alexander Neckam . . ."; cf. pp. 485 and 635 n. 41. B. N. Quinn, "Ps. Theodolus," *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum* 2 (1971): 386–408 at 389–90, notes that among the forty-seven extant manuscripts of the commentary, dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, two Paris manuscripts, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 2638 and lat. 1862, claim the commentary for Alexander Neckam, but she admits that there is "no sure evidence for his authorship" (390). J. Osternacher, *Theoduli ecloga* (Urfahr, 1902), 7 n.1, records the attribution to Neckam in Paris, BnF lat. 1862; Hunt, *Schools,* 125–47, does not include the commentary in his survey of Neckam's writings or mention it among the *dubia et spuria* (147–49).

[4] Hunt, *Schools,* 125, tentatively dated the work "c. 1197+".

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sion of the beginning of Genesis: "Si quis autem diligentiorem explanationem principii Geneseos inspicere desiderat, legat opus nostrum quod *in laudem beatissime virginis* scripsimus. . . ."[5] Among the excerpts transmitted in the great florilegium of Neckam's theological works, preserved today in Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.42,[6] Hunt found several that were advertised under the heading *Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis,* and one of them did in fact present a mystical interpretation of Genesis 1:3.[7] On this basis, Hunt reasonably inferred that every other passage bearing the same heading derived from the same work. Though Hunt did not elaborate, there may have been other factors that influenced his train of thought. He had already established that the florilegium was the sole medium of transmission for almost half of the passages culled from Neckam's sermons.[8] By analogy, the compiler might well have preserved fragments of a work on the Virgin by Neckam that had yet to be recovered. Other signs appeared to support this working hypothesis. The antiquarian John Leland had claimed to have seen a manuscript of the work in Cirencester,[9] while John Bale also mentioned it among his notes. Because Esposito could not produce the evidence to confirm what he

[5] Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum* 1.2 (ed. Thomas Wright, *Alexandri Neckam De naturis rerum libri duo,* Rolls Series 34 [London, 1863], 16; cited by Hunt, *Schools,* 24–25, who added the italics). Concerning this reference, Esposito, "On Some Unpublished Poems," 470, pointed out that the phrase *Laus Beatissime Virginis* occurred as a subtitle to Neckam's *Expositio in Cantica;* on p. 463 he supplied the full title of the work from a late fourteenth-century manuscript, London, Lambeth Palace 23: "Expositio super Cantica Canticorum et Laudem Gloriose et Beate Virginis Matris et de Mysterio Incarnationis Libri vi." (On the Lambeth codex, one of the seven extant manuscripts of the commentary listed by Hunt, *Schools,* 137, see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace: The Mediaeval Manuscripts* [Cambridge, 1932], 37–38.) Russell, "Alexander Neckam in England," 266, was content to assert that "Laus Beatissime Virginis" was "probably not a subtitle" of the *Expositio in Cantica.* Less certain is an earlier reference, noted by Hunt, *Schools,* 24 n. 29, in *De naturis rerum* 1.1 (ed. Wright, 10.6–10, and note a).

[6] For a brief description of the florilegium, see Hunt, *Schools,* 118–19, 147. An analysis of the manuscript is offered in my article, "Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 6. 42, Alexander Neckam and the *Sacerdos ad altare,*" *Studi medievali* (forthcoming, 2004). Russell, "Alexander Neckam in England," 266, lists under "B. Supplementary List" the folios that contain extracts from the *Laus Beatissime Virginis;* to these should be added the following references: fols. 17r, 21r, 34r, 52r, and 57r. Russell described the anthology as probably deriving from "a commentary on Genesis, as Neckam's statement suggests." See Hunt, *Schools,* 24–25.

[7] Cf. *De naturis rerum* 1.2 (ed. Wright, 12): "Mystice autem per terram potest intelligi tam incolatus iste quam caro humana, quae ex terra sumpta, iterato in terram est redigenda." Hunt, *Schools,* 25 n. 30, located the extract from Genesis in the florilegium, fols. 24v–29v; it is edited as item 11 below.

[8] Hunt, *Schools,* 21, 152.

[9] See *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons,* ed. T. Webber and A. G. Watson, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (London, 1998), 28; Leland saw a copy of the *Laus Beatissimae Virginis* in Cirencester: No. 9: "Alexander Necham de laude gloriosae uirginis."

suspected, namely that the reputed treatise might be linked to Neckam's commentary on the Song of Songs, he consigned it to the limbo of Alexander's lost or unidentified works, where it has languished ever since.[10]

The limited aim of this note is to demolish the claim that these extracts attest the existence of an autonomous lost work on the Virgin, whether it was entitled *Laus Beatissime Virginis* or some other such variation thereon. Except in the case of two extremely short excerpts,[11] the selections were taken from Neckam's influential, though still unpublished, commentary on the Canticle of Canticles, as the passages, cited *in extenso* below, demonstrate.[12] When they are added to the 103 extracts from the commentary that are identified in Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.42 by the title *Commentum super Cantica,* they constitute the third largest number of quotations gathered from twenty works of Neckam's corpus, after the sermons and the five books of the *De naturis rerum* respectively. This fact not only reveals the high esteem in which a near contemporary held the commentary, but it also reflects the prominence the study of the Canticle attained more generally. Perhaps no biblical text, apart from the Psalter, was more read and explicated in the Middle Ages.[13] The twelfth century witnessed a great surge of Marian devo-

[10] Esposito, "On Some Unpublished Poems," 470; Hunt, *Schools,* 24, 130.

[11] Items 16 and 17 edited below.

[12] Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800–1200* (New York, 2002), 291, observes that Neckam's Marian exegesis of the Song of Songs became authoritative among fourteenth- and fifteenth-century commentators. Helmut Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit der Kirche in den lateinischen Hoheliedkommentaren des Mittelalters,* Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters 38.3 (Münster W., 1958), 325–33, prints *C. Cant.* 1.6 from Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 356, fols. 8vb–11vb. Raphael Loewe, "Alexander Neckam's Knowledge of Hebrew," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958): 17–28, edits from London, British Library Royal 4.D.xi. excerpts from *C. Cant.* 1.13 (26 n. 4), 16 (22 n. 1); 2.16 (21 n. 2: *rectius* 2.9); 3.12 (24 n. 1), 25 (21 n. 3); 4.5 (22 n. 4), 10 (22 n. 5); 5.10 (23 n. 5). Hunt, *Schools,* cites evidence for Neckam's life and works from *C. Cant.* 1.4 (8 n. 36), 8 (82 n. 82); 2.8 (107), 18 (107 n. 57); 3.16 (96 n.6); 4.5 (86 n. 9), 10 (109), 12 (104 n. 46); 6.12 (93 n. 46), and 14 (49).

[13] Russell, "Alexander Neckam in England," 261, dismissed the exegesis on the Song of Songs as "one of the least interesting of Neckam's works," a claim rightly contested by Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit,* 321 and n. 1. On the reasons for the popularity of the Canticle, see V. Minet-Mahy, "Étude des métaphores végétales dans trois commentaires sur le Cantique des cantiques (Origène, Apponius, Bernard de Clairvaux)," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 46 (2003): 159–89 at 160 n. 4. E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1990), 203–10, provides an inventory of Latin commentaries on the Canticle, from Origen in the third century to Wolbero of St. Panteleon in the twelfth. For a modern appreciation of Alexander's innovative approach to the tradition of Marian exegesis and the influence of his commentary, see Rachel Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion, Marian Exegesis, and the Historical Sense of the Song of Songs," *Viator* 27 (1996): 85–116 at 85–87. See also Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990).

tion,[14] a development that was paralleled in the same period by the commentary tradition's heavily inflected Marian interpretation of the Song of Songs. Recent studies by Rachel Fulton have convincingly argued that this reading rested upon an "historical" reading of the *Cantica,* an approach that served to stimulate interest in and meditation upon the lives of the Virgin and her son.[15]

Confusion about the status of the *Laus Beatissime Virginis* is clearly bound up with the more general problem of the instability that affected the titling of works in the medieval period. The different wording of the titles attached to the same work often showed considerable variation.[16] The different ways in which Neckam himself referred to the provisionally titled *Laus Beatissime Virginis* is a good example of this phenomenon and may serve as a suitable starting point for our investigation. The first cross-reference occurs in a short treatise entitled *Meditatio de Magdalena:* "Non inmerito currere perhibetur Maria; contemplatiua namque expedite currit uiam uite, sarcinulis rerum inutilium abiectis et relegatis procul sollicitudinum molestiis. De cursu autem Petri et Iohannis dilucide, licet breuiter, nos expediuimus in laudibus uirginis matris."[17] The passage to which Neckam refers may be found in the commentary on the Canticle (Oxford, Magdalene College 149 [*M*], fol. 51rb–va), where the topic is elaborated and its importance signalled by a rubric in the right hand margin: *De cursu Petri et Iohannis.*[18] The second notice appears in Neckam's *Super mulierem fortem,* where the topic concerns the truth that can be conveyed through historical understanding (*historialis intelligentie ueritas*). Once again Neckam directs the reader to his prior treatment of the subject "in laudes gloriose dei genetricis."[19] The identity of the specific work

[14] See the collected essays in *Marie: Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale,* ed. Dominique Iogna-Prat et al. (Paris, 1996).

[15] Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 97–101. Friedrich Ohly, *Hohelied-Studien: Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Hoheliedauslegung des Abendlandes bis um 1200* (Weisbaden, 1958), 242, points out the rich Marian interpretation of the Song of Songs by the Augustinian canons of Cirencester from the early thirteenth century. Neckam came to be cited as the authority for the Marian interpretation of the *Canticum* in the fourteenth century; see B. Smalley, "John Russell. O.F.M.," *Recherches de la théologie ancienne et médievale* 23 (1956): 277–310; cf . Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion,* 291, 559 n. 13.

[16] Richard Sharpe, *Titulus. Identifying Medieval Latin Texts: An Evidence-based Approach* (Turnhout, 2003), 34–44, outlines the array of difficulties involved in identifying particular works.

[17] Alexander Neckam, *Meditatio de Magdalena,* ed. Thomas H. Bestul, "The Meditation on Mary Magdalene of Alexander Nequam," *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 9 (1999): 1–40 at 34, lines 9–12.

[18] H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS qui in collegiis aulisque oxoniensibus hodie adservabantur,* vol. 2 (Oxford, 1852), 71–72, gives a summary description of contents of the manuscript. Hunt, *Schools,* 126, places the meditation among Neckam's undated works.

[19] R. W. Hunt, "Alexander Neckam" (Diss., University of Oxford, 1936), 14; Hunt,

indicated by these words is put beyond doubt in yet another self-reference. In the theological treatise entitled *Speculum speculationum,* Neckam refers the reader to a fuller discussion of a verse that he had already explicated in his commentary on the Canticle: "*Anima* item pro mente ponitur ibi: 'Magnificat anima mea Dominum.' Plenius autem tractauimus de his in tractatu, que composuimus super Cantica Canticorum in laudem beate Virginis."[20] In this instance Neckam provides the complete title of the work he had in mind. To the name of the biblical book commented upon he adds information that specifies his view of the work's exegetical centre of gravity.[21] The reason for devoting the work in praise of the Virgin Alexander narrates in a passage from the commentary that has often been quoted. Here he tells how every year in December he became ill when he refused to observe the feast of Mary's conception. Recovered, he acknowledged the feast and wrote a commentary in praise of Mary "as an intellectual thank-offering."[22]

Schools, 24 n. 29; Alexander's reference is too vague for any single passage to be identified. The topic of *hystorialis intelligentia* crops up periodically in *C. Cant.*, e.g., 1.7 (*M,* 12va); 1.12 (*M,* 21rb), "Aliqua igitur ad ornatum ipsius uirtu(t)um spectantia perstringamus, que ex ueritate hystorie euuangelice elici facillime possunt"; 2.17 (*M,* 53va), "In cellarium uero misteriorum eloquii diuini inducta sponsa non est, contenta simplici et communi uino hystorialis intelligentie . . ."; 4.9 (*M,* 111va), "Latent in sinu nature subtiles rerum cause, que delicias desiderabiles in thesauris suis prouida recondit, ut in earum inuentionem feruentius exardescat amor ueritatis animo naturaliter insitus humano. . . . Commendabilis quidem est absque eo quod latet intrinsecus superficies historialis intelligentie"; and 4.10 (*M,* 113vb), "Precedat igitur historialis intelligentia misticam expositionem, dummodo in hiis preconiis uirginis matris utraque deseruiat"; cf. also Hunt, *Schools,* 96 n. 6; on p. 126 Hunt assigns the *Super mulierem fortem* after 1213 among the final works of Alexander's literary career. Denis G. Mahoney, "A Critical Edition of Alexander Nequam's *Tractatus super mulierem fortem:* section one" (Diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champagne, 1971), xxvi, notes that the "mulier fortis" refers variously to Mary Magdalene, the Virgin Mary, and the figure of Ecclesia.

[20] Alexander Nequam, *Speculum speculationum* 4.6.1, ed. R. M. Thomson, Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi 11 (Oxford, 1988), 391–92; the chapter heading is "Quomodo distinguant quidam inter animam et spiritum et mentem." The passage in the Canticle commentary, indicated by the cross-reference in the *Speculum speculationum,* is found in *C. Cant.* 3.6 (*M,* 67rb–68rb).

[21] In passage 11 below, Neckam mentions another of his works by title: "Qui autem moralem expositionem istorum desiderat, legat, si placet, opus illud tropologicum, quod inscripsimus solacium fidelis anime."

[22] Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion,* 290. The text of this autobiographical fragment in *C. Cant* 1.4 is edited by Russell, "Alexander Neckam in England," 261, whose interest is primarily centred on collecting evidence about Oxford in the twelfth century. The passage is also published by Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit,* 322 n. 4, and by Hunt, *Schools,* 7–8 and n. 36; cf. Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion,* 558 n. 4. In another autobiographical aside, Neckam relates how a sudden life-threatening illness almost prevented him from completing his work on the Canticle, when he was in sight of the end. His recovery he attributed to the Virgin's intercession; cf. *C. Cant.* 6.21 (*M,* 188rb), "Set me sanitati restit(ut)us uoluit mater salutis, quam et

The external evidence for the title of the commentary, which includes thirteenth-century copies of the work, reveals that some expand upon Alexander's description, but none identifies it solely by the descriptive phrase used by Neckam in his own writings to allude to it:

> Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 356 (SC 2716), fol. 52vb: "Incipit exposicio super cantica canticorum in laudem gloriose ac perpetue uirginis Marie."[23]
>
> Oxford, Balliol College 39, fol. 133r: "Explicit liber tercius magistri ALEXANDRI NEQUAM super cantica Canticorum."[24]
>
> Oxford, Magdalene College 149, fol. 41vb: "Incipit expositio super cantica canticorum in laudem gloriose ac perpetue uirginis Marie."[25]

The monk Galfridus, the author of the florilegium preserved in Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.42 clearly had access to an exemplar of the commentary with a title that resembled those recorded in Bodley 356, Magdalene 149, and London, Lambeth Palace 23.[26] This is evident from the rubric he used to label the extracts: *Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis.*[27] To him and to Geoffrey, abbot of Malmesbury (1246–60), the dedicatee of the florilegium,[28] it must have been common knowledge that the source book in question ("ex libro edito") referred to Neckam's *Expositio super Cantica Canticorum,* which, as the author states throughout, was centrally concerned

operi nostro laudibus eius obnixe deseruienti felicem reor prestituram esse consummationem, per quam et spero ratem uite nostre ad portum salutis fore perducendam. Ad ipsam igitur, que est stella huius maris magni, oculos mentis erigentes dirigamus tam uite quam tractatus nostri cursum."

[23] Cf. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford,* vol. 2, pt. 1 (Oxford, 1922), 510.

[24] R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), 28; Esposito, "On Some Unpublished Poems," 463.

[25] Hunt, *Schools,* 137, reports the titles for London, British Library Royal 4.D.xi (s. XIII), fol. 1 ("Alex. Nequam super cantica"), and Cambridge, University Library Ii.2.31 (s. XIV); cf. *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge,* vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1858), 401. The most recent manuscript, Oxford, New College 43 (s. XIV), bears the title "Alexandri Neckham in cantica canticorum expositio . . ."; cf. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum,* vol. 1 (Oxford, 1852), 11. See also F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* 11 vols. (Madrid, 1950–80), no. 1168.

[26] The title of the commentary in the Lambeth codex is quoted in n. 5 above.

[27] The manuscript Galfridus used for the process of excerpting remains to be identified. If it is extant, the beginning and end of each excerpt may be marked by pairs of dots or some other scribal notation to indicate to the copyist the points where he should begin and end his transcription. For an actual example of this practice, see M. D. Reeve, "Modestus, *scriptor rei militaris,*" in *La tradition vive. Mélanges des textes en l'honneur de Louis Holtz,* ed. Pierre Lardet (Paris, 2003), 417–32 at 430–31.

[28] Hunt, *Schools,* 118; idem, "Alexander Neckam," 118–19, 160.

with glorifying the Virgin ("in laudem gloriose uirginis").[29] Neckam's own manner of auto-citation also suggests that within his monastic community, the Augustinian house of St. Mary's in Cirencester, the work was so familiar that it did not require a more precise designation. Yet it is typical of the fluidity of contemporary practice in the matter of titling that in the florilegium the majority of extracts from the commentary carry the identifier *Commentum in Cantica.*[30]

All the extracts identified by the heading *ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis,* except for passage 21, are drawn from the first book of the commentary, in which Alexander meditates upon the Immaculate Conception, events in the life of the Virgin, and their significance for the church and salvation history.[31] The first excerpt is taken from the chapter on the Annunciation (*C. Cant.* 1.17 [*M,* 34va]), and is followed by others that reflect upon the Incarnation (1.16, *Quare Filius sit incarnatus* [*M,* 26va]), a theme that is also

[29] The compiler either modified the title contained in the manuscript from which he made the selections or he extrapolated the information from the commentary itself, e.g., *C. Cant.,* Prologus (*M,* 2va), "Exeat igitur in puplicum opus nostrum; nichil enim temerarius liuor audebit moliri in laudes gratiose uirginis . . ."; Prologus (*M,* 2vb), "Spe igitur erecti in laudes uirginis matris exurgamus"; 6.13 (*M,* 171vb), "Quidam codices habent: 'et odores tui sicut malorum.' Impar preconiis gloriose uirginis uidetur hec commendatio, cum in laudem eius gratanter decantetur ecclesia";" 6.14 (*M,* 177va), "Tibi, dulcissima mediatrix dei et hominum, me ipsum offero, tuis seruiet laudibus ingenium meum"; 6.25 (*M,* 193vb), "Putasne me a laudibus gloriose uirginis cessaturum, cuius preconiis se iugiter deseruire gloriantur superni ciues?" Note also the marginal note in *M,* 107va: "Alia littere explanatio in laudem gloriose uirginis," as well as the title introducing *C. Cant.* 4.9 (*M,* 111va): "Alia littere precedentis explanatio in laudem uirginis gloriose et sancte ecclesie et fidelis anime."

[30] Sharpe, *Titulus,* 174, reflects this difficulty in his decision to compromise on an English title "Commentary on the Song of Songs" rather than settling on one of the many Latin nouns transmitted in the codices. It is worth noting here that the title of Neckam's meditation on Mary Magdalene is recorded as *Meditatio magistri Alexandri de Magdalena* in the sole witness, Hereford, Cathedral Library O.1.2, fol. 131r (cf. Bestul, "Meditation on Mary," 1), but the compiler of Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.42 consistently refers to it as the "Conuersio Magdalene" in the four extracts he cites from the work.

[31] Hunt, *Schools,* 104. The focus upon the Virgin in book 1 is reflected in the capitula (*M,* 3ra): "I Vt lectioni sacre scripture diligens inpendatur opera; II De mistico intellectu et sensu litterali; III Quod beata uirgo sanctificata fuerit in utero matris sue; IIII De conceptione beate uirginis et eiusdem natiuitate; V Item de conceptione beate uirginis; VI Quod beata uirgo misterium fuerit sancte ecclesie; VII De gloriose uirginis conceptione et natiuitate; VIII De natiuitate beate uirginis; IX Quod beata uirgo signum fuit federis inter deum et nos; X Rursum de natiuitate beate uirginis; XI Rursum de natiuitate beate uirginis; ⟨XII⟩ De uita inclita et moribus honestis et exactissima conuersatione beate uirginis; XIII Quod beata uirgo prius esset desponsata quam fecundata, permanens in gloria uirginitatis; XIIII [XV MS] De matrimonio beate uirginis et Ioseph; ⟨XV Item de matrimonio beate uirginis et Ioseph⟩; XVI Quare filius sit incarnatus; XVII De angelo Gabriele misso ad beatam uirginem."

central to Neckam's reading of the Song of Songs.[32] The final few passages are drawn from *C. Cant.* 1.6 (*Quod beata uirgo mysterium fuerit sancte ecclesie* [*M,* 6va]) and 1.7 (*De gloriose uirginis conceptione et natiuitate* [*M,* 8va]).[33] In short, the first book, which serves as a lengthy introduction to the commentary,[34] consists of a series of theological meditations on Marian themes, although not one is based upon a text from the Song of Songs.[35] A prologue introduces the work with a celebration of the virtue of obedience, exemplified in a series of Old Testament figures, from Noah to David, before it culminates with praise for the "humilis obedientia" shown by the Virgin, who consented to carry in her womb the "auctor rerum" (*M,* 2a).[36] Alexander lays the foundation for his commentary by devoting two programmatic chapters to interpretive issues (1–2), in which he argues that the inherent richness of the Song of Songs as an exegetical text cries out for multiple methods of exegesis. In the next three chapters, he addresses questions surrounding the Immaculate Conception (3–5). In them he introduces theological arguments to justify his change of mind regarding the solemnity of the feast of the Conception and supports the case for the sanctification of the Virgin in the womb of

[32] *C. Cant.* 5.4 (*M,* 133vb), "Principale propositum Salomonis est in hoc carmine epithalamico de misterio incarnationis agere."

[33] As noted above in n. 20, the reference to the *Expositio super Cantica* in the *Speculum speculationum* 4.6.1 (ed. Thomson, 391–92), is to *C. Cant.* 3.6 (*M,* 67rb–68rb). This cross-reference to a passage in the third book of the *C. Cant.* suggests that the words "in laudem gloriose uirginis" could be applied to refer to the entire commentary, and were not limited to book 1.

[34] Rachel Fulton, "'Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?': The Song of Songs as the *historia* for the Office of the Assumption," *Mediaeval Studies* 60 (1998): 55–122 at 60–61, begins her study by underlining the importance of "historia" as a mode of exegesis upon which the mystical interpretation of Scripture was based. In her survey of medieval commentaries on the Song of Songs, "Mimetic Devotion," 94, Fulton notes that the first book of Rupert of Deutz's commentary rehearses the main events in the Nativity cycle, based on the Gospels. This "historical" approach is also evident in Neckam's attempt to construct a biography for the Virgin (*C. Cant.* 1.12–15); see n. 39 below. In *C. Cant* 1.17 (*M,* 41va), the final chapter of the book, Neckam prepares for the commentary proper with these words: "Fuit igitur tempus tacendi, set ecce nunc est tempus loquendi. Totus tue dulcedini supplicat orbis, ut que humiliter inchoasti, prudenter responsum tuum consummes. Audiamus igitur uerbum salubre, uerbum salutis, in cuius prolatione uera salus mundi aduenit. Fiat michi secundum uerbum tuum: 'Osculetur me osculo oris sui' [Cant 1:1]."

[35] E.g., *C. Cant* 1.1–3 are based on Gen 1:1, 1.4 on Gen 1:3–5, 1.7 on Ex 25:10–11, 1.8 on Gen 32:26, 1.9 on Gen 9:13, 1.10 on Num 24:17, 1.11 on Is 11:1, 1.14 on Eccli 24:20, and 1.17 on Lc 1:26–27. *C. Cant* 1.5, 6, 12, 15, and 16 , however, do not begin by citing biblical (or any other) texts.

[36] *C. Cant,* Prologus (*M,* 2ra), "Tripudiemus et nos coram gloriosa uirgine per archam federis prefigurata, cuius obedientie singularis humilitatem exemplo carentem respexit Altissimus occulis dulcedinis et benignitatis."

her mother.[37] Next he broadens the enquiry (6) to explore the mystical connections between the Virgin, the soul (*anima fidelis*) and the Church, another resonant theme of the commentary.[38] Mary's birth occupies no fewer than four chapters (7, 8, 10, 11), while two others eulogize the course of her exemplary life,[39] as well as her betrothal and marriage to Joseph (12–14).[40] After setting out reasons for the Incarnation (16), the book closes with the Annunciation (17). On this note, Neckam concludes the extensive preliminaries to his commentary, which formally begins with the exegesis of Cant 1:1 in *C. Cant.* 2.8 (*M,* 45rb). From this point on, Neckam generally adheres to the order of the text, with some notable exceptions.[41]

In Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.42, which probably represents a fair copy of the original,[42] the passages are accompanied by glosses that mark points of especial importance, identify the names of classical and patristic authors and include brief rubrics. As expected, the excerpts are not copied out in the order in which they occur in the commentary but follow rather the theological agenda of the compiler, although its general outline remains ob-

[37] Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit,* 321–24, underlines the originality of Alexander's treatment of particular theological issues as well as the highly polished style in which he presents them. X. Le Bachelet, "Immaculée Conception," in *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique,* ed. A Vacant and E. Mangenot, vol. 7 (Paris, 1927), 845–1218 at 1037–40, includes several quotations from *C. Cant.* 1.3 in the course of summarizing Neckam's argument and his response to opponents of the feast.

[38] E.g., *C. Cant.* 4.13 (*M,* 116rb–va), "Breuiter uideamus quonammodo hec aptari possint sancte matri ecclesie. . . . Si ad statum anime fidelis ista referre uolueris, per collum designabitur humilis obedientia, per turrim patientia. . . . Sed ecce sponte recurrit stilus noster ad beatam uirginem, cuius laudibus se debere gloriatur"; 4.24 (*M,* 128vb), "Ortus ergo sacrosancte ecclesie aut etiam fidelis anime clausus et cinctus angelorum custodia generosis arboribus uirtutum consitus est."

[39] E.g., *C. Cant.* 1.12 (*M,* 20vb–21ra), "Beata igitur uirgo, preclaris nature deliciis insignita, . . . sub diligenti . . . parentum custodia et feliciter et honeste educata est; . . . ad annos pubertatis . . . silentii . . . non solum custos, set sedula cultrix fuit. . . . Cum uero res desiderabat, ut illud illud sanctissimum os aperiret, prius ueniebant uerba ad limam quam ad linguam. Dulcis et mitissima erat affatu et suauis eloquii et circumspecti sermonis. Fecunda erat moribus et uerbis facunda tanquam futura mater uerbi." Neckam also works up the spare details reported in the Gospels: "Aliqua igitur ad ornatum ipsius uirtutum [uirtuum MS] spectantia perstringamus, que ex ueritate hystorie . . . euuangelice elici facillime possunt" (*M,* 21rb).

[40] *C. Cant.* 1.13 (*M,* 21vb) continues in the same vein: "Ut igitur beata uirgo non solum uirginibus esset exemplar uenerabile et imitatione dignum set et coniugalis, placuit alto trinitatis consilio, ut desponsaretur uiro iusto et pio et castissimo, qui uirginitatis intemerate uirginis custos esset fidelissimus."

[41] After commenting on Cant 4:15, Neckam proceeds to discuss Cant 5:1 (*C. Cant.* 4.24 [*M,* 129rb], reserving discussion of Cant 4:16 to the beginning of the next book (*C. Cant.* 5.1 [*M,* 129vb]). The Canticle is divided up for comment into the following books: Cant 1:1–1:7 (bk. 2); 1:8–2:17 (bk. 3); 3:1–5:1 (bk. 4); 4:16–6:12 (bk. 5); 7:1–8.14 (bk. 6).

[42] Hunt, *Schools,* 118.

scure.[43] A rough guide, however, is provided by the rubrics that introduce each major section and supply an encapsulated description of its contents.[44] The intertextual differences between the extracts and the text of the commentary preserved in *M* are minimal. Almost every passage is transcribed with great accuracy, with the compiler intervening only to alter the syntax to effect coherent introductions or transitions from one passage to the next.[45] Nevertheless, one modification is sufficiently striking that it may enable the source manuscript to be identified. In a series of apostrophes in passage one, the noun *ciuitas* replaces *regnum* throughout, a substitution that generates a number of minor syntactical modifications caused by introducing a noun of a different gender. The contents of the rest of the passage remain close enough to the original that the exchange may have resulted from a lapse of memory. Consultation of the remaining five extant manuscripts may settle the matter. Of the other passages, two, as already mentioned, cannot be located in the commentary on the Canticle. While the thought and phrasing of passage 16 echo the contents and sentence structures that often bring chapters to a close, they find no exact verbal parallel in the copy of the text preserved in *M*. Similarly, I failed to locate passage 17 in the commentary, but the extract may be present in one or more of the other codices. If the copyist, not the compiler, attached an incorrect label to the brief extract, it may belong to an entirely different work by Neckam.[46]

The discovery that these excerpts derive from Neckam's commentary on the *Canticum* pays the additional dividend of enabling the relative chronology of Alexander's works to be established with greater precision. In the absence of specific evidence, Hunt had grouped the commentary on the Canticle with works Alexander composed before his election as abbot of Cirencester in

[43] Hunt, *Schools,* 147 detects "no apparent design in the sequence of excerpts."

[44] The headings that divide the first book of the florilegium into sections in Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.42 are "Descriptio misericordie et de eius commendatione" (12v), "De speciebus misericordie"(14r), "De operibus misericordie" (14v), "De misericordia gloriose uirginis" (43r), "De carcere [carcare MS] pene" (60r), "Recursus ad inicium sermonis" (65v), and "ad libellum" (69r; extracts from the *Laus sapientie diuine*). Thus extracts 2–14 below fall under the rubric "De operibus misericordie," while items 15–20 are included under "De misericordia gloriose uirginis." Of the rest, item 21 is grouped under "Contra illos qui muneribus inhiant," and the final piece, item 22, under "De inuidia Iudeorum."

[45] E.g., in passage 2 the introductory words "Sciendum est igitur quia" belong to the florilegist. Contrast the more interventionist method of the author of the *Florilegium Angelicum;* cf. A. A. Goddu and R. H. Rouse, "Gerald of Wales and the *Florilegium Angelicum,*" *Speculum* 52 (1977): 488–521 at 491.

[46] For Bonaventure's distinctions between the literary roles of the scribe and the compiler, which he defined in a prologue to his commentary on Peter Lombard's *Libri sententiarum,* see A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages,* 2d ed. (Aldershot, 1988), 94–95.

1213.[47] Thanks to Neckam's scholarly habit of cross-referencing, the date of its publication can be fixed within a narrower band than was previously possible. It has been plausibly suggested that the commentary grew out of the lectures Neckam delivered in Oxford, where he taught biblical theology during the years 1190–93.[48] A remark towards the end of the commentary lends some support to this suggestion. Here Alexander reveals that he had once entertained an alternative hermeneutical approach to the Canticle while he had expounded the text as a schoolmaster. Although he does not name any institution, his description of the students as educationally advanced points to his years at Oxford.[49] At the other extreme, the reference to the commentary in the *De naturis rerum* clearly establishes that it must have been completed before June 1204.[50] The happy chance that it was also mentioned in the *Speculum speculationum,* discussed above in connection with the commentary's full title, means that the *terminus ante quem* may be pushed back even further than that. On the basis of a decretal of Innocent III quoted in the *Speculum,* Thomson concluded that parts of the theological treatise were already in existence some time after the middle of 1201.[51] Consequently, the commentary on the Canticle must have been in circulation some time before that date, a period of time that would fit well with sporadic allusions that Alexander makes to his advanced years in the commentary.[52] Whenever that was, the

[47] Hunt, *Schools,* 125. George F. Wedge, "Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum*" (Diss., University of Southern California, 1967 [Ann Arbor, 1984]), 50, 101, argued for a date between 1204 and 1213, whereas Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 97, places it sometime between 1197 and 1213.

[48] Hunt, *Schools,* 103–4, discusses the nature and form of the commentary, noting that it was probably delivered in the form of addresses. See also J. I. Catto, "Theology and Theologians 1220–1320," in *The History of the University of Oxford,* vol. 1, *The Early Oxford Schools,* ed. J. I. Catto (Oxford, 1984), 471–517 at 479.

[49] Hunt, *Schools,* 8 n. 39: *C. Cant.* 6.22 (*M,* 192va), "Dum in scolis nobile Salomonis opus uiris maturi pectoris et sublimis intelligentie diligenter exponerem, uisum fuit michi totam canticorum seriem competenter exponi posse de animo humano et sapientia, ita ut dilectus dicatur animus, dilecta dicatur sapientia. Nonnullos autem transitus, licet ex incidenti, in commendationem pagine celestis exposcimus. Finem uero carminis egregii huiuscemodi uolumus expositioni esse obnoxium ex parte, ita tamen ut principali proposito nostro non derogemus." This passage is evidence that Neckam lectured on the Canticle before his conversion.

[50] Hunt, *Schools,* 26, 125, adduces evidence to show that the *De naturis rerum* was written before 1204. Alexander refers to the public launch of the commentary in the prologue to the commentary; *M,* fol. 2va (cited in n. 29 above), suggests that the work was made available as a whole, and not seriatim.

[51] Alexander Nequam, *Speculum speculationum,* ed. Thomson, ix; Hunt, *Schools,* 27, inferred from the designation of Alexander as "canonicus Cirencestrie" in the *codex unicus* that the *Speculum speculationum* was composed before he was elected abbot in 1213.

[52] E.g., *C. Cant.* 1.17 (*M,* 40vb), "Iam ueterani sumus iam ratione mature etatis emeriti. Numquid incipiemus decrepiti militare?"

series of internal cross-references, one of many features that underscore the finished nature of the work, point to the redaction of the entire work as a single entity, rather than its release book by book over a period of time.[53] On the general grounds of the monastic imprint upon the style,[54] form and contents of the commentary,[55] its completion has always been assigned to the years after Neckam's conversion in 1197.[56] This inference is confirmed by several explicit comments, in which Alexander addresses a monastic reader directly or identifies himself with the "claustrales" under discussion:

[53] E.g., *C. Cant.* 3.12 (*M,* 75va), "Set de malis punicis suo loco dicetur inferius" (a reference to the discussion in *C. Cant.* 4.12 [*M,* 114va]); 4.5 (*M,* 104vb), "Sexagenarius perfectionem status supernorum ciuium designat, de cuius numeri uirtute nonnulla dicentur inferius, cum ad misterium sexaginta reginarum peruentum fuerit"; 4.24 (*M,* 129va), "Proprietatem ydiomatis Hebrei patet uerum esse quod diximus. Expositionem igitur debitam reseruemus usque in capitulum sequens, a quo sumet inicium uolumen quintum in laudem gloriose dei genitricis."

[54] Beryl Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics* (Oxford, 1973), 174 and n. 54, points to certain features associated with the monastic style communicated in a letter from Gilbert Foliot to Abbot Rievaulx; the latter had requested that, in composing homilies on St. Peter and St. Paul, Gilbert should spread his wings and not adopt the brevity characteristic of scholastic writing; that is, he should write as a monk and not as former schoolman: G. F. L. C. 334 Foliot writes "Nam et hoc in prece complexus es, ne tuam scolarium more propositionem sub breuitate constringerem, sed, quod proposueras, auctoritatibus cingerem, et id uerbis et sententiis dilatando, non in expositionem solummodo, sed in tractatum extenderem." Although Neckam habitually invokes the modesty topos when discussing the style of the commentary (e.g., *C. Cant.* 1.5 [*M,* 5vb], "Si cui aridum et exangue uidetur genus scribendi quo utimur, recolat quia uilibus pannis dignatus est inuolui Ihesus noster"), it is undercut by the nature of the writing. Not only is the work studded with authorities (e.g., to mention only Christian writers, Augustine [*M,* 5rb, 22va–b, 29va, 166ra, 173vb], Ambrose [*M,* 6va, 168va], Gregory [*M,* 17ra, 19rb, 105va, 117ra, 123vb], Origen [*M,* 17rb, 17vb, 20va, 30vb, 44ra], Bede [*M,* 22vb, 31va], Jerome [*M,* 25rb, 81rb, 88ra], and Anselm [*M,* 27vb, 173vb]), but it is punctuated with authorial comments concerned with stylistic matters (e.g., *C. Cant* 4.24 [*M,* 128vb], "Nos igitur expositiones uariamus uariis legentium desideriis obsecundare desiderantes"). The prose is literary, highly polished, and ornamented with almost every kind of rhetorical figure (e.g., *C. Cant.* 3.2 [*M,* 63rb], " 'Equitatui [equitaui MS] meo in curribus . . . amica mea' [Cant 1:8]: . . . amor mundi mundos amans immundos mundari facit mater munditie . . ."). André Vauchez and Cécile Caby, *L'histoire des moines, chanoines et religieux au moyen âge: Guide de recherche et documents,* L'atelier du médiéviste 9 (Turnhout, 2003), 267, underline the affective element in monastic theology, which found expression in language that was less technical and more literary.

[55] Hunt, *Schools,* 8, describes it as "a monastic production."

[56] While Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit,* 321 n. 1, used the wording of a reference to Augustine to show that Alexander was already a canon when he completed the commentary (Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 356, fol. 7ra [=*M,* fol. 5rb, "Vulgo item notum est quod priuilegia paucorum communem legem non faciunt. Quamquam et illud sancti doctoris nostri Augustini pro me inducere dicentis . . ."]), he does not attempt to locate the work more precisely within the period 1197 to 1213.

> In initio conuersionis uidebitur tibi uita claustralium mons mirre propter difficultates institutionum regularis discipline. . . . Si quem in sancto collegio reperias, qui tibi mons mirre uidetur propter amaritudinem aut acredinem austeritatis nimie, plures inuenies colles thuris per lenitatem mansuetudinis debite. . . . Difficultates, amaritudines, arduas obseruantias pretendent (sc. molesti consolatores) et liberum caput subponi iugo seruitutis indecens esse protestabuntur" (*C. Cant.* 4.15 [*M,* 119va]).
>
> Bone Ihesu, claude ortulum meum uallo discipline regularis . . . (*C. Cant.* 4.23 [*M,* 128va]).
>
> Possunt et hec [Cant 1:7] omnia Marie competere, uitam loquor contemplatiuorum. Sunt ergo nonnulli inter claustrales felicitatem tranquillitatis sue minus attendentes, qui suam condicionem censent infelicissimam, nisi omnia eis suppetant ad nutum. Si uel leuis persecutio . . . per ipsos exagitat, prodolor, fere tedium accidie incurrunt. Reuera nonnullos procellosi flatus concutiunt, set multos mare exeuntes spiritus aure uehementioris usque ad portum comitatur. O utinam saperent et intelligerent ac nouissima prouiderent! O si circumspecte dolores et perturbationum genera attenderent, quibus cruciantur hii, qui lateribus magnatum adherent, profecto se felicissimos claustrales nostri de iure protestarentur! (*C. Cant.* 2.24 [*M,* 61vb).[57]

From this perspective, the numerous passages extolling the life of the cloister and others that are critical of religious who fall short of the monastic ideal take on a personal colouring.[58] And while the commentary may well have had

[57] Cf. Alexander Neckam, *Meditatio de Magdalena,* ed. Bestul, 23, lines 2–26, commenting on Cant 1:7.

[58] Into the former group fall, e.g., *C. Cant.* 3.12 (*M,* 75va), "Sit tibi latibulum claustri dulcissima umbra; in hac sede, in hac quiesce"; 3.16 (*M,* 79rb), "Felix est, qui a nobili scolarium excercitio transit ad scolam uirtutum, ut a quiete claustralium transeat ad iocunditatem triumphantium"; 3.19 (*M,* 82va), "O saltus commendabilis, dum quis relicto strepitu fori mundani transit ad silentium claustri . . ."; 3.22 (*M,* 86ra), "Quotiens autem uiros claustrales cerno inter arcus columpnarum residentes piis uacare meditationibus aut parietibus claustri innixos orare et legere conspicio, reuoco illud ad memoriam: 'ecce columbe ad fenestras suas' [cf. Is 60:8] . . ."; and 4.22 (*M,* 127va), "Felices sunt, qui institutis discipline regularis ita gustant amaritudines eius quod suauitatis iocunditate deliciantur. Sed me iudice felicissimi [felisissimi MS] sunt, qui ad tante culmen perfectionis ascenderunt, ut nullam in obseruantiis regularibus sentiant amaritudinem." The latter include *C. Cant.* 2.20 (*M,* 57vb), "Ad cenobia transeo ditissima, quorum ianuas caritas non intrat exclusa. Si uero uel rari recipiantur hospites, hostes censentur. Panis eis dabitur mucidus, potus acidus, pultes puluere arenoso plene"; 3.24 (*M,* 87va), "Vtinam et hii, qui presunt regimini fratrum sub humilitatis habitu Christo militantium, arceant quorundam insidias fraudulentas, ne uineam utilitatis publice demoliantur"; 4.22 (*M,* 127rb), "Sunt quidam nonnulli commendantes seueritatem districtioris uite, sed pondus dierum . . . abhorrent sustinere. Quidam uero uel seruili timore compulsi uel consuetudini satisfacientes uite regularis traditiones obseruant, set suauitatis eius delicias non sentiunt . . ." ; and 4.23 (*M,* 128ra), "Prodolor! Indiscreta personarum acceptio regularis ordinis euertit instituta."

its genesis in lectures delivered before his conversion, the final form of the work was crafted so as to meet the devotional needs of the private, pious reader, who is so often the addressee of Neckam's exhortations.[59]

Taken together, the evidence converges to place the publication of the work between 1197 and 1201, years that heralded a period of intense literary activity in Neckam's life. The commentary on the Canticle thus belongs among Alexander's earliest biblical commentaries, and it was followed by the *Meditatio de Magdalena,*[60] which must have been produced sometime after 1201, if not earlier.[61]

As Neckam guides his commentary on the Canticle to a close, he reiterates one last time the work's central focus in the course of which he declares another intent: "Decreui tamen adhuc me et aliud opus in laudem ipsius editurum esse, si id celestis fauoris annuat gratia" (*C. Cant.* 6.25 [*M,* 193vb]). Whether or not he fulfilled his promise to produce a second encomium of the Virgin must remain an open question. What is beyond doubt is that the extracts published below form part of the one that he did bring to completion, despite his expressed anxieties that he might not live long enough to do so.[62]

The excerpts, edited from Cambridge, University Library Gg.6.42

1. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis. (7v–8r)

O ciuitas felicissima, in qua tam uere pacis regnat tranquillitas, ut nullis discordie perturbetur insidiis. O uere ciuitas libertatis, a qua procul omnis relegata est seruitus. O ciuitas securitatis, in qua tuta |8r| sunt omnia, adeo nec leui suspicioni locus relictus sit. O ciuitas uberime fecunditatis, in qua Deus erit omnia in omnibus [cf. 1 Cor 15:28].
5 O ciuitas deliciarum, in qua singula ad uotum suppetunt, adeo ut nec tedium in aliquo suas interponere partes queat.[63] (Alexander Neckam, *C. Cant.* 1.17 [*M,* 39rb])

[59] E.g., *C. Cant.* 4. 15 (*M,* 119rb).

[60] Hunt, *Schools,* 9, 26, assigns Neckam's *Gloss on the Psalter* to the early part of his monastic career, although the evidence is not decisive.

[61] Hunt, *Schools,* 126, leaves the *Meditatio* undated; Bestul, "Meditation on Mary Magdalene," 4, broadly associates the work with Neckam's time at Cirencester, based on its formal and thematic similarities to other sapiential commentaries, and its monastic audience.

[62] E.g., *C. Cant.* 1.8 (*M,* 13rb), "Decenti igitur cultu sollemnes ornare sententias studerem, nisi quia ad operis uix inchoati finem accelerare me compellunt mortis insidie, que multorum uite uix inchoate finem inponere molitur festina. Quid quod uerba uenire ad limam non sustinet temporis angustia, adeo ut me michi uix furari queam?"

[63] I supply the corresponding text from Alexander Neckam, *C. Cant.* 1.17 (*M,* 39rb [Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 356, fols. 48vb–49ra]), because the excerpt and the commentary differ slightly: "O regnum felicissimum, in quo tanta tam uere pacis regnat tranquillitas, ut nullis discordie perturbetur insidiis. O uere regnum libertatis, a quo procul omnis relegata est seruitus. O regnum securitatis, in quo tuta sunt omnia, adeo ut nec leui suspicioni locus relictus sit. O

2. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis. (16v–17r)

Sciendum est igitur quia[64] directa causa incarnationis Domini aut etiam redemptionis fuit ipsius misericordia benignissima. Infelix quidem erat Ade culpa[65] in se et tamen propter felicitatem euentus subsecuti quodam locutionis tropo dici potest et felix. Profecto non esset futurus tam felix, tam gloriosus status triumphantium, si non precessisset culpa |17r| primi parentis. Nisi enim precessisset culpa illa, non esset humana natura unita diuine, non esset Deus noster, frater noster. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M,* 28ra])

2 culpa *M* : culpe MS

3. Ex eodem libro. (17r–v)

Si igitur, o peccator, maiestatem deitatis in Christo perhorrescis, accede securus ad humanitatem, accede ad salutem. Mitissimus est saluator tuus; accede. Quid salutem tuam subterfugis? Vulneratus es; paratus est Samaritanus uinum cum oleo infundere uulneribus tuis. Si meticulosus es propter uini quandam asperitatem, considera olei suauissimi lenitatem. (*C. Cant.*, 1. 16 [*M,* 28ra])[66]

Venit igitur summi filius imperatoris, set et ipse qui summus fuit imperator, seruum suum fugitiuum querere. Quoniam uero hostis humani generis, set etiam constitutus sub dominio summi imperatoris, seruum domini sui fraudulenter surripuerat, incidit in constitutionem—siquis in tantam—, immo quoniam et in ipsum dominum suum manus inicere uiolentas ausus est, siquid etiam iuris in seruum habuisse uisus est, de iure amisit. Nonne enim priuilegium sue dignitatis meretur amittere, qui permissa sibi abutitur potestate? Venit igitur sapientia sub humilitatis latens habitu, ut,

8 dominio] domino *M*

regnum uberrime fecunditatis, in quo deus erit omnia in omnibus. O regnum deliciarum, in quo singula ad uotum suppetunt, adeo ut nec tedium in aliquo suas interponere partes queat."

[64] The introductory words "Sciendum est igitur quia" belong to the compiler; *C. Cant.* 1.16 begins "Directa enim causa incarnationis. . . ."

[65] Alexander elaborated the topic of *felix culpa* in his final poem, the *Suppletio defectuum* 2.53–78 (Paris, BnF lat. 11867, fol. 224va–b). J. M. Evans, *Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition* (Oxford, 1968), 123, 188–89, notes the treatment of the theme in late antiquity by Marius Victorius, *Alethia* 1.92–96, and, much later, in William of Shoreham and Milton. See also A. O. Lovejoy, "Milton and the Paradox of the Fortunate Fall," *English Literary History* 4 (1937): 161–79 at 169, 171, who notes its presence in the *Exultet* for Holy Saturday, and in Ambrose *De institutione Virginis* 17.104 (PL 16:331); cf. 173 n. 34 for references to Gregory the Great and Augustine. For the Exultet, see, e.g., *Liber Sacramentorum Engolismensis* CXIII. 734 (ed. P. Saint-Roch, CCSL 159c [Turnhout, 1987], 109.19–21): "o certe necessarium Adae peccatum nostrum, quod Christi morte deletum est! o felix culpa, quae talem et tantum meruit habere redemptorem!" Victor Y. Haines, "The Iconography of the *Felix culpa,*" *Florilegium* 1 (1979): 151–85, reviews the concept and its representation in the visual arts.

[66] This excerpt is continuous with the preceding one. The text of *M,* fol. 28ra continues after the word "lenitatem" with the words "Porro si ad ipsam salutem accedere reformidas, accede libens ad matrem salutis . . . ," which are cited in n. 114 below (passage 15).

que potenter superbiam eiecerat e celo, sapienter eam a terris eliminaret. Venit humilis sapientia, ut elata astucia circumueniretur. Venit misericordia, ut miserum iusticie reconciliaret. Venit lux, ut tenebras nostras illuminaret. Venit pax, ut ima summis reconciliaret. Venit medicus, cui natura seruit, |17v| ut egrotum sanaret. Venit salus, gaudium, uita, uia, ueritas, ut periculum, dolor, mors, error, mendacium exterminaretur. Voluit dux esse uia, ut uiatorem ad se uitam reduceret, et ad patriam perduceret. Venit panis integer, ut frangeretur thesaurus, ut communicaretur sapientia, ut manifestaretur. Vnde et sapiens ait: "Panis integer, thesaurus absconditus, sapientia occulta que utilitas in utrisque?" [Eccli 20:32]. Venit panis angelorum integer, ut fractus est in cruce et post resurrectionem agnitus est in fractione panis, set et suos in hylari fractione panis agnoscit. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 26vb–27ra])

13 celo] celis *M* 17 mendacium] mencdatium MS 18 ad[1]] a MS[a.c.] 21 ut] set *M*

4. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis. (18r)

Preterea. Apud Dominum misericordia et copiosa apud eum redemptio. Quis igitur melius mundum mundaret quam ille, qui fons est misericordie? Quid nam mundius ipsa mundicia mundum mundaret? Adde quia, ut docent sancti, tantam oportuit esse humilitatem ad restaurationem hominis quanta fuit superbia ipsius. Cum igitur tanta esset elatio hominis, ut sine dominio esse appeteret, et ita quantum in ipso erat uoluit esse sicut deus, opus erat tanta humilitate, ut deus homo fieret. Quantum enim homo ascendere quodammodo uoluit, tantum aliquem descendere oportuit. Hoc autem fieri non potuit, nisi deus se ipsum exinaniret, ut formam serui acciperet [cf. Phil 2:7]. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 27vb])

5. Ex eodem libro. Ratio tropologica quare Deus uoluit incarnari.[67] (18r)

Accede igitur securus ad eum, qui cum omnium semper habuerit et habeat noticiam, uoluit tamen infirmitates nostras assumere, ut familiarius cognosceret et in libro experientie legeret, quante et quot sint humane conditionis fragilitates, ut earum conditionem expertus quodammodo libentius et affectuosius nobis delinquentibus ignosceret. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 28rb])

1 eum] filium uirginis *M*

6. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis. Alia ratio de incarnacione [*marg. rubr.*]. (19r–20v)

Rationi item consentaneum erat, ut qui quasi media persona est in Trinitate, mediator noster esset. Humana igitur natura, que ex gemina constat substancia, ad conformationem trinitatis ascendere non potuit sine mediatore. Vnde scriptum est: "Nemo uenit ad Patrem nisi per me" [Jo 14:6]. Quoniam igitur inter animam et corpus per-

[67] In *M* this rubric is placed in the margin of fol. 28rb.

niciosa orta est discordia et bellum intestinum, uenit pax reconciliatrix, uenit mediator |19v| animam sumens et carnem, medium se constituens inter animam et corpus, adeo ut numquam uerbum ab anima uel a carne separaretur. Conuenerunt itaque in una persona substancie tres, uidelicet deitas et anima et corpus, ut sic accederet homo ad conformationem trinitatis personarum in una substancia. Fuit etiam diuinitas quasi maior extremitas, humanitas tanquam extremitas minor, uerbum quasi medius terminus.[68] Caro igitur plasmata et anima ex nichilo creata in primo Adam conuenerunt et quamdiu spiritualis amor illa duo coniungeret, non interueniret separatio. Fastus uero elationis superueniens amorem spiritualem exclusit et statim pre foribus affuit moriendi necessitas. Attende quia dilectio, eo quod duos ligat,[69] nomen sibi competens sortita est,[70] cuius tanta uis erat, ut quamdiu spirituali federe corpus et animam prothoplasti confederaret, miserie, fragilitatis, mortis, corruptionis etiam cuiuslibet per experientiam esset ignarus. Set recedens homo a timore reuerentiali et dilectione Dei spiritualem sui ipsius dilectionem amisit. Seducta igitur anima fallacis fallaci suggestione corrupta est et ipsa corrupta corrupit et corpus. Venit itaque ipsa mundicia carnem de massa corruptionis sumptam mundificans, uenit mediator quasi medium sese interponens inter animam et corpus et, ut utrumque |20r| redimeret, utrumque assumpsit. Carnem igitur nostram assumpsit deus, ut non deesset in quo mortem subiret, cum ex deitatis uirtute morti resistere posset, si uoluisset. Vnde artius in amorem sui nos sibi saluator obligauit, eo quod cum morti resistere posset, mori tamen pro nobis elegit. Ipse autem potestatem habuit ponendi animam suam et iterum sumendi eam. Vnde quidam ait:

Vita eterna, Deus, mortem gustauit ad horam,
Vt miser eternum uiuere posset homo.[71]

Predictis adiciendum est, quod, si uenisset potentia liberare genus humanum, uideretur benignitati nichil reseruatum esse. Si uero uenisset benignitas, uideretur potentia

18 fallaci *om. M* 30 uenisset benignitas] benignitas uenisset *M*

[68] Cf. Alexander Neckam, *Meditatio de Magdalena,* ed. Bestul, 17.29: "... habentes pacem quasi terminum finalem."

[69] Cf. Isid., *Orig.* 8.2.6.

[70] For other examples of etymologizing, cf. Alexander Neckam, *Meditatio de Magdalena,* ed. Bestul, 9.24–25: "Tanta autem fuit amaritudo cordis Magdalene, ut ex re nomen sortita de iure uideretur"; ibid., 17.4–5: "... pacis tranquillitas, a cuius uisione nomen sortitur Ierusalem superna. . . ."

[71] Hans Walther, *Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum,* 2d ed. (Göttingen, 1969), no. 20654(a); R. W. Hunt, "A Manuscript Containing Extracts from the *Distinctiones monasticae,*" *Medium Ævum* 44 (1975): 238–41 at 239–40, notes that these verses are embedded in the *Suppletio defectuum* (Paris, BnF lat. 11687, fol. 125vb). See also A. G. Rigg, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (IV)," *Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1981): 472–97 at 495, no. 150; and Greti Dinkova-Bruun, "Medieval Latin Poetic Anthologies (VII): The Biblical Anthology from York Minster Library (MS. XVI Q 14)," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 61–109 at 101, *Carm.* 61.

effectu suo destituta. Venit igitur sapientia, que quasi media est inter potentiam et benignitatem, ut et potencie reseruaretur quod suum erat, et benignitas effectu suo gauderet. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 27ra–b])

Adde quod, si alius nos creasset et alius saluasset, diuideretur amor noster fluctuaretque mens, cui potius seruire teneretur an creatori an saluatori. Immo etiam uideretur fructus redemptionis, creationis, gratie, de iure preponendus esse. Ut igitur totum amorem nostrum uni reddamus domino, qui nos creauit circa mundi principium, in fine nos recreauit. Ipse quippe principium nostrum est, finis noster est.

Preterea quoniam iustus est Dominus et iusticias dilexit, decuit ut, sicut homo peccauerat, satisfaceret et homo a primo preuaricatore trahens originem |20v| ut, sicut per hominem mors intrauit, ita et per hominem fieret resurrectio mortuorum. Factus est igitur deus homo, ut unus et idem esset uapulans et saluans, paciens et redimens, exsoluens penam et restituens uitam, uictima et uictor. Vt item erigeretur humanitas, inclinauit se maiestas; ut sanaretur infirmitas, infirmata est sanitas. Cecum lux illuminauit, soluit uinctum fortis, reduxit erroneum sapientia, reum misericordia sanauit egrotum. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 27va])

39 dilexit] diligit *M* 41 est *om. M* 46 egrotum] *add.* medicina *M*

7. Quod peccatum hominis fuit remediabile, peccatum autem diaboli irremediabile [*marg. rubr.*]. (20v–21r)

Remediabile item fuit peccatum hominis, quia cecidit inpulsus uiolenter; irremediabile uero fuit peccatum angeli, quem non inpulsio extrinseca set propria presumptio in creatorem suum sese erigens precipitauit. Hinc est quod saluator non angelos, set semen Abrahe comprehendit. Vnde propheta: "Misericordia Domini plena est terra" [PsG 32:5]. Non ait: "Misericordia Domini pleni sunt celi," set dixit: "Misericordia Domini plena est terra." Quid quidem tam de habitabili nostra quam de militanti ecclesia intelligi potest? Quid? Immo et de terra ueritas orta est [cf. PsG 84:12]. Quoniam igitur peccatum angeli non erat consecuturum ueniam, quia uenia indignum omnino erat, noluit spiritus sanctus per Moysen in Genesi de ruina angelorum mentionem facere. De generatione autem celi et terre tractauit, per quam significata est humanitas Saluatoris, ut per celum anima, per terram uero caro Christi figuretur.[72] |21r| Generatio autem anime eius inceptio dicitur. Generatio uero carnis Christi ipsius temporalis fuit conceptio. Primus seriei ueteris instrumenti liber liber est generationis celi et terre, sicut primum sibi uendicat locum liber generationis Ihesu Christi inter libros noui testamenti. Decuit igitur ut uitio careret eius generatio, per quem purganda erat filiorum Eue uitiosa generatio. Venit itaque fortis stans, manum porrigens inpulso iacenti et ipsum ab imis ad summa erexit.[73] (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 27va–b])

2 inpulsio] In pulsio *M* : impulsit MS 14 sibi uendicat] uendicat sibi *M*

[72] Margin (red ink): "Nota."

[73] This excerpt continues copying out the text from the commentary that follows immediately after the previous section (". . . misericordia sanauit egrotum").

8. Item ex eodem libro. Alia ratio de incarnatione. (21r)

Libet dictis adicere, quia uenit deus hominem querere, ut homini presens esset salus. Quid causaris, degener, difficilem esse ascensum in celum? Venit ad te celum. Immo etiam Saluator uiam preparauit in celum, ut membra caput sequerentur, quia non petere exemplum, set dare dignus erat. Venit deus hominem querere et molestum est homini querere deum. Queri debet thesaurus tam pretiosus, tam desiderabilis; immo non solum desiderat inueniri, set et querenti se offert. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 28va–b])

9. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis. (22v–23v)

Rationem autem quam super aduentum primo beatus assignat Augustinus, lector acutus commendet.[74] Cum duo, inquit, in contrarium tendunt, opus est medio ad connexionem extremorum. Quoniam igitur a iusticia eterna nos alienauit iniquitas, intercessit mediatrix iusticia temporalis. Iusticia a summis temporalis ab infimis, ut sic summa imis sociaret.[75] Inter iusticiam autem et miserum oportuit intercedere sempiternaliter miserantem. Nos autem pro paruitate nostra non solum predicta consideramus, set affectuose amplexamur et cum quadam deuota mentis hylaritate |23r| admiramur dei munificentiam, qui cum prius usibus humanis elementorum mundi ministerium concessisset, se ipsum nobis dare postmodum uoluit. O munus dulce, o munus summa ueneratione dignum, o munus operosa diligentia seruandum! Quis nisi infelicissimus tantum munus non amplexetur dulciter spiritualibus amplexibus deuotionis? Quis tam insigne donum non suscipiat iocundissima mentis exultacione?

Expergiscere, anima mea, expergiscere et exurge, exurge, inquam, in laudem tanti doni, quod et dator est et donum. Quid torpes, ignauia? Exurge! Pulcher est et desiderabilis qui uenit, qui omnia ad se trahit. Dulcis est, qui omnia pascit. Potens est, qui omnia regit. Sapiens est, qui omnia penetrat, attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponens omnia suauiter. Suauis est, qui omnia sustinet, pius, qui omnia condonat, munificus, qui omnia, qui seipsum donat, fortis, qui omnia uincit. Immensus est, qui omnia excedit. Diligendus est, qui omnia creauit, qui nos recreauit, qui copiosa redemptione nos redemit. Timendus est, qui omnia destruere potest. Commendandus est, qui reformabit corpus humilitatis nostre configuratum corpori claritatis sue, qui animam humanam eternis deliciis eternaliter reficiet, qui omnia erit in omnibus [cf. 1 Cor 15:28].

Venit[76] |23v| item summus imperator, ut reis ueniam daret. Venit seruos manumittere, set et ad uoluntariam libertatem eos inuitans dixisse uisus est:

Publicus assertor uiciis suppressa leuabo
Pectora; uindicte quisque fauete sue.[77]

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13 exurge exurge *M* : exurge MS 21 corpori *M* : corpore MS

[74] Margin (red ink): "Alia" (*sc. ratio*).

[75] Augustine, *De consensu euangelistarum* 1.35.53 (ed. F. Weihrich, CSEL 43 [Vienna, 1904], 59.21–60.9).

[76] Margin (red ink): "Alia" (*sc. ratio*).

[77] Margin: "Versus." Ov., *Rem.* 73–74.

Venit item ueritas, ut antiquis patribus promissa compleret, ut gemitus compeditorum exaudiret, ut erigeret elisos, ut solueret uinctos. Propter miserias inopum et gemitum pauperum exsurrexit Dominus. Misertus est Syon, quando uenit tempus miserendi eius [cf. PsG 101:14]. Venit ipsa plenitudo, quando uenit plenitudo temporis. Venit legem ueterem adimplere noue lator legis [cf. Mt 1:22; 2:23; Gal 6:2]. Nouum fecit Dominus super terram, femina circumdedit uirum. Quid? Immo omnia noua fecit, qui in mense nouorum, ut nos innouaret, uenit. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M,* 28vb–29ra])[78]

10. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis. Alia ratio de incarnacione [*marg. rubr.*]. (24r–v)

Quis autem figuras umbratiles intellexisset, nisi uenisset lux, ueritatis. Quis librum signatum aperuisset, nisi leo de tribu Iuda [cf. Apoc 7:5]? |24v| Quis archanorum misteriorum legis reserasset intelligentiam, nisi affuisset clauis Dauid? Adimpleta sunt prophetarum uaticinia; enigmata ad facilitatem intelligentie redacta sunt. Expulse sunt tenebre coruscatione uere lucis orbem illustrantis.[79] (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M,* 29ra])

1 ueritatis] ueritas *M* MS

11. Ex incidenti exponitur mistice principium Geneseos.[80] (24v–29v)

"Dixit enim Deus: Fiat lux et facta est lux" [Gen 1:3]. Qui autem factus est ex muliere, est lux facta.[81] Et uidit Deus lucem hanc, hoc est dulciter respexit et specialiter dilexit, eo quod esset bona. Bona est hec lux secundum humanitatem bonitate creata; secundum uero naturam deitatis ipsa bonitas est. Vidit item Deus Pater lucem hanc, hoc est uisibilem fecit, quia factus est uisibilis in humanitate, qui est inuisibilis oculis carneis secundum diuinitatem. Diuisa autem est hec lux cum filiis lucis a tenebris et iis, qui faciunt finaliter opera tenebrarum. Cum item fideles a loco tenebrarum educti sunt, relictis eternaliter in tenebris filiis tenebrarum, diuisa est lux a tenebris. Populus ergo qui sedebat, ut dicit alia translatio, in tenebris, uidit lucem magnam, quando lux uera in tenebris infernalibus refulsit. Habitantibus in regione umbre mortis, lux orta est eis. Diuisit se etiam lux a tenebris, cum a claustris inferni uictor mortis exiuit. Set et in futuro diuidetur lux a tenebris, quando agni separabuntur ab hedis [cf. Mt 25:32].

Sequitur: "Appellauitque lucem diem et tenebras noctem" [Gen 1:5]. Quid est quod dicitur "appellauit", nisi appellari uoluit? |25r| Aut certe tam serena erat hec lux, ut merito sui fulgoris dies appellari posset. Hec lux est Deus de Deo, lumen de lumine, dies de die. Hec est dies, de qua dicitur: "Nonne duodecim hore sunt diei?" [Jo 1:9]. Christus enim dies, duodecim apostoli duodecim hore sunt. Nonne igitur, antequam hec lux mundum illustraret, "tenebre erant super faciem abyssi" [Gen 1:2], hoc est

11 se etiam] etiam se *M* 18 illustraret] illustret *M*

[78] The source text of items 8, 9, 10 and 11, is continuous (*M,* 28vb–29ra).
[79] This excerpt incorporates material that is found immediately after "uenit" in *M,* 29ra.
[80] This rubric occurs verbatim in the margin of *M,* fol. 29ra.
[81] Cf. Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum* 1.1 (ed. Wright, 15.1).

cordis humani uel mundi huius? Veniente autem hac luce tenebre ignorantie et erroris
20 et uitiorum recesserunt. Qui sequitur hanc lucem, non ambulat in tenebris. Terra autem carnis humane erat inanis et uacua, antequam deitas carni associata eam solidam quodammodo efficeret et reformaret, quia nondum terra dederat fructum suum, nondum terra rore celesti compluta erat.

Terra etiam nostre mentis inanis esset et uacua, carens fructu tam dulcis intelligen-
25 tie, nisi radiis dicte lucis esset illustrata. Cum uero dicitur in principio creasse Deus celum et terram, quid nomine celi, nisi anima Saluatoris, quid nomine terre, nisi corpus eiusdem designatur? In principio autem dicitur Deus creasse ista, quia preuidit se ista creaturum. Aut certe nomine principii, ut prediximus, designatur Filius, in quo omnia creasse dicitur Deus pater, quia in sapientia creata sunt omnia. In Filio item
30 creatum est celum, idest anima, tanquam uera pars filii. Set sedens quis in insidiis dicet corpus Christi in Filio non esse creatum, set de uirgine sumptum; |25v| animam uero asseret recte dici creatam, quia de nichilo facta est a Deo. Nonne enim, inquiet, in signum huius rei, cum anima primi Ade creata sit, corpus eius recte plasmatum esse dicitur? Set quid? Que maior lis quam de lana caprina?[82] Verbum namque creandi
35 quandoque stricte, quandoque large accipitur, unde et quelibet res corporea dicitur creatura.

Celum ergo creatum est in celo, quando anima est creata in Filio. Filius enim et celum dicitur secundum quod in Apocalipsi legitur: "Ostium uidi apertum in celo" [Apoc 4:1]. Set quid est quod interponitur? "Spiritus Domini ferebatur super aquas"
40 [Gen 1:2], nisi predictio eius quod postea completum est, cum spiritus sanctus, sicut columba, super Dominum in aquis Iordanis descendit? Quis tam dulcia de cortice littere eliceret, nisi balsamus uite guttas dulcedinis, immo salutis, effudisset cortice eius inciso, hoc est corpore Saluatoris uulnerato? Cui essent ista manifesta, nisi Dominus iste ea suis manifestasset? Quis in noticiam talium uenisset, nisi Dominus ipse uenis-
45 set? Quod est item firmamentum factum in medio aquarum, nisi Dominus, qui mediator est hominum? Aque enim multe, populi multi. Nonne item Dominus in medio tribulationum fuit, quando tot et tantas persecutiones sustinuit? Set aque multarum tribulationum caritatem, quam habuit erga nos, extinguere non potuerunt. Quod autem Dominus firmamenti nomine recte designetur, patet per illud prophete: "Dominus
50 firmamentum meum et refugium meum" et cetera [PsG 17:3]. Diuisit autem Dominus aquas, que erant super firma- |26r| mentum, ab iis, que erant sub firmamento, quando Iudeos incredulos a gentilibus credentibus separauit. Nonne enim Iudei erant aque super firmamentum, quando ipsum firmamentum, Dominum uidelicet, opprimere stu-

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31 animam *M* : anima MS 37 est creata] creata est *M* 43 manifesta] manifestata *M*
49 nomine] nomini MS

[82] Cf. Hor., *Ep.* 1. 18. 15 "alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina . . ."; *Acronis et Porphyrionis commentarii in Q. Horatium Flaccum,* ed. F. Havthal (Berlin, 1866), 474.21: "*lana saepe caprina.* De re uili et paene nulla. Prouerbium est"; *Scholia in Horatium,* ed.. H. J. Botschuyver (Amsterdam, 1935), 383: "ALTER RIXATUR] . . . describit qualitates hominum, qui de nihilo solent contendere."

duerunt? Et secundum ipsorum opinionem Christo superiores erant Iudei, quando uoti sui compotes crucifixerunt eum ipsum numquam resurrecturum sperantes. Gentiles autem per aquas, que erant sub firmamento, figurati sunt, quia Dominus credentium in ipsum caput est.

Sequitur: "Vocauitque Deus firmamentum celum" [Gen 1:8]. Saluator enim celum est, firmamentum est. Dixit uero Deus: "Congregentur aque, que sub celo sunt in locum unum et appareat arida" [Gen 1:9]. Credentes enim in unum per uinculum spiritualis dilectionis congregati sunt, set in uno cenaculo congregati sunt in die Pentecostes centum uiginti discipuli, super quos spiritus sanctus in igneis linguis descendit [cf. Act 10:46]. Tunc autem apparuit arida, quando sancta ecclesia igne spiritus sancti accensa est, adeo ut humore carnalium desideriorum in ipsa desiccato ignita esset spiritu sancto. Set quid est quod dicit scriptura "congregationes aquarum" appellatas esse "maria" [Gen 1:10], nisi quia populus predicatione apostolorum ad Dominum conuersus spiritum habuit contritum et amaricatum quadam intimi doloris amaritudine, dum enormitates suas ad memoriam reduxit?

Que autem est terra germinans "herbam uirentem" et "lignum faciens fructum", nisi |26v| terra, de qua orta est ueritas? Terra enim propter sui stabilitatem dicitur beata uirgo. Herba autem uirens erat Christus in infantia, lignum uero in iuuentute. Fructum autem fecit non solum in predicatione et passione, set in omni ipsius actione. Nulla enim eius actio inanis, nulla fructu carens. Nonne item eius actio nostra est lectio, nostra est instructio? Quod enim factum est in ipso, uita erat, hoc est causa salutis nostre. Quidnam est quod factum est in ipso? Nonne cesus est, uulneratus est, crucifixus est? Quod autem dicitur in Genesi, "germinet terra lignum fructiferum" [Gen 1:11], nonne exponit propheta dicens: "germinet terra saluatorem" [Is 45:8]? Videbitur alicui nos minus circumspecta usos esse expositione, eo quod herbam uirentem Christum ratione teneritudinis infantie dixerimus, cum dicat propheta: "Femina circumdabit uirum" [Jer 31:22].

Sciendum[83] igitur est, quia etiam in infantia fuisse uir dicitur Christus tam propter scientie ipsius quam propter ceterorum donorum spiritus sancti perfectionem consumatissimam et quia simul decisa est caro assumpta de beata uirgine et anima infusa. Quod[84] enim dicit Augustinus super Iohannem[85] quadragenarium senarium dierum competere perfectioni dominici corporis, ad manifestam lineamentorum corporis saluatoris distinctionem, ut supra diximus,[86] referendum est. Misterium etiam numeri predicti perfectioni corporis dominici competit. Hoc autem qui |27r| scire desiderat nobile opus Augustini de Trinitate legat.[87] Set ad propositum reuertamur flores pur-

60 per uinculum] periculum *M* 61 set] *add.* et *M* 75 nostre *M* : nostra MS

[83] Margin (red ink): "Quare Christus etiam in infantia dicatur fuisse uir." This rubric is also present in *M*, 29va.

[84] Margin (red ink): "Augustinus."

[85] Augustine, *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus* 10.12 (ed. D. R. Willems, CCSL 36 [Turnhout, 1954], 108).

[86] The compiler inserted the clause "ut supra diximus"; it is not present in *M*.

[87] Augustine, *De trinitate* 4.5–6 (ed. W. J. Mountain, CCSL 50 [Turnhout, 1968], 172–75).

pureos in prato sacre scripture legentes, ut mellificaturi esum deliciosum apiscamur[88]
90 dulce sapientem palato fidelis anime. Quasdam igitur auctoritates ad incarnationem Saluatoris spectantes in medium proferemus eas ad commodum propositi nostri expositurí compendiose.[89] Ceras igitur excudamus et mella tenacia fingamus.[90] Filius igitur dei, qui erat ab eterno imago Dei, factus est in humanitate ad imaginem et similitudinem dei [Gen 5:1]. Iste homo preest piscibus maris et uolatilibus celi et bestiis
95 uniuerseque creature omnique reptili, quod mouetur in terra. Pluuia igitur celesti compluta est terra sanctitatis nec enim prius sic pluerat Dominus Deus super terram. Set quia putaret aliquis terre huius fecunditatem cultui humani laboris fuisse obnoxiam, ideo excludit obiectionem preueniens scriptura, dum subdit [Gen 2:5]: "Et homo non erat, qui operaretur terram," set fons uite scilicet ascendebat e terra irrigans uniuersam
100 superficiem terre. De qua terra loqui me, lector, existimas? De terra loquor uirginea, de terra sanctitatis, de terra, de qua orta est ueritas. Fructus huius terre est secundus Adam, qui de terra stabilitatis formatus est, in cuius faciem inspirauit Dominus spiraculum uite. Signanter autem dictum est |27v| quod sequitur: "et factus est homo in animam uiuificantem." Vnde apostolus: "Factus est primus Adam in animam uiuen-
105 tem, nouissimus Adam in spiritum uiuificantem" [1 Cor 15:45]. Plantauerat autem Dominus Deus paradysum uoluptatis a principio, in quo posuit hominem, quem formauerat. Paradysus uoluptatis est beata uirgo, per quam et paradysus celestis reseratus est. Quid est autem quod dicitur paradysus iste plantatus a principio, nisi quia beatissima uirgo ab eterno preelecta est, ut in ea compleretur diuine miserationis admira-
110 bilis dispensatio? Produxitque Dominus Deus de humo, hoc est de beata uirgine, omne lignum pulchrum uisu et ad uescendum suaue. Per ligna ista designantur uirtutes beate uirginis, quibus consitus erat ille ortus deliciarum, in quo creuit et lignum uite. Pulchre autem sunt uisu insignes uirtutes, quarum uarietate insignita est regina mundi, et ad uescendum suaues, quia mens deuota pre oculis cordis ipsas constituens
115 in eis delectatur. Esca enim spiritualis est anime leticia spiritualis delectationis. Et fluuius egrediebatur de loco uoluptatis ad irrigandum paradysum, hoc est beatam uirginem. Fluuius iste fluuius est letificans ciuitatem [cf. PsG 45:5][91] sacrosancte eccle-

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92 excudamus] excludamus *M* MS 96 nec] non *M* 97 humani] humane MS[a.c] 101 de[3] *om. M* 103 est[2] *ss. in* MS 104 animam uiuificantem] animam uiuentem, quia Christus factus est in animam uiuificantem *M* 111 designantur *M*: designatur MS 116 loco] loquo *M*

[88] Gloss: ". . . ab ape sedula dicitur *apiscor apiscaris,* quod componitur *adipiscor adeptus sum.*" This gloss is also copied out verbatim, with the reading "apisceris" in *M,* 29vb. Cf. Alexander Neckam, *Gloss on the Psalter,* Lambeth Palace 61, fol. 9rb: "plana uero quandoque est, ut lector quasi apicula per campos sacre scripture flores quosdam exerpere possit. . . ."

[89] Margin (red ink): "Auctoritates introducte ad incarnationem saluatoris spectantes." After "compendiose" the compiler omitted the following sentence transmitted by *M:* "Quasdam etiam superius diligenter enucleatas repetemus cum additionis gratia, tum alterius expositionis causa." Then he continues with the sentence beginning "Ceras igitur. . . ."

[90] Cf. Verg., *G.* 4. 57: "excudunt ceras et mella tenacia fingunt."

[91] Cf. Alexander Neckam, *Meditatio de Magdalena,* ed. Bestul, 12.11: "Fluuius igneus ciuitatem letificat."

sie, qui de loco uoluptatis, idest de paterno fonte egressus paradysum deliciarum, |28r| uirginem beatissimam loquor, irrigauit. Qui inde egressus diuiditur in quatuor capita, hoc[92] est quatuor flumina principalia.

Ante mentis oculos constitue, lector, passionem Domini et resurrectionem cum ascensione et eterna remuneratione. Vnde sequitur: "Nomen uni Phison." Phison mutatio oris interpretatur.[93] Ecce iam, o deuote lector, menti tue occurrit sanctissima Saluatoris passio, in qua ille uultus solaris expalluit; uultum suum mutauit uerus Dauid coram Achis [cf. 1 Sam 28–29]. Esto tamen, o pie lector, Abimelech, idest patris regnum,[94] non Achis, quod interpretatur "quomodo est." Tunc sol communis soli iusticie compaciens tanquam creatura creatori suo uultum suum mutauit, quia et uerus sol suum uultum mutauit.

Mutemus et nos uultum Domino pacienti compacientes,[95] sicut imago resultans in speculo uultum mutat, quotiens et ille, cuius est dicta imago, uultum mutat. Sequitur: "Ipse est qui circuit omnem terram Evilath, ubi nascitur aurum et aurum terre illius optimum est" [Gen 2:11]. In primis aduerte quoniam Evilath interpretatur "parturiens" uel "pariens." Fluuius igitur passionis, in qua aque salutares effluxerunt de latere Domini, circuit omnem terram liberi arbitrii cuiuscumque cum apostolo parturientis, qui ait: "Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec Christus reformetur in uobis" [Gal 4:19]. Parturit quidem anima fidelis, quotiens honestum |28v| propositum, conceptum in mente, in lucem nititur, ut mancipetur affectus effectui. Memoria autem passionis dominice circuit mentem cuiuscumque predicto modo parturientis, dum uulnera Saluatoris piis meditationibus intuetur et nascitur in mente tali aurum sapientie, quod optimum est.

Sequitur: "Ibique inuenitur bdellium et lapis onichinus" [Gen 2:12]. Secundum Plinium bdellium est arbor, cuius lacrima lucida, gustu amara.[96] Per bdellium igitur compassio designatur, que lacrimas limpidas elicit et amaras gustu, dulces tamen et placidas in conspectu iudicis serenissimi. Onix autem lapis est preciosus candoris dignitate notabilis,[97] per quem serena designatur conscientia. Sequitur: "Nomen fluuio

127 soli *M* : sole MS 137 nititur] mittitur *M* effectui] affectui MS[a.c.] 141 onichinus] onichimus *M* : onichinis MS

[92] Margin (red ink): "De iiii[or] fluminibus." For a shorter, poetic treatment of the four rivers by Neckam, see *Suppletio defectuum* 2.469–84 in C. J. McDonough, "Alexander Neckam: Creation and Paradise in Book 2 of the *Suppletio defectuum*," in *Anglo-Latin and Its Heritage: Essays in Honour of A. G. Rigg on His 64th Birthday*, ed. Siân Echard and Gernot R. Wieland (Turnhout, 2001) 129–48 at 139–40. See also *De naturis rerum* 2.2 (ed. Wright, 127–28).

[93] Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* 6.11 (ed. P. de Lagarde, CCSL 72 [Turnhout, 1959], 66).

[94] Cf. ibid. 3.5 (ed. de Lagarde, 61).

[95] Margin (red ink): "Nota."

[96] Margin (red ink): "Plinius." Plin., *Nat.* 12.35 (ed. L. Ian and C. Mayhoff, vol. 2 [Stuttgart, 1967], 388.4–10). Alexander Neckam, *Corrog. Prom.*, Cambridge, University Library Kk.5.10, fol. 323r, also cites Pliny as an authority on *bdellium* and *onyx;* cf. Isid., *Orig.* 17.8.6.

[97] Cf. Plin., *Nat.* 37.90 (ed. Ian and Mayhoff, vol. 5 [Stuttgart, 1967], 420.10–13).

secundo Geon." Geon[98] interpretatur hiatus terre et designat resurrectionem Saluatoris, in qua omnis terrenitas absorta est. Per gratiam enim resurrectionis Domini absorta est re in Domino et passibilitas et mortalitas cum uetustate contracta ex primo parente, in nobis spe. Vnde sequitur: "Ipse est, qui circuit omnem terram Ethiopie" [Gen 2:13]. Terra Ethiopie est nostra terrenitas, nostra deformitas, que per resurrectionis gloriam et in nobis absorbebitur.

Nomen uero fluminis tercii Tigris. Tigris interpretatur uelocitas[99] et designat uelocitatem admirabilis ascensionis, cuius gloria hereticam prauitatem uelociter et precise exterminat. |29r| Increduli enim, qui figmentorum suorum idola adorant, dum ueritatem fidei catholice inpugnant, ueraci multitudine testium clarissimorum et omni exceptione maiorum conuincuntur, eo quod fidele testimonium de uisu perhibuerunt. Vnde sequitur: "Ipse uadit contra Assirios" [Gen 2:14]. Assirii interpretantur dirigentes,[100] per quos illi designantur, qui ad nutum uoluntatis sue ingenium suum dirigunt nec errorem suum reprehensi corrigunt, set contra ueritatem erectam ceruicem impudenter tanquam hostes ueritatis erigunt.

Fluuius autem quartus ipse est Eufrates.[101] Per hunc eterna fruitio intelligitur, in qua fructum laboris nostri percipiemus. Eufrates enim "frugifer" interpretatur.[102] Per quas autem partes fluat fluuius iste, non exprimitur, quia quis delicias eterne iocunditatis incomprehensibiles exprimere sufficeret? Non enim sine causa caput sedentis in throno et pedes uelantur alis Seraphin, in quo instruimur, quia tam status ille, qui fuit ante temporis inicium, quam ille, qui erit post diem iudicii, in noticiam nostram non uenit.

Qui autem moralem expositionem istorum desiderat, legat, si placet, opus illud tropologicum,[103] quod inscripsimus solacium fidelis anime.[104] Quod autem sequitur in

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147 gratiam] gloriam *M* 159 corrigunt] orrigunt *M* exprimitur *M* : exprimtur MS[a.c.]

[98] Alexander Neckam, *Gloss on the Psalter*, London, Lambeth Palace 61, fol. 1ra, opens with an allegorical interpretation of the four rivers of Genesis as signifying the four levels of biblical exegesis: Geon = hystoria; Phison = allegoria; Tigris = anagoge; Eufrates = tropologia.

[99] Ibid.: "Tigris interpretatur uelox uel uelocitas, per quem designatur anagoge, que uelox et acutum desiderat ingenium."

[100] Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* 2.16 (ed. de Lagarde, 60).

[101] Margin: "Tigris et Eufrates uno se fonte resoluunt" (red ink). Hunt, *The Schools*, 47 and n. 20, identifies Boethius, *DCP* 5. M. 1.3, as the source. Hunt also records the line's presence in others works of Alexander Neckam, including *C. Cant.*, where it is written in the right-hand margin of *M*, 30rb.

[102] Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum* 5.16 (ed. de Lagarde, 65).

[103] Cf. Hunt, *Schools*, 97 n. 11, who quotes from the preface of the *Solacium fidelis anime* 1 (Canterbury, Cathedral Library Lit. B. 6, fol. 2ra): "Anagogen itaque tractatibus aliis reseruans, specialem in hoc opere tropologie daturus sum operam."

[104] Hunt, *Schools*, 95–96, 104, classifies the *Solacium fidelis anime* as a monastic commentary, in which each day of Creation is moralized. It is extant in a single manuscript, Canterbury, Cathedral Library Lit. B. 6, fols. 2ra–29vb (s. XIII); cf. Hunt, *Schools*, 130–31. Phillip W. Damon, "A Note on the Neckham Canon," *Speculum* 32 (1957): 99–102 at 101, mentions that Holcot cites from the work.

Genesi de sopore misso in Adam et de costa in mulierem edificata [cf. Gen 2:21] prosequi nolumus, |29v| tum quia ab aliis diligenter est expositum et in omnium uenit noticiam, tum quia tantum ea, que ad incarnationem pertinent, elucidare ex parte desideramus ad presens. Quis enim per soporem Ade passionem Domini designari non intelligat? Quis autem sanctam ecclesiam formatam ex latere secundi Ade dormientis in cruce non nouit?[105] (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 29ra–30rb])

12. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis [*marg. rubr.*]. (32r–v)

Fuga temporis elabentis transire me compellit[106] ad illud, quod in Exodo legitur: "Vespere[107] comedetis carnes et mane saturabimini panibus, scietisque quia ego sum Dominus Deus uester" [Ex 16:12]. Vt enim ait Origenes,[108] "in fine et ad uesperam mundi 'uerbum caro factum est.' Set quod dicit Scriptura 'mane' dari hunc panem," cum incarnatus sit ad uesperam, "hoc modo intelligendum puto: quod ad uesperam quidem uergentis mundi et prope finem cursus sui positi Dominus uenerit, set aduentu suo, quoniam ipse est 'sol iusticie,' nouum credentibus reparauit diem. Quia ergo nouum mundo scientie lumen accendit, diem suum quodammodo ⟨mane⟩ effecit et suum mane tanquam 'iusticie sol' produxit et in hoc mane replentur panibus, qui eius precepta suscipiunt."[109] De manna postmodum subditur: "Apparuit in solitudine minutum quasi pilo tunsum in similitudinem pruine super terram" [Ex 16:14]. "Minutum" dicitur subtile, eo quod humanis sensibus incognitum est dominice incarnationis misterium. Quod autem "pilo tunsum" dicitur, ad mundiciam referendum est. Sicut enim frumentum uel milium uel aliquid tale in mortario pilo teritur, folliculis exuitur, sic corpus Christi per tribulationem passionis et pilo crucis mortalitate exutum est. |32v| "In similitudinem pruine" dicitur, quia corpus Christi a feruore uiciorum refrigerat. Sequitur: "Quod cum uidissent filii Israel, dixerunt ad inuicem 'Man hu', quod interpretatur 'quid est hoc'" [Ex 16:15]. Ignorabant enim quid esset. Quibus ait Moyses: "Iste est panis, quem dedit uobis Dominus ad uescendum" [Ex 16:15]. Ecce[110] quanta est Domini nostri munificentia, qui etiam corpus suum nobis dat ad uescendum. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 30vb])

[105] The long excerpt ("Dixit enim Deus . . . in cruce non nouit?" = *C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 29ra–30rb]) continues with the material that follows immediately after "illustrantis" in *M*, 29ra.

[106] The compiler cut these opening words from another sentence in the commentary and pasted them here (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M*, 30va]: "Fuga temporis elabentis transire me compellit ad illam uisionem dignam admiratione, qua uidit Moyses quod rubus [rubet MS] arderet et non combureretur"). In *C. Cant.* 1.16 (*M*, fol. 30vb) the text of the commentary reads "In Exodo item legitur: Uespere. . . ."

[107] Margin (red ink): "Auctoritas introducta ex libro Exodi ad incarnationem Domini spectans."

[108] Margin (red ink): "Nota."

[109] Origenes, *In Exodum homiliae* 7.8 (ed. W. A. Baehrens, *Origenes Werke*, vol. 6, *Homilien zum Hexateuch in Rufins Übersetzung* [Leipzig, 1920], 214.18–19, 215.25–215.6).

[110] Margin (red ink): "Quod Christus animam rationalem habuerit."

13. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis [*marg. rubr.*]. (34r–v)

Proposito etiam nostro congruit illud Ysaye: "Ecce[111] Dominus ascenderit super nubem leuem et ingredietur Egyptum |34v| et mouebuntur simulacra Egypti a facie eius" [Is 19:1]. Mundum enim istum tenebrarum caligine inuolutum lux uera intrans illustrauit, et tam hominum peccata quam idola, quam demoniorum uiolenta dominia de medio sublata sunt. Nubem autem leuem dicit beatam uirginem immunem a contagione peccati, ex quo mundicia ipsa thalamum deliciarum, uterum loquor uirginalem, sedem sibi elegit. Nubes aquas hauriunt et refundunt, quibus terra inpinguatur. Nubes autem ista aquam uiuam hausit Christum concipiendo, refudit pariendo. Virtutibus autem beate uirginis totus orbis fecunditatem quandam spiritualem feliciter adeptus est. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M,* 31ra])

1 ascenderit] ascendet *M* 3 istum *M* : istud MS 7 terra] terram MS[a.c.]

14. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis [*marg. rubr.*]. (40v–41r)

Qui igitur tociens per prophetas scripserat aduentum suum spondens, uenit tandem, uenit ut, qui proscripti eramus, in uitam eternam ascriberemur. Sancta igitur ecclesia aduentum uiri desideriorum desiderans dixisse uisa est: "Tu citius uenias, portus et aura tuis."[112] Verbo itaque, quo omnis creatura quodam modo inscripta fuerat in fine temporum, inscripta est nouo modo caro assumpta de uirgine in mense nouorum, adeo ut legi posset et uideri et manifeste discerni. Verbum igitur, quod ab eterno cor eructauit Patris [cf. PsG 44:2], factum est cor nostrum et datum est nobis cor carneum, ut molle sit cor nostrum et idoneum ad suscipiendum inpressionem similitudinis diuine. Cor nostrum Christus est. Istud est cor illud, quod omni custodia monet Salomon in Parabolis |41r| seruari a nobis [Prov 4:23]. Vecors est, qui summam non adhibet diligentiam, ut cor istud custodiat. Venit ergo ad nos cor nostrum, ille quem ex toto corde diligere debemus. Venit ad nos, ut legem spiritualiter intelligeremus, cor legis, glosa legis, et mens et uirtus et medulla et finis legis. (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M,* 34rb–va])

4 tuis *M* : tuus MS 6 discerni *M* : discernit MS

15. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis [*marg. rubr.*]. (46v–47v)

Accede[113] ergo, o peccator,[114] |47r| libens ad matrem salutis, matrem misericordie,

[111] Margin (red ink): "Alia ex Ysaia."

[112] Ov., *Ep.* 1. 110 (ed. P. E. Knox, *Ovid Heroides. Select Epistles* [Cambridge, 1995]): "tu citius venias, portus et ara tuis." A glossator identified the author of the quotation in red ink in the margin of *M,* 34rb: "Ouidius, versus."

[113] The compiler begins halfway through the sentence, which begins: "Porro si ad ipsam salutem accedere reformidas, accede libens ad matrem salutis . . ." (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M,* 28ra]).

[114] The excerptor inserted the apostrophe "o peccator" here; he may have supplied it from a different sentence in the same chapter: "Si igitur, o peccator, maiestatem deitatis in Christo per-

tutissimum refugium miserorum. Nichil est in ea, quod tibi horrorem incutere debeat, dummodo humiliter appropies. Si propter deitatis mediatoris excellentiam expallescis pauidus, accede ad mediatricem uestram, ad pedes benignitatis ipsius iace prouolutus. Putasne quod te, licet enormem et uilissimum peccatorem, abiectura sit illa, illa que patrona est mundi, refugium peccatorum? Immo certe eriget te leniter, adducet te ad filium suum, iudicem serenissimum; supplicabit etiam pro te filio suo dulcissimo, immo ipsi dulcedini mater dulcedinis pro te allegabit. "Esto securus" perorabit mater sapientie. Quid audeat negare frater tuus matri sue, immo et tue pro fratre suo supplicanti? Occurrat[115] pie mentis tue meditationi[116] quod in tercio libro Regum legitur. Et si enim series precedentium et subsequentium huic meditationi congruere non uideatur, esto tamen quasi mellificatura apicula flores suauissimos et dulcissimi saporis legens et eligens. Vt igitur in libro Regum legitur: "Venit mater Salomonis ad regem Salomonem, ut loqueretur ei; et surrexit rex in occursum eius, adorauitque eam et sedit super thronum suum. |47v| Positusque est thronus matri regis, que sedit ad dexteram eius. Dixitque ei: Petitionem unam paruulam ego deprecor a te, ne confundas faciem meam. Dixitque ei rex: Pete, mater mi. Neque enim fas est ut auertam faciem tuam" [3 Reg 2:19–20]. Attende. Si uenerit mater ueri Salomonis ad ipsum supplicans pro te, non pacietur repulsam. Dicit enim matri sue Salomon uerus: "Non est fas ut auertam faciem tuam" [3 Reg 2:20]. Hoc tantummodo procura, ne Adonias sis, ne erecta ceruice accedens petas quod contra animam tuam sit [cf. 3 Reg 2:23]. Accessurus es ad matrem humilitatis; humiliter accede. Quod iustum est petito,[117] uel quod uideatur honestum. A matre salutis non est petendum quod in salutis dispendium uergat. Proice igitur te inter mediatorem nostrum et uestram mediatricem et antiqui hostis insidias euades. Set dices "Pro dolor! Caro mea infelix tociens libidinis estuantis ignescit incendiis et suades, ut ad uirginem sanctissimam accedam ei supplicaturus? Nonne uera castitas detestatur luxuriam? Audi, queso, audi. Nonne effugere uis libidinem? Accede ergo ad castitatem, accede ad castissimam. Fons uite flammam libidinis in te extinguet. Si turbaris auaricie procellis, si cupiditatis fluctibus agitaris, accede ad stellam maris, fluctuum et |48r| procellarum sedatricem. Si inuidie uiperee

2 incutere MS : incuture *M* 3 expallescis *M* : expallescit MS 4 uestram] nostram *M*
8 perorabit] perorrabit MS 16 confundas] fundas MS[a.c.] 24 uestram] nostram *M*
28 flammam *M* : flamma MS

horrescis, accede securus ad humanitatem, accede ad salutem." This sentence opens the excerpt printed as passage 3 above.

[115] Margin (red ink): "Quod beata uirgo impetrat a filio quod postulat."

[116] Over the words "pie" and "meditationi" in the manuscript are two dots representing a construe sign. On the subject of the glossator's *scientia construendi,* see Suzanne Reynolds, *Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text,* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 27, (Cambridge, 1996), 119. For other examples of this stock phrase, cf. Alexander Neckam, *Meditatio de Magdalena,* ed. Bestul, 9.7: "Occurrit et meditationi nostre . . ."; and ibid., 21 "Nonne occurritur iam tue meditationi, pie lector . . . ?"

[117] Margin (red ink): "Versus."

generationes in te matrem suam corrodunt, terram loquor liberi arbitrii, fuge ad illam, que caput serpentis conterit.[118] (*C. Cant.* 1.16 [*M,* 28ra])

16. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis [*marg. rubr.*]. (48v)

Ad hoc nata est, ut mundo ferat opem et manum suam aperiat inopi et palmas suas extendat ad pauperem piissima Dei et hominum mediatrix, dulcissima peccatorum reconciliatrix.[119]

17. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis [*marg. rubr.*]. (50v)

Salomon item noster, eiusdem spiritus tuba cuius et pater eius Dauid, deseruiens preconiis gloriose uirginis ait in fine[120] Parabolorum: "stragulam uestem fecit sibi bissus et purpura indumentum eius" [Prov 31:22].

18. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis [*marg. rubr.*]. (52r)

O felix letitia uirginis matris, o leta felicitas! Nunc fronti niuee, nunc genis roseis, nunc oculis sidereis oscula impressit, de dulcedine sugens dulcedinem.

(cf. *C. Cant.* 2.8 [*M,* 46ra])[121]

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2 oculis] osculis MS[a.c.]

19. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis [*marg. rubr.*]. (57r–v)

Fugit ergo beata uirgo Herodis insidias, quamuis haberet illum, qui uerum est refugium. De quo propheta: "Domine, refugium factus es nobis" [PsG 89:1]. Fugit mater refugii, fugit ciuitas refugii, |57v| fugit illa, que fugat a nobis aerias potestates.

(*C. Cant.* 1.6 [*M,* 6va])

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1 quamuis] *add.* secum *M*

[118] The text of the commentary in *C. Cant.* 1.16 (*M,* 28rb) continues after "conterit" with the passage that is printed as passage 5 above: "Accede igitur securus ad eum. . . ."

[119] I have found no exact parallel for this excerpt; cf. *C. Cant.* 4.11 (*M,* 114va), "Ad hoc electa es, ut mundo subuenias et miseris precipue, quorum dulcissima consolatrix et mediatrix dei et hominum, que est benedicta in secula amen"; 4.17 (*M,* fol. 121vb), "Intercedit pro genere humano pia mediatrix dei et hominum, deum pro nobis interpellans"; and 6.21 (*M,* 189vb),"O mediatrix dei et hominum! O reformatrix pacis, o benignissima reconciliatrix!"

[120] The excerptor here marks the beginning of the passage by means of a sign.

[121] Cf. *C. Cant.* 2.8 (Bodley 356, fol. 59rb = *M,* 46ra: "Uideor quidem mihi uidere nunc matrem leticie maternis brachiis leniter filium suum sustentantem, nunc osculum prebere sydereis pueri ocellis, nunc fronti niuee, nunc genis purpureis, nunc collo lacteo, nunc labiis roseis") cited by Hunt, *Schools,* 107, and by Fulton, "Mimetic Devotion," 113. n. 105. Two other passages deserve mention: *C. Cant.* 5.9 (*M,* 146ra), "Sepe enim inspexerat oculos pueruli sydereos, frontem niueam, genas purpureas. Illud os filii dulcissimi dulcissimum sepius deosculata est et materna quadam licentia labia sugens delicias suauitatis, odoris et saporis et dulcedinis sensit tota recreata et in admirationem rapta"; and *C. Cant.* 6.15 (*M,* 178vb), "O quotiens tenellis labiis dulcia dulciter impressit oscula Ioseph custos uirginis. . . ."

20. Ex eodem libro [*marg. rubr.*]. (57r)

Fugit beata uirgo in Egyptum, set a cruce Domini non recessit ipsis apostolis fugientibus. Nota autem reprehensionis caret fuga illius, qui solatio gaudet Christi secum fugientis. (*C. Cant.* 1.6 [*M,* 7vb])

21. Ex libro edito in laudem gloriose uirginis [*marg. rubr.*]. (150r–v)

Voluptates igitur transitorie, fallaces, fantastice, momentanee, non merentur nomen deliciarum. Fingat igitur luxurians animus sibi nullam deesse uoluptatis illecebram, immo et uoti compos existat. Numquid uolup- |150v| tates, quarum comes est inmundicia, esse delicie censebuntur? Set quid? Misere sibi blanditur miser homo, dum obscenas uoluptates[122] arbitratur esse delicias. Transeat igitur animus ad illas delicias, que ueri nominis delicie sunt. Transeat cum filiis Israel a deserto in terram promissionis sub Iosue duce magno, ut ab huius incolatus deserto tendat in terram superne repromissionis. [123] (*C. Cant.* 6.18 [*M,* 183vb–184ra])

3–4 inmundicia] in mundicia MS : mundicia *M*

22. (202r–v)

Propiciatorium item arche mentis nostre superponitur, dum in Christo, qui nostra propiciatio est, fiduciam spei et spem fiducie constituimus ad ipsum tendentes, qui efficiens causa[124] nostra est in operibus |202v| creationis, formalis in operibus recreationis, finalis in beatitudinis eterne deliciosa remuneratione. Transeamus iam de filia ad matrem, de misericordia ad caritatem.[125] (*C. Cant.* 1.7 [*M,* 13ra])

4 Transeamus] Transiamus MS

University of Toronto.

[122] Cf. *Meditatio de Magdalena,* ed. Bestul, 11.23–24: "O uoluptates obscene. . . ."

[123] This passage is taken from the chapter entitled "De spiritualibus deliciis gloriose uirginis et de assumptione eiusdem" (*M,* 183ra).

[124] Cf. *Meditatio de Magdalena,* ed. Bestul, 17.19: "Potest etiam nomine finis designari finalis intentio . . ."; *C. Cant.* 1.7 (*M,* 8vb), "Constat tamen intelligenti deum esse causam rerum efficientem, finalem et formalem." On the influence of Aristotelian *causae* on biblical exegesis, see Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship,* 75–94.

[125] The compiler added this sentence as a transition to the next excerpt, but he modelled the wording after Alexander; e.g., *C. Cant.* 5.3 (*M,* 133ra), "Sed ecce a dormitione matris transeo ad dormitionem filii . . ."; Mahoney, "Critical Edition of Alexander Nequam's *Tractatus super mulierem fortem,*" 198, "Et ecce a Maria transeo ad Mariam, a muliere forti ad mulierem fortissimum." After the word "remuneratione," *C. Cant.* 1.7 (*M,* 13ra) continues, "Set opus est ut, dum in hoc mari magno et spatioso prudentia cursum nauis nostre dirigit ad portum salutis eterne, occulos deuotionis et spei erigamus ad stellam maris, que certum demonstrat mare legentibus." *C. Cant.* 1.7 (*M,* 8va) is entitled "De spiritualibus deliciis gloriose uirginis et de assumptione eiusdem."

TRANSCENDENCE, POWER, VIRTUE, MADNESS, ECSTASY— MODALITIES OF EXCESS IN AQUINAS

Peter A. Kwasniewski

A well-known characteristic of St. Thomas as a thinker is his pursuit of commonality within diversity by unfolding structures of analogous predication. Whether the terms be transcendentals such as being, one, good, or true, qualitative perfections such as wisdom or justice, or fundamental concepts such as act and potency, motion and rest, he strives to articulate a core meaning that can be employed in different situations, applied to diverse objects. And there is still room for amazement when one sees just how connatural an approach and how thorough a process this is for Aquinas. Not only the major metaphysical candidates but a whole host of their lesser attendants receive this honorable treatment. In the present article, I wish to draw attention to the network of meanings Thomas discerns in—and at the same time feels confident to invest in—the vocabulary of *excessus.* While single meanings of *excessus* have attracted attention (for example, its role in discussions of the nature of God and his transcendence over creation), no one has written a study of the whole range of "modalities of excess." This article is intended as a preliminary investigation of the topic, a road-map of the territory covered by the language, identifying major points of interest. I hope to show that it constitutes an intriguing, if modest, province in the larger kingdom of analogies, and well repays a visit.

It is only to be expected that a fairly common noun like *excessus* and the verb from which it is formed, *excedere,* will have a broad range of applications.[1] Although Thomas never takes it upon himself to order the meanings

[1] For more common uses of *excessus,* I shall quote only representative passages. Existing English translations render *excessus* and *excedere* with a variety of near-synonyms—"exceed," of course, but also "surpass," "transcend," "excel," and "go beyond." I will usually write "excess" and "exceed" to make plain the underlying connections. Unless otherwise noted, original texts are from the Leonine critical edition, cited by volume and page number. Translations are either my own or are based upon the following: *Catena aurea: A Commentary on the Four Gospels,* vol. 3: *St. Luke,* trans. Thomas D. Ryder, ed. J. H. Newman (London, 1842; rpt. Southampton, 1997); *Commentary on Aristotle's Metaphysics,* trans. John P. Rowan (Chicago, 1964; rpt. Notre Dame, 1995); *Commentary on Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics,* trans. C. I.

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per prius et posterius, as he does with other key terms when, for example, he arrives at the philosophical lexicon of the fifth book of Aristotle's *Metaphysics,*[2] it is possible to distinguish areas of usage which have a common core meaning. Whenever one thing surpasses or goes beyond another or is surpassed or gone beyond by another, we have an instance of *excessus,* just as when one thing falls short of another or is fallen short of by another, we have an instance of *defectus.*[3] All excess is according to some quantity, whether dimensive or virtual, i.e., quantity of body or quantity of power.[4] The *ratio* of excess consists in magnitude.[5] As one would therefore expect, *excessus* and its verbal forms are often used in their most literal sense, viz., as regards bodily quantity and measurement. Four is in excess of three; the weight of lead exceeds the weight of wood; the velocity of a galloping horse exceeds that of a running man. Thus we read in the *Metaphysics* commentary:

> Heaviness and rapidity have something in common with their contraries—namely, because one contrary is found in the other; for the heavy is in some way light, and the reverse; and what is rapid is in some way slow. For each of these terms is twofold. In one way, said absolutely, as "heavy" is said of anything that has an inclination to be borne towards the center, without taking into

Litzinger (Chicago, 1964; rpt. Notre Dame, 1993); *Disputed Questions on Truth,* vol. 3 (qq. 21–29), trans. Robert W. Schmidt (Chicago, 1952; rpt. Albany, 1993); *Exposition of Aristotle's Treatise on the Heavens,* trans. F. R. Larcher and Pierre H. Conway, 2 vols. (Columbus, 1964); *On Kingship,* trans. Gerald B. Phelan, revised by I. Thomas Eschmann, Mediaeval Sources in Translation 2 (Toronto, 1949; rpt. 1982); *Summa theologiae,* trans. English Dominicans (London, 1911–36; rpt. New York, 1947–48); *Treatise on Separate Substances,* trans. Francis J. Lescoe (West Hartford, 1963).

[2] *In duodecim libros Metaphysicorum Aristotelis expositio* [*In Metaphys.*] 5.1 n.749 (Marietti, 208): "In praecedenti libro determinavit Philosophus quid pertineat ad considerationem huius scientiae; hic incipit determinare de rebus, quas scientia ista considerat. Et quia ea quae in hac scientia considerantur, sunt omnibus communia, nec dicuntur univoce, sed secundum prius et posterius de diversis, ut in quarto libro est habitum; ideo prius distinguit intentiones nominum, quae in huius scientiae consideratione cadunt. Secundo incipit determinare de rebus, quae sub consideratione huius scientiae cadunt, in sexto libro."

[3] Hence, *excessus* can simply signify abundance—there is more than enough for everyone, goods are present "in excess"—as when Thomas explains two features of the heavenly city: *Super secundam epistolam ad Thessalonicenses lectura* [*Super Thes.;* likewise for all references to the scriptural commentaries] 1.2 n.20 (Marietti, 2:195): "Gloriam sanctorum commendat, et quantum ad essentiam, per participationem gloriae Dei, cum dicit glorificari, etc., et quantum ad eius excessum, ibi et admirabilis."

[4] *Scriptum super Sententiis Magistri Petri Lombardi,* lib. IV [*IV Sent.*] 49.2.3 (Busa, 1:685c): "Excessus autem omnis est secundum aliquam quantitatem." I will discuss shortly the relevance of the distinction between dimensive and virtual quantity. *I–III Sent.* and *IV Sent.* 1–22 will be cited by page number from the Mandonnet and Moos edition (Paris, 1929, 1933, 1947); *IV Sent.* 23 ff. will be cited by volume, page, and column number from the Busa edition.

[5] *Summa theologiae* [*ST*] 2-2.134.1 (10:89).

> consideration how much it has of such an inclination; and in this sense "heavy" does not refer to the genus of quantity, nor is it susceptible to being measured. In another way, "heavy" is said by way of comparison with another, namely, what exceeds another in the aforesaid inclination; as when we say that earth is heavy in comparison with water, and lead in comparison with wood. It is therefore by reason of this excess that some notion of quantity and measure is found. Similarly, "rapid" is spoken of in two ways. In one way absolutely, of anything that has any motion. In another way, of something that has an excess of motion. And in one way the notion of quantity and measure properly apply to it, in the other way they do not.[6]

The quantitative meaning of *excessus* is adapted to other contexts, too, as when Thomas joins Aristotle in criticizing those who claim that the species of things are numbers: "for it will follow [from this position] that diverse species do not differ substantially, but only according to the excess of one species over another,"[7] as though *res naturales* were a gradual continuum of accidentally distinct items rather than a gradated hierarchy of essentially distinct natures. Yet things are intimately connected with number, for they are constituted in "number, weight, and measure" by the divine Wisdom (cf. Wisdom 11:20), and their natural forms and proper definitions have the distinctness and immutability of integers.[8]

THE DIVINE *EXCESSUS* BEYOND ALL KNOWING

The steady climb from the creaturely excessiveness we are familiar with to the uncreated excess proper to God is neatly outlined in a passage of Aquinas's

[6] *In Metaphys.* 10.2 n.1942 (Marietti, 465–66): "Gravitas et velocitas habent aliquid commune in contrariis, quia scilicet in uno contrariorum invenitur alterum: nam grave est aliquo modo leve, et e converso; et velox est aliquo modo tardum. Utrumque enim eorum est duplex. Sicut grave, uno modo dicitur absolute, scilicet quod habet inclinationem ut feratur ad medium, sine hoc quod consideretur quantum habeat de tali inclinatione: et sic non pertinet ad genus quantitatis, nec competit ei mensurari. Alio modo dicitur grave per comparationem ad aliud, scilicet quod excedit alterum in inclinatione praedicta; ut scilicet dicamus, quod terra est gravis in comparatione ad aquam, et plumbum in comparatione ad lignum. Sic igitur ratione huius excessus, invenitur aliqua ratio quantitatis et mensurae. Et similiter velox dicitur dupliciter. Uno modo absolute, scilicet quod habet motum quemcumque. Et alio modo quod habet excessum motus. Et uno modo competit sibi ratio quantitatis et mensurae. Alio modo non."

[7] *In Metaphys.* 1.16 n.246 (Marietti, 72): "quia sequitur quod diversae species non differant secundum substantiam, sed solum secundum excessum unius speciei super aliam."

[8] *Summa contra gentiles* [*SCG*] 1.54 (13:154, Ut enim); also *SCG* 3.97; *ST* 1.5.5, 47.2, and 76.3. Thomas invariably quotes the Aristotelian dictum that "the forms of things are like numbers" (see *Metaphys.* 8.3 [1043b32–1044a14]). Quotations throughout are taken from *The Complete Works of Aristotle*, ed. Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1984).

commentary on the Pseudo-Dionysian *On the Divine Names.*[9] The matter of inquiry is why, and how, the name "great" may be applied to God. Thomas first notes the different ways in which *excessus,* which *magnus* implies, is found in creatures. These ways are then stretched to the infinite, as befits God:

> He [Dionysius] attributes the name "great" to him, according to a certain *ratio* of likeness: first, as regards his substance; second, as regards his effects. Now it is manifest that "great" is attributed to creatures according to the *ratio* of excess: for those things are called great which are found to exceed others. Excess in created things, however, can be looked at in several ways. In one way, according to the dimensions of length, breadth, and depth; and according to this, something is said to be "great" in comparison to another, insofar as it super-exceeds its quantity; and thus God is called "great" simply speaking, insofar as his greatness is spread out and super-extended beyond every magnitude; and "spread out" is said by way of a likeness to humid things, like air and water, while "super-extended" by way of a likeness to dry and solid bodies. In another way, excess in created things can be looked at according to place, and thus a place is said to be greater which contains more. Hence, [in this way too] God is called "great" simply, insofar as he contains all places. Third, excess is found in things according to number, and in this way too God is called "great" simply, insofar as he surpasses every number, because every number proceeds from the divine Wisdom that distinguishes things, in whose power it is to produce the many differences of things. Now among things, that seems to be most infinite which exceeds everything. But nothing found among created things is termed "infinite" in such a way that it fails to be in some respect finite, namely, according to species.[10]

[9] For a thorough treatment of Thomas's debt to and appropriation of the works of Dionysius, see Fran O'Rourke, *Pseudo-Dionysius and the Metaphysics of Aquinas* (Leiden, 1992).

[10] *In librum beati Dionysii de divinis nominibus expositio* [*DDN*] 9.1 nn.805–6 (Marietti, 301): "Attribuit ei magnum, secundum quamdam rationem similitudinis: et primo, quantum ad eius substantiam; secundo, quantum ad eius effectus. Manifestum est autem quod magnum creaturis attribuitur, secundum rationem excessus: illa enim magna dicuntur quae inveniuntur alia excedere. Excessus autem in rebus creatis multipliciter attenditur: uno modo, secundum dimensionem longitudinis, latitudinis et profunditatis; et secundum hoc, dicitur aliquid magnum respectu alterius inquantum superexcedit quantitatem eius; et sic Deus dicitur magnus simpliciter, inquantum magnitudo eius extra omnem magnitudinem est superfusa et superextenta; et dicitur superfusa ad similitudinem rerum humidarum, ut aeris et aquae; superextenta vero ad similitudinem corporum siccorum et solidorum. Alio modo, attenditur excessus in rebus creatis, secundum locum et sic locus dicitur esse maior, qui est magis continens. Unde et Deus dicitur simpliciter magnus, inquantum continet omnem locum. Tertio, excessus invenitur in rebus secundum numerum et sic etiam dicitur Deus magnus simpliciter, inquantum superegreditur numerum omnem, quia omnis numerus a divina sapientia procedit res distinguente, in cuius potentia est plures rerum differentias producere. Videtur autem in rebus maximum infinitum esse quod omnia excedit. Sed, ut in rebus creatis invenitur, nihil dicitur infinitum quin sit secundum aliquid finitum, scilicet secundum speciem."

God exceeds all created being, for he is contained by no place but present in every place. He is not differentiated in a finite manner, as are natural things by their number-like forms, but contains in himself the numerical diversity of all things in a perfect simplicity. It is for this reason that God most of all deserves the name "one": "'One' is attributed to God . . . because he himself is all-unitive according to the excess of his singular unity."[11] This meaning of *excessus* is entirely positive, indicating pre-eminence in perfection, maximal being, that which is greatest in some genus or altogether transcends a genus as its principle; and this is the intended meaning when Thomas speaks of a knowledge of God *per excessum,* as will be evident in what follows.

In a more extended sense, *excessus* is found in powers (capacities, abilities) or in natural processes, where the power or process is understood to have definite boundaries which can be either fallen short of or surpassed; on the other side, an object which is disproportionate to a power is said to exceed that power. Commenting on Psalm 50:9, "The uncertain and hidden things of thy wisdom thou hast made manifest to me," Thomas mentions both excess and defect in regard to man's power of knowing:

> Something can be known to be true of God which nonetheless remains unknown to us for two reasons—either on account of a defect or on account of an excess. On account of defect, something which depends on the future is unknown by us, because [for us] it does not yet have determinate truth. On account of excess, the divine substance is unknown by us, and [any other] things which exceed our capacity.[12]

Excessus in reference to dimensive quantity and measurement is not infrequently paralleled by a reference to another sort of quantity, namely, that of power (*quantitas virtutis* or *virtualis*)—how much active potency a power has for operation.[13] A clear example of such a parallel arises in the context of a

[11] *DDN* 13.2 n.971 (Marietti, 363): "Unum attribuitur Deo . . . quia ipse est omnia unitive secundum excessum suae singularis unitatis. . . ."

[12] *Postilla super Psalmos* [*Super Ps.*] 50.4 (Busa, 6:125a): "In nobis est aliquid ignotum dupliciter, quod tamen est de Deo notum. Aut propter defectum est nobis aliquid ignotum, aut propter excessum. Propter defectum est nobis ignotum aliquod futurum contingens: quia nondum habet determinatam veritatem. Propter excessum est nobis ignota divina substantia, et quae excedunt capacitatem nostram." Cf. *Quaestiones disputatae de ueritate* [*DV*] 12.2 (22:370–72). Although the *Postilla super Psalmos* is a *reportatio* surviving in few manuscripts and as yet imperfectly edited, it is a valuable source of Thomas's thought on many topics, as Thomas F. Ryan demonstrates in *Thomas Aquinas as Reader of the Psalms* (Notre Dame, 2000). The text of the Busa edition is derived from the Parma edition, supplemented by the *lectiones* Uccelli published in 1880.

[13] On the notions of *virtus* and virtual quantity, see O'Rourke, *Pseudo-Dionysius and the Metaphysics of Aquinas,* 155–85.

discussion of the manner in which quantity is found in the threeness of the divine Persons:

> Quantity is twofold. One is called "quantity of mass" or "dimensive quantity," which is found in corporeal things only, and so has no place in the Divine Persons. But the other is called "quantity of power" [*virtutis*], which is seen in connection with the perfection of some nature or form. It is this [latter sort of] quantity which is signified when something is said to be "more" or "less" warm, inasmuch as it is more perfect or less perfect as regards hotness. Such quantity of power [*virtualis*] is seen first of all at its root, that is, in the very perfection of the form or nature, and thus one speaks of "spiritual greatness," as one speaks of heat as "great" because of its intensity and perfection. And thus Augustine says in *De Trinitate* VI that "in those things which are great not by reason of their mass, that thing is greater which is better"; for the more perfect is what one calls "better." Secondly, however, quantity of power [*virtualis*] is seen in the effects of form. And the first effect of form is *being* [*esse*], for every thing has being in accordance with its form. The second effect is *operation,* for every agent acts by virtue of its form. Thus, quantity of power is seen as regards being and as regards operation; as regards being, inasmuch as those things which are of a more perfect nature have a greater duration; and as regards operation, inasmuch as those things which are of a more perfect nature are more powerful as regards action.[14]

Explaining the meaning of *comprehendere* in reference to the soul's cognitive powers, Thomas in the commentary on the *Sentences* employs the same distinction to articulate the limits of man's knowledge of God:

> "To comprehend" means, as it were, "to grasp all at once," i.e., to lay hold of; and therefore something is properly comprehended when it is laid hold of all at once, i.e., with everything that belongs to it. Hence, it is necessary that every comprehended thing be enclosed within the one comprehending. Prop-

[14] *ST* 1.42.1 ad 1 (4:435–36): "Duplex est quantitas. Una scilicet quae dicitur quantitas molis, vel quantitas dimensiva, quae in solis rebus corporalibus est: unde in divinis personis locum non habet. Sed alia est quantitas virtutis, quae attenditur secundum perfectionem alicuius naturae vel formae: quae quidem quantitas designatur secundum quod dicitur aliquid magis vel minus calidum, inquantum est perfectius vel minus perfectum in caliditate. Huiusmodi autem quantitas virtualis attenditur primo quidem in radice, idest in ipsa perfectione formae vel naturae: et sic dicitur magnitudo spiritualis, sicut dicitur magnus calor propter suam intensionem et perfectionem. Et ideo dicit Augustinus, VI de Trin., quod in his quae non mole magna sunt, hoc est maius esse, quod est melius esse: nam melius dicitur quod perfectius est. Secundo autem attenditur quantitas virtualis in effectibus formae. Primus autem effectus formae est esse: nam omnis res habet esse secundum suam formam. Secundus autem effectus est operatio: nam omne agens agit per suam formam. Attenditur igitur quantitas virtualis et secundum esse, et secundum operationem: secundum esse quidem, inquantum ea quae sunt perfectioris naturae, sunt maioris durationis; secundum operationem vero, inquantum ea quae sunt perfectioris naturae, sunt magis potentia ad agendum" (translated by Lawrence Dewan).

erly [speaking], however, content is enclosed within a container; and therefore it is necessary that what is comprehended be contained in the one comprehending. Now, just as something bodily is said to be contained in another because it does not exceed any of the container's bounds according to dimensive quantity, as wine in a cask, so something is said to be contained by another spiritually when it stands under its power and in no way exceeds that [container]. And therefore something is said to be comprehended by knowledge when the thing known stands under the act of the knowing power and does not exceed it.

All excess, however, is according to some quantity. According to this quantity, a knowable thing is said to exceed the knowing power according as it is knowable by that [power]. Now a sensible thing is known both according to dimensive quantity (because the sense-power in knowing uses a bodily organ, by reason of which it knows all sensibles that are reduced to dimensive quantity) and according to quantity of power (as is evident in proper sensibles, which are qualities), and therefore even the comprehension of sense is impeded both on account of excess in dimensive quantity (as it is impeded from comprehending the whole earth), and on account of excess in quantity of power (as there is not so much power in the eye for knowing as there is brightness in the sun to be known).

In contrast, an intelligible thing is not known by the intellect under the *ratio* of dimensive quantity except *per accidens,* insofar namely as it receives from sensation, from which it follows that it understands along with the continuous; and according to this, the intellect is impeded from the comprehension of an intelligible thing on account of [its] excess of quantity, just as it is impeded from comprehending an infinite line or number. But speaking *per se,* an intelligible thing is compared to the intellect according to the *ratio* of the quantity of power, by the very fact that the proper object of the intellect is a "what"; and therefore in those things which are separated from sense, the intellect's comprehension is not impeded except by an excess of quantity of power; and this is when the intelligible is [something] more knowable than the intellect knows or can know.[15]

[15] *IV Sent.* 49.2.3 (Busa, 1:685c–686a): "Comprehendere dicitur quasi simul prendere, idest capere; et ideo illud proprie comprehenditur quod simul capitur, idest cum omnibus quae ejus sunt. Unde oportet quod omne comprehensum includatur in comprehendente; includitur autem proprie contentum in continente; et ideo oportet comprehensum contineri in comprehendente. Sicut autem dicitur corporaliter aliquid in altero contineri, quia non excedit continens ex ulla parte secundum quantitatem dimensivam, ut vinum in dolio; ita dicitur contineri aliquid ab aliquo spiritualiter, quod substat virtuti ejus, et in nullo excedit ipsum. Et ideo tunc dicitur aliquid per cognitionem comprehendi, quando cognitum stat sub actu virtutis cognoscitivae, et non excedit ipsam.

Excessus autem omnis est secundum aliquam quantitatem. Secundum hanc autem quantitatem dicitur cognoscibile excedere potentiam cognoscitivam, secundum quam cognoscibile est ab ipsa. Sensibile autem cognoscitur et secundum quantitatem dimensivam, propter hoc quod

The divine nature cannot be comprehended by any intellectual creature, for as its being immeasurably exceeds finite being, so does its intelligibility exceed the capacity of any finite power of knowing. God is known *per excessum:* we must predicate all pure perfections infinitely of him and simultaneously place brackets around our limited way of signifying, understanding that he exceeds all of our creature-derived concepts. Hence, Thomas speaks of three ways of knowing God in natural theology, to which correspond three ways of naming him: *per negationem* (or *per remotionem, per ablationem*), *per causalitatem,* and *per excessum*—the last having been especially developed by Dionysius, the great authority on the naming of God:[16]

> There are things that exceed both the field accessible to the senses and the field to which the imagination extends, namely, whatever things are altogether independent of matter both for their being and for their being understood. Accordingly, the knowledge of such things, in regard to the act of judgment, ought to have its term neither in the imagination nor in the senses. Nevertheless, from things apprehended by sense or by imagination, we can arrive at a knowledge of those [immaterial] things, whether by way of causality, as from effects may be considered the cause that is not commensurate with the effects but excels them; or by excess; or by remotion, when we separate from such

sensus in cognoscendo utitur organo corporali, ratione cujus cognoscit sensibilia omnia quae reducuntur ad quantitatem dimensivam; et secundum quantitatem virtualem, ut patet in sensibilibus propriis, quae qualitates sunt; et ideo etiam comprehensio sensus impeditur et propter excessum quantitatis dimensivae, sicut impeditur ne comprehendat totam terram; et propter excessum quantitatis virtualis, sicut impeditur ne comprehendat claritatem solis: quia non est tanta virtus oculi ad cognoscendum, quanta claritas solis quae est cognoscibilis.

Intelligibile autem non cognoscitur ab intellectu sub ratione quantitatis dimensivae nisi per accidens, inquantum scilicet accipit a sensu; ex quo sequitur quod intelligat cum continuo; et secundum hoc intellectus impeditur a comprehensione intelligibilis propter excessum quantitatis; sicut impeditur a comprehensione lineae vel numeri infiniti. Sed per se loquendo, intelligibile comparatur ad intellectum secundum rationem quantitatis virtualis, eo quod proprium objectum intellectus est quid; et ideo in his quae sunt separata a sensu, non impeditur comprehensio intellectus nisi per excessum quantitatis virtualis; et hoc est quando intelligibile plus est cognoscibile quam intellectus cognoscere possit vel cognoscat."

In ad 2 of this article, Thomas shows how Augustine's definition of "comprehension" mentions both kinds of quantity. Thomas discusses God's infinite *excessus* above the created mind in numerous places; a fine text is *DV* 8.2 (22:220–23).

[16] See *Super Boetium de Trinitate* [*Super De Trin.*] 6.3 (50:166–68); and *ST* 1.13.8 ad 2 (4:158). See Charles Journet, *The Dark Knowledge of God* [*Connaissance et inconnaissance de Dieu*], trans. James F. Anderson (London, 1948); Lawrence Dewan, "St. Thomas and the Divine Names," *Science et Esprit* 32 (1980): 19–33; Mark Johnson, "Apophatic Theology's Cataphatic Dependencies," *The Thomist* 62 (1998): 519–31; and Gregory P. Rocca, *Speaking the Incomprehensible God* (Washington, D.C., 2004). While one of the ways is always referred to as that of causality, the other two are called by a variety of terms: one is *ablatio, remotio,* or *negatio;* the other, *excessus, eminentia,* or *excellentia.* See Michael B. Ewbank, "Diverse Orderings of Dionysius's *Triplex Via* by St. Thomas Aquinas," *Mediaeval Studies* 52 (1990): 82–109.

> things everything that sense or imagination apprehends. And these are the modes of knowing the divine from sensibles that Dionysius lays down in *On the Divine Names.*[17]

Dionysius calls God "supersubstantial," says Thomas, on account of the divine *excessus* over all created substances: "he is supersubstantially separated from all, that is, according to the super-substantial excess of Deity."[18] This supersubstantiality "is not unknown [to us] on account of a defect of his, but rather on account of his excess, because he is above created reason and intellect and above created substance itself, which is the object proportioned to the created intellect, just as uncreated essence is proportionate to uncreated knowledge."[19] God is "unintelligible" and "unspeakable" for the same reason. In whatever ways creatures bear likeness to God, their names can be said of him, remarks Aquinas; still, not *as* they are said of creatures, "but by way of a certain excess." To signal this permanent discrepancy, Dionysius deliberately runs our thinking off the rails it would tend to follow. God is intellect, but "unintelligible intellect"; he is Word, but "unspeakable Word."[20] The hymn-

[17] *Super De Trin.* 6.2 (50:165.117–32): "Quedam uero sunt que excedunt et id quod cadit sub sensu et id quod cadit sub ymaginatione, sicut illa que omnino a materia non dependent, neque secundum esse, neque secundum considerationem; et ideo talium cognitio secundum iudicium neque debet terminari ad ymaginationem neque ad sensum. Set tamen ex his que sensu uel ymaginatione appreenduntur in horum cognitionem deuenimus, uel per uiam causalitatis, sicut ex effectu causa perpenditur que non est effectui commensurata set excellens, uel per excessum, uel per remotionem, quando omnia que sensus uel ymaginatio appreendit a rebus huiusmodi separamus. Quos modos cognoscendi diuina ex sensibilibus ponit Dionisius in libro De diuinis nominibus."

[18] *DDN* 1.1 n.32 (Marietti, 10): "est ab omnibus segregata supersubstantialiter, idest secundum supersubstantialem Deitatis excessum."

[19] *DDN* 1.1 n.14 (Marietti, 7): "convenit ipsi, scilicet Deo soli, attribuere supersubstantialem scientiam ignorantiae supersubstantialitatis, idest supersubstantialitatis divinae ignoratae; quae quidem supersubstantialitas non ignorata est propter aliquem suum defectum, sed propter suum excessum, quia scilicet est super rationem et intellectum creatum et super ipsam substantiam creatam quae est obiectum commensuratum intellectui creato, sicut essentia increata est proportionata scientiae increatae. Et ideo sicut essentia divina est supersubstantialis, ita et eius scientiam supersubstantialem dixit. Semper enim oportet obiectum cognitivae virtutis, virtuti cognoscenti proportionatum esse." Thomas applies this doctrine of proportion not only to our knowledge of God, but to any knowledge of the essentially superior by the essentially inferior, as when he comments on Prop. 9 of the *Liber de causis,* n.214 (Marietti, 60): "Intelligentiae vero sunt maioris unitatis et simplicitatis quam res inferiores; cuius signum est quia quaecumque sunt infra intelligentiam habentia cognoscitivam virtutem, non possunt attingere ad cognoscendum intelligentiae substantiam propter excessum simplicitatis ipsius, per quam etiam rationem sensus corporeus deficit a cognitione rei intelligibilis."

[20] *DDN* 1.1 n.29 (Marietti, 9): "Sic igitur, secundum quod qualitercumque similitudo est rerum creatarum ad Deum, nomina a nobis imposita de Deo dici possunt, non quidem sic sicut de creaturis, sed per quemdam excessum, et hoc significat quod dicit, quod Deus est supersubstantialis substantia; et similiter quod subdit quod est intellectus non-intelligibilis, idest non

ing of Christ's perfections takes a parallel course: "he is above mind and above all life, because he exceeds all knowledge and every act of life."[21] Such "super-" names are given

> remotively through a certain excellence, like super-good, super-substantial, super-alive, super-wise, and whatever others are said of God by way of remotion, on account of his excess. With these names should be classified all causal names, that is, those that designate God as source of the procession of perfections emanating from him into creatures, namely, good, beautiful, existing, endowed with generative life, wise, and whatever others, through which the cause of all goods is named from the gifts of his goodness.[22]

The lush profusion of causal names might be summed up in the phrase *superexcedens totum creatum.*[23] The Dionysian affirmation of real likenesses between creature and Creator enclosed within (and to some extent subverted by) ever greater unlikenesses meets with Aquinas's unqualified acceptance. For example, "father" and "son" said of God must be conceptually separated, *per modum excessus,* from the fleeting fatherly and filial instantiations found in creatures.[24] This is as much as to say that not only is God truly Father and truly Son, but in God fatherhood and sonship exist with an infinite depth and density in comparison to which their creaturely participations are barely audible echoes, albeit echoes of varying length and beauty. The same account is given of Scripture's applying reduplicated names to God:

> God, who is the cause of all, supereminent to all, has the fullness of goodness above all others. Therefore in order to signify this excess by which he exceeds everything, he is called in Scripture "Holy of holies" and the rest of them, i.e., King of kings, Lord of lords, and God of gods; for in this manner of speaking is signified a sort of emanation from a superior cause, so that it would be understood, when "Holy of holies" is said, that the holiness in every other emanates from him, and so on for the other [names]. An excess is also signi-

quales sunt intellectus qui intelliguntur a nobis; et est verbum non-dicibile, idest non qualia sunt verba quae a nobis dicuntur."

[21] *DDN* 2.5 n.205 (Marietti, 64): "est super mentem et super omnem vitam, quia excedit omnem cognitionem et omnem actum vitae."

[22] *DDN* 2.1 n.126 (Marietti, 40–41): "ea quae dicuntur de Deo, remotive per excellentiam quamdam, ut superbonum, supersubstantiale, supervivum, supersapiens et quaecumque alia dicuntur de Deo per remotionem, propter sui excessum; cum quibus, dico, connumeranda sunt omnia nomina causalia, idest quae designant Deum ut principium processionis perfectionum quae emanant ab ipso in creaturas, scilicet: bonum, pulchrum, existens, vitae generativum, sapiens et quaecumque alia per quae causa omnium bonorum nominatur ex dono suae bonitatis."

[23] *DDN* 2.5 n.203 (Marietti, 64); see *ST* 1.12.12.

[24] *DDN* 2.4 n.184 (Marietti, 57): "Et Pater et Filius sunt segregati per modum excessus ab omni paternitate et filiatione quae est in creaturis, secundum participationem rerum divinarum."

> fied, according to which God is separated from everything, as though superior to every existing thing, so that the meaning of "Holy of holies" would be "the Holy One exceeding every holy one"; for it is in this way that the ones who are holy and divine and lordly and kingly exceed the ones who are not such. And furthermore, just as participations exceed participants, as holiness [exceeds] the one who is holy, in this way he is stationed above all existing things—he who is above all existing things, by the fact that he is a certain imparticipable cause of all participants and [all their] participations: for the cause exceeds the caused.[25]

Because perfections in God infinitely exceed their likenesses found in creatures, one must say he is beyond those perfections as we know and name them. It is this that an elegant phrase of Prufer's evokes: "the inexhaustible excess of unimitated imitability."[26] The separation of God from created being is *secundum totalem excessum*—an absolute, comprehensive excess, allowing no room for some aspect of being according to which God and the creature come together, in all strictness, as one—and philosophical knowledge for its part must therefore be content with falling short of what is most worthy to be known.[27] In no way does Thomas worship a God constrained by being: "God

[25] *DDN* 12.1 n.955 (Marietti, 357): "Deus, qui est omnium causa, supereminenter omnibus, habet plenitudinem bonitatis super omnia alia. Ideo ad designandum hunc excessum quo excedit omnia, dicitur in Scripturis sanctus sanctorum et reliqua, idest Rex regum, Dominus dominantium et Deus deorum: designatur enim, in isto modo locutionis, emanatio quaedam a causa superiori, ut intelligatur, cum dicitur Sanctus sanctorum, quod ab ipso emanat sanctitas in omnes alios et sic de aliis. Designatur etiam quidam excessus, secundum quem Deus ab omnibus segregatur, quasi superior omnibus existens, ut sit sensus: sanctus sanctorum, idest sanctus excedens omnes sanctos: sic enim ea quae sunt sancta et divina et dominantia et regalia, excedunt ea quae non sunt talia; et rursus, sicut participationes excedunt participantia, ut sanctitas sanctum, ita collocatur super omnia existentia, ille qui est superior omnibus existentibus, eo quod est causa quaedam imparticipabilis omnium participantium et participationum: causa enim excedit causata."

[26] Thomas Prufer, *Recapitulations* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 31.

[27] Thomas's doctrine of analogy enters at this point as a way to defend true speech about God on the basis of our knowledge of his effects, which do not share in his form either specifically or generically. *Esse,* fundamental actuality and perfection, is said diversely of God, whose essence is identical to his *esse,* and of the creature, whose *esse* is received as gift—in which can be discerned the compositeness of the creature as such (*ST* 1.4.3). The path of analogy is neither univocal nor purely equivocal, since all created perfections, howsoever far they fall short of God's perfection, are imitations or likenesses of the divine perfection from which they proceed (*ST* 1.13.5; cf. *ST* 1.4.2–3, 6.1, 12.12, 13.1–2, 13.10, etc.). John Saward aptly writes, "It is not that God cannot be known at all but that he is beyond all that can be known of him—which is what is meant by saying that he is incomprehensible. St. Thomas is criticizing an absolutized apophaticism which by denying all knowledge denies all contact, communion, between creature and Creator. Against this, he wants to affirm his understanding of *esse,* which is precisely a unifying vision, a vision of connectedness and communion" ("Towards an Apophatic Anthro-

is said to be non-existent, not because he falls short of existing, but because he is above all existences."[28] A higher path opens up which carries one beyond intellect, beyond being as we grasp it.[29] At this juncture, one becomes acutely aware of the connection between *On the Divine Names* and *The Mystical Theology:*[30]

> But since God is beyond all processions of this sort, it is necessary that we throw ourselves into God, in order to know him according to remotion from every intellectual operation, i.e., from everything by which he comes into our intellect—and this, precisely because we cannot intellectually see any deification or life or substance which can be perfectly compared to that cause which is separated from every thing according to a total excess. For nothing comes under the vision of our intellect except some created and finite being, which in every way falls short of uncreated and infinite being; and therefore it is necessary that we understand God to be beyond every "that" which we can apprehend by intellect.[31]

As God utterly transcends finite being and thus all conceptions of the created mind, the metaphysician, making all the necessary negations, can attain at best a dim and exiguous knowledge of divine things. For whenever the intellect "makes any determination in that which it understands of God, it falls short of the way in which God is in himself."[32] Paradoxically, it is owing to

pology," *The Irish Theological Quarterly* 41 [1974]: 224). See O'Rourke, *Pseudo-Dionysius and the Metaphysics of Aquinas,* 55–56 and passim.

[28] *DDN* 4.13 n.463 (Marietti, 161): "Deus enim dicitur non-existens, non quia deficit ab existendo, sed quia est super omnia existentia"; cf. *DDN* 4.16 n.506 (Marietti, 177): "Deus est absque substantia, quasi super omnem substantiam existens." See O'Rourke, *Pseudo-Dionysius and the Metaphysics of Aquinas,* 205.

[29] Even the angels, whose intellects vastly surpass ours, cannot attain *ex naturalibus* to the knowledge of God as he is in himself; they too need to be elevated. See *ST* 1.12.4 corp. and ad 1, 56.3, and 94.2.

[30] See Henri-Charles Puech, "La ténèbre mystique chez le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite et dans la tradition patristique," *Études carmélitaines* 23.2 (1938): 33–53; Michel Corbin, "Négation et transcendence dans l'oeuvre de Denys," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 69 (1985): 41–76; and Charles André Bernard, "La doctrine mystique de Denys l'Aréopagite," *Gregorianum* 68 (1987): 523–66.

[31] *DDN* 2.4 n.180 (Marietti, 57): "Sed cum Deus sit super omnes huiusmodi processiones, oportet quod nos immittamus nos in Deum, ad cognoscendum ipsum secundum remotionem ab omnibus operationibus intellectualibus, idest ab omni eo quod cadit in intellectum nostrum et hoc ideo quia nos non possumus per intellectum videre aliquam deificationem aut vitam vel substantiam, quae perfecte comparari possit illi causae quae est segregata ab omnibus rebus secundum totalem excessum. Non enim cadit in visionem intellectus nostri, nisi aliquod ens creatum et finitum quod omnino deficit ab ente increato et infinito et ideo oportet quod Deum intelligamus esse supra omne id quod intellectu apprehendere possumus."

[32] *ST* 1.13.11 (4:162): "quemcumque modum determinet circa id quod de Deo intelligit, deficit a modo quo Deus in se est." See Anton C. Pegis, "Penitus Manet Ignotum," *Mediaeval*

the very luminosity of its mind that the intellectual creature can be at once aware of God and aware that God eludes its every effort: "the divine light, although infused in them, exceeds all minds, because by its own substance it is always a super-excess."[33] The only way to come to a living and positive knowledge of the God who "dwells in thick darkness"[34] is to throw oneself into his very excessiveness and to live his own life ("nos immittamus nos in Deum").[35] As the first page of Dionysius's *The Mystical Theology* instructs the disciple,

> Timothy, my friend, my advice to you as you look for a sight of the mysterious things, is to leave behind you everything perceived and understood, everything perceptible and understandable, all that is not and all that is, and, with your understanding laid aside, to strive upward as much as you can toward union with him who is beyond all being and knowledge. By going out of yourself in pure and absolute ecstasy, shedding all and freed from all, you will be uplifted to the ray of divine darkness which is above everything that is.[36]

Rising to union is not the fruit of human effort, but the gift of divine generosity. As Aquinas writes, "his essence is unknown to the creature and exceeds not only the senses, but also every human reason and even every angelic mind, in regard to the natural power of reason and of mind. Hence it is not possible to approach him except by the gift of grace."[37] This is not to de-

Studies 27 (1965): 212–26; Joseph Owens, "Aquinas—'Darkness of Ignorance' in the Most Refined Notion of God," in *Bonaventure and Aquinas: Enduring Philosophers,* ed. Robert W. Shahan and Francis J. Kovach (Norman, Oklahoma, 1976), 69–86; and Saward, "Towards an Apophatic Anthropology," 222–34.

[33] *DDN* 4.4 n.331 (Marietti, 109): "ponit id quod pertinet ad excessum et dicit quod lumen divinum excedit omnes mentes, licet in eas diffundatur, quia semper superexcessus est per suam substantiam." Cf. *Super De Trin.* 1.2 ad 3 and *I Sent.* 8.1.1 ad 4.

[34] Scripture connects darkness and hiddenness, light and manifestation, with God. "Moses drew near to the thick darkness where God was" (Exodus 20:21); "The Lord . . . has said that he would dwell in thick darkness" (1 Kings 8:12); "Verily thou art a hidden God, the God of Israel" (Isaiah 45:15); "God is light and in him is no darkness at all" (1 John 1:5); "the King of kings and Lord of lords, who alone has immortality and dwells in unapproachable light, whom no man has ever seen or can see" (1 Timothy 6:15–16).

[35] If, as Damascene says, God's being is as an infinite, indeterminate ocean of substance (*ST* 1.13.11), the created mind must plunge into this divine ocean in order to know God as he is in himself, in his incommunicable singularity (*ST* 1.13.9, 13.11 ad 1). This uniquely singular and all-pervading fullness of being is not something "out there" but indwells *within* the mind (*ST* 1.8.1, 8.2 ad 3, 8.3 ad 4, but especially 43.3, on the indwelling of the Trinity in the just soul).

[36] Chap. 1, 1000A, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works,* trans. Colm Luibhéid (New York, 1987), 135, translation modified. See Michael Waldman, "Thomas von Aquin und die *Mystische Theologie* des Pseudo-Dionysius," *Geist und Leben* 22 (1949): 121–45.

[37] *DDN* 7.4 n.729 (Marietti, 274): "Eius enim essentia est ignota creaturae et excedit non solum sensum, sed etiam omnem rationem humanam et etiam omnem mentem angelicam,

value philosophical knowledge, as though it were worthless; it is rather to highlight its poverty in comparison with the experiential knowledge of sharing a common life. Although the philosopher, clearing away the debris of false imaginations and opinions, slowly gains a darksome knowledge of the "nature" of the one who infinitely transcends his concepts, the attainment of divine wisdom must be the gift of uncreated Wisdom, unattainable and undeserved by the creature as such.

Here can be glimpsed a point of great importance in Thomistic anthropology. C. E. Rolt expresses it in the language of unification: "There is a higher merging of the self and a lower merging of it. The one is above the level of personality, the other beneath it; the one is religious, the other hedonistic; the one results from spiritual concentration and the other from spiritual dissipation."[38] When a man is borne out of himself by an *extasis* or *excessus a seipso* initiated, sustained, and carried to its goal by God, he is made partaker of something proper to God, something in excess of created nature. In this way, even as the theological virtues are superhuman because by them man is lifted up into communion with God's truth and goodness, so mystical experience and the life of charity are beyond (natural) living, beyond (natural) wisdom, beyond (natural) goodness, since they participate in the infinite *excessus* of life, wisdom, goodness which *is* the divine nature.[39] When, by contrast, a man is pulled out of himself by an *extasis* or *stupor* such as fleshly desire or anger can provoke, he is made partaker, as it were, of some lower nature, that of a brute animal.[40] He leads a life outside of himself, outside of what is proper to

quantum ad naturalem virtutem rationis et mentis; unde non potest aliter convenire alicui, nisi ex dono gratiae."

[38] *Dionysius the Areopagite: The Divine Names and the Mystical Theology,* trans. C. E. Rolt (London, 1972), Introduction, 33–34.

[39] *ST* 1-2.61.5 and 1-2.62. On ecstasy as a result of participating in grace, see above all *DDN* 7.5 n.739 on the *extasis* of truth, and *DDN* 4.10 on the *extasis* of love. On *extasis* as an effect of love and especially of charity, see also *III Sent.* 27.1.1 obj. 4 and ad 4; *ST* 1-2.28.3; *De perfectione spiritualis uitae,* cap. 10; and *Quodlibet* 3.6.3 corp. For an overview of Thomas's doctrine of ecstasy, see my "St. Thomas, *Extasis,* and Union with the Beloved," *The Thomist* 61 (1997): 587–603.

[40] For examples of debasing ecstasies mentioned by Aquinas, see *DDN* 7.5 n.739, in which the unbeliever falsely taunts the believer as "sicut extasim passum, idest sicut fatuum et a se alienatum" (Marietti, 278); *Super II Cor.* 5.3 n.179, where drunkenness is contrasted with a divine transport; *In Metaphys.* 4.12 n.678, where Hector's unconsciousness is called an *extasis; ST* 1-2.28.3 obj. 1, which assumes that lovers are often out of their minds; the body of the same article, where a downward fall of the mind, such as occurs in furious or demented people, is identified as one type of cognitive *extasis;* and *ST* 2-2.175.2 obj. 2, which cites Gregory contrasting the prodigal son whose wandering and impurity of mind made him fall beneath himself with the Apostle Peter's being "beside himself" when he saw the angel delivering him from prison.

him as a man—a life of *defectus.* Bestial *extasis* is corruptive, taking man away from the perfection of his *human* nature; divine *extasis* is perfective, making man a sharer in the life of God, endowing his nature with a superabundant perfection that carries him beyond the limits of his natural capacity.[41] In both instances the limits of the proper nature have been left behind, but in contrary ways: in one, by falling below, in the other, by rising upwards.

> To live according to reason is man's good insofar as he is human. To live beyond reason, on the other hand, in one sense can connote a defect, as in the case of those who live sensually; and this is evil for man. In another sense it can connote an excess, as when a person is led by divine grace to what is above reason. In the latter sense, to live beyond reason is not an evil for man but a good that is above man. And of this sort is the knowledge of the things which are of faith, although faith itself is not altogether beyond reason, for natural reason maintains that we should assent to what is said by God.[42]

In general, an *excessus* is perfective or fruitful when it leads man beyond himself into God, and corruptive when it leads man to trespass the boundaries of what is good for him, physically or spiritually. "That which proceeds from a tree against the tree's nature," remarks Aquinas, "is not called its fruit, but rather a certain corruption."[43]

EXCESSUS IN NATURAL "VIRTUES"

Excessus plays a central role in Thomas's analyses of natural and human *virtutes,* most often in a negative sense, but sometimes also from the more

[41] On this contrast, and on the ecstaticism of Aquinas's understanding of reason, see my "'Divine Drunkenness': The Secret Life of Thomistic Reason," forthcoming in *The Modern Schoolman.*

[42] *Super De Trin.* 3.1 ad 5 (50:109.259–71): "uiuere secundum rationem est bonum hominis in quantum est homo, uiuere autem preter rationem potest uno modo sonare in defectum, sicut est in illis qui uiuunt secundum sensum, et hoc est hominis malum; alio modo potest sonare in excessum, ut cum diuina gratia homo adducitur in id quod est supra rationem, et sic preter rationem uiuere non est hominis malum, sed bonum supra hominem. Et talis est cognitio eorum que sunt fidei; quamuis et ipsa fides non omnibus modis sit preter rationem: hoc enim naturalis ratio habet, quod assentiendum est his que a Deo dicuntur."

[43] *ST* 1-2.70.4 ad 1 (6:464): "id quod procedit ab arbore contra naturam arboris, non dicitur esse fructus eius, sed magis corruptio quaedam." Thomas has in mind a malignant growth or boil that comes forth on a branch as the external sign of an internal disease. This thing would indeed *grow from* the tree, but it would be *against its nature,* which is to produce fruit. Hence such a growth is more a corruption, a diminishment of the tree's health, than a *fructus.* Taking the English word "produce," which as verb means to bring forth and as noun means the fruits brought forth, one could make Thomas's point by a play on words: "What a sick tree produces is not produce."

positive perspective of *virtus* as an *ultimum* or *extremitas,* an *excellentia* not unrelated to the notion of *excessus.* The philosophical source connecting *virtus* with *ultimum* is a text from *De caelo* 1.11 (281a2–27), "when we speak of a power to move or to lift weights, we refer always to the maximum . . . we feel obliged in defining the power to give the limit or maximum," which gives Thomas occasion to offer the following extended paraphrase in his commentary:

> If a thing is capable of something great—for example, if a man can walk a hundred stades or can lift a great weight—we always determine or describe his power in terms of the most he can do, as we say that the power of this man is that he can lift a weight of a hundred talents or can walk a distance of a hundred stades, even though he is capable of all the partial distances included in that quantity, since he can do what goes above them. But his power is not described by these parts: we do not determine his power as being able to carry fifty talents or walk fifty stades, but by the most he can do, so that in this way the power of each thing is named with respect to the end, i.e., with respect to the ultimate, and to the maximum of which it is capable, and with respect to the strength of its excellence. . . . Thus, it is plain that one who can do things that excel, necessarily can also do things that are lesser . . . yet it is to what is excelling that a thing's virtue is attributed, i.e., a thing's virtue is gauged in terms of what is most excellent of everything that can be done. This is what is said in another translation, "virtue is the limit of a power," in other words because the virtue of a thing is determined according to the ultimate it can do. And this applies also to the virtues of the soul: for a human virtue is that through which a man is capable of what is most excellent in human works, i.e., in a work which is in accord with reason.[44]

[44] *In libros Aristotelis De caelo et mundo expositio* [*In De caelo*] 1.25, §4 (3:101a): "Si contingat aliquam rem posse in aliquid magnum, puta quod aliquis homo ambulet per centum stadia, aut possit levare aliquod magnum pondus, semper determinamus sive denominamus eius potentiam per respectum ad plurimum in quod potest; sicut dicimus potentiam huius hominis esse quod potest levare pondus centum talentorum, aut quod potest ire per spatium centum stadiorum, quamvis possit omnes partes infra istam quantitatem contentas, siquidem potest in id quod superabundat. Nec tamen denominatur ab illis partibus, puta quod determinetur eius potentia quia potest ferre quinquaginta talenta, aut ire quinquaginta stadia; sed per id quod est maximum: ita scilicet ut potentia uniuscuiusque denominetur per respectum ad finem, idest per ultimum et per maximum ad quod potest, et per virtutem suae excellentiae. . . . Sic igitur patet quod ille qui potest in ea quae excellunt, necesse est quod possit etiam in ea quae sunt infra . . . sed tamen virtus rei non attribuitur nisi excellentiae, idest, secundum id attenditur virtus rei, quod est excellentissimum omnium eorum in quae potest. Et hoc est quod dicitur in alia translatione, virtus est ultimum potentiae, quia scilicet virtus rei determinatur secundum ultimum in quod potest. Et hoc etiam habet locum in virtutibus animae: dicitur enim virtus humana, per quam homo potest in id quod est excellentissimum in operibus humanis, scilicet in opere quod est secundum rationem."

In line with the physical-cosmological context of the *De caelo* passage, Thomas submits natural *virtutes* to a similar analysis. From these discussions, much can be gathered that sheds light on the notion of *excessus mentis* and *extasis,* not least because Thomas, sharing with other medieval theologians a predilection for symbols, was quick to perceive likenesses at every level between the natural, the human, the angelic, and the divine. Thomas's analysis of the element of fire is a particularly good example. Fire is a certain *excessus calidi,* and its peculiar properties belong to it *propter excessum caliditatis:* "the fourth element placed in order above the air is not properly called fire, for 'fire' signifies excess of heat and is, as it were, a certain burning and stirring up; just as ice is not an element but is a certain excess of cold within frozen water."[45] Thomas gives as a reason for Heracleitus's favoring of fire this element's *excessus virtutis,* by which it can transform other things into itself:

> But neither fire nor any other of the elements can be infinite, because it would be impossible for any of the elements to exist, beyond the one that was infinite, because that one would everywhere fill up the whole. Again, were there some finite [element], it would have to be changed into the infinite one on account of the excess of its [that element's] power, just as Heracleitus manifestly claimed that at some time all things must be converted into the element of fire, on account of the very great excess of its power.[46]

Explaining in his commentary on Dionysius the difference between beauty in creatures and beauty in God, Thomas appeals to the difference between fire and the sun, which is reputed the *principium* of all fires. His answer is phrased in terms of a distinction between *excessus in genere* and *excessus extra genus,* which yields the rationale for the Neoplatonic language of "super-[perfection]" that has already been touched on:

> Now excess is twofold: one within a genus, which is signified comparatively or superlatively; another outside of a genus, which is signified by the addition of this preposition, "super"; for example, when we say that fire exceeds in

[45] *In libros Aristotelis Meteorologicorum expositio* 1.4, §6 (3:336b): "quartum elementum supra aerem ordinatum non proprie vocatur ignis. Ignis enim significat excessum calidi, et est quasi quidam fervor et accensio quaedam; sicut glacies non est elementum, sed est quidam excessus frigoris ad aquam congelatam." Cf. 1.13, §1 (3:361a). The phrase *propter excessum caliditatis* is from *Sentencia libri de sensu et sensato* 10, §6 (45.2:53.76)

[46] *In Metaphys.* 11.10 n.2336 (Marietti, 552): "Sed neque ignis, neque aliquod aliud elementorum potest esse infinitum: quia impossibile esset aliquod elementorum esse, praeter id quod esset infinitum, quia illud repleret totum undique. Et etiam si esset aliquod finitum, oporteret quod converteretur in illud infinitum, propter excessum ipsius virtutis; sicut Heraclitus manifeste posuit quod aliquando omnia sint convertenda in elementum ignis, propter nimium excessum virtutis eius." The same line of argument is used at *In octo libros Physicorum Aristotelis expositio* [*In Phys.*] 3.8, §9 (2:126b), where again Heracleitus is mentioned.

> hotness by an excess within the genus, whence it is called "hottest"; whereas the sun exceeds by an excess outside of the genus, whence it is not called "hottest" but "super-hot," because hotness is not in it in the same way but in a more excellent way. And although this twofold excess does not come together at the same time in created things, yet in God it can be said at the same time that he is "most beautiful" and "super-beautiful"; not that he is in a genus, but that to him may be attributed everything that is in each and every genus.[47]

Understanding fire and its properties in this way, Thomas in his commentary on Isaiah can readily appeal to fire as a symbol of God and to its transformative power as an illustration of the effects of divine love in the soul and in the world.[48] Just as fire transforms other matter into itself or at least communicates a share of its form to other things according to their capacity for receiving it (as the teapot and the water in it receive a share of the flame's hotness), so God's love poured into the heart transforms the lover into a likeness of the one he loves; and as it belongs to fire to set other things on fire, to resist the cold and dry the damp, so it belongs to the lover of God to show the intensity of love Thomas calls *zelus,* which seeks mightily to repel anything contrary to the beloved's good: "zeal for thy house hath consumed me" (Psalm

[47] *DDN* 4.5 n.343 (Marietti, 114): "Excessus autem est duplex: unus in genere, qui significatur per comparativum vel superlativum; alius extra genus, qui significatur per additionem huius praepositionis: super; puta, si dicamus quod ignis excedit in calore excessu in genere, unde dicitur calidissimus; sol autem excedit excessu extra genus, unde non dicitur calidissimus sed supercalidus, quia calor non est in eo, eodem modo, sed excellentiori. Et licet iste duplex excessus in rebus causatis non simul conveniat, tamen in Deo simul dicitur et quod est pulcherrimus et superpulcher; non quod sit in genere, sed quod ei attribuuntur omnia quae sunt cuiuscumque generis." See also *Super De Trin.* 1.2 ad 4 (50:85.170–73): "Deus autem quamuis non sit in genere intelligibilium quasi sub genere compreensum, utpote generis naturam participans, pertinet tamen ad hoc genus ut principium."

[48] The most ample discussion of fire as divine symbol is found at *Super Isaiam* 10 (28:76.330–77.363), where Thomas gives twelve reasons why God may be called fire, grouped around four characteristics of fire—its subtlety, brilliance, heat, and levity. Thus God is subtle in substance, knowledge, and manifestation; he is bright in his effects on intellect, affection, and action; he is like heat by warming to life, cleansing, and destroying; he lifts all to himself, dwells in heaven, and is unmixed with baser things. Briefer accounts are found at *Super Isaiam* 33 (28:148.136–42), where three reasons are given (fire purges, sets other things on fire, and condemns), and at *Super Heb.* 12.5 (Marietti, 2:495), where fire is said to have, among sensible things, more nobility, more brightness, more activity, more altitude, and more purifying and consuming power. At *Super Isaiam* 30 (28:140.324–36), Thomas offers five reasons for applying the symbol of fire to charity: it illuminates, boils up or heats ["exestuat"], turns things towards itself, makes one ready to act, and draws upwards. *Super Ier.* 5 (Busa, 5:101a, §8) gives five reasons why the word of the Lord is said to be a fire: it illuminates, sets aflame, penetrates, melts, and consumes the disobedient. It is noteworthy that such descriptions of fire regularly accompany Thomas's depiction of the effects of love. For example, in both *III Sent.* 27.1.1 ad 4 and *ST* 1-2.28.5, he speaks of how intense love causes *fervor* or burning, how it melts or "liquifies" the heart, and how it makes the lover penetrate into the inmost recesses of the beloved.

69:9; John 2:17). Thomas agrees with Dionysius's exalted estimation of the fittingness of fire as a symbol: "The first order of the first angelic hierarchy approaches to divine properties in the manner, in a way, of a *maximum excessum;* hence they are named 'seraphim' from the property of fire, which maximally signifies divine properties, as Dionysius says."[49] In an objection arguing that love is a passion that wounds the lover, we read "'Fervor' designates a certain excess in hotness—a destructive excess. But fervor is caused by love, for Dionysius places 'hot' and 'cutting' and 'super-fervent' among the various properties pertaining to the love of the seraphim."[50] This line of thinking is developed in the *Summa theologiae:*

> The name "seraphim" is not imposed from charity alone but from an excess of charity, which the word "ardor" or "fire" implies. Hence Dionysius (*Celest. Hier.* 7) expounds the name "seraphim" according to the properties of fire, in which there is an excess of heat. Now in fire three things may be considered. First, the movement, which is upwards and is continuous. Through this is signified that they are moved unfailingly towards God. Second, the active force, which is heat, which is not a property found in fire in the same way as it is in other things but rather as having a peculiar sharpness because it is most penetrating in acting, and reaches even to the smallest things; and [it does this], moreover, with super-exceeding fervor. And through this is signified the action of such angels, which they exercise powerfully upon their subjects, rousing them to a like fervor and cleansing them wholly by their fire. Third, in fire one may consider its brightness. And this signifies that such angels have in themselves an inextinguishable light, and that they perfectly enlighten others.[51]

Let the foregoing suffice as an illustration of Thomas's understanding of natural *virtutes* and the various excesses they exhibit or symbolize.

[49] *II Sent.* 9.6 ad 4 (245): "Primus enim ordo primae hierarchiae quodammodo secundum maximum excessum accedit ad divinas proprietates: unde nominantur seraphim ex proprietate ignis, qui maxime significat divinas proprietates, ut dicit Dionysius." See, e.g., the passage from *Celestial Hierarchies* 15 discussed by Hans Urs von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord,* vol. 2, *Studies in Theological Styles: Clerical Styles,* trans. Andrew Louth, Francis McDonagh, and Brian McNeil (San Francisco, 1984), 181–82.

[50] *ST* 1-2.28.5 obj. 3 (6:201): "fervor designat quendam excessum in caliditate, qui quidem excessus corruptivus est. Sed fervor causatur ex amore: Dionysius enim, VII cap. Cael. Hier., inter ceteras proprietates ad amorem Seraphim pertinentes, ponit calidum et acutum et superfervens."

[51] *ST* 1.108.5 ad 5 (5:500): "nomen Seraphim non imponitur tantum a caritate, sed a caritatis excessu, quem importat nomen ardoris vel incendii. Unde Dionysius, VII cap. Cael. Hier., exponit nomen Seraphim secundum proprietates ignis, in quo est excessus caliditatis. In igne autem tria possumus considerare. Primo quidem, motum, qui est sursum, et qui est continuus. Per quod significatur quod indeclinabiliter moventur in Deum. Secundo vero, virtutem activam

EXCESSUS IN HUMAN VIRTUES

A natural or entitative *virtus* (e.g., the power of fire to heat and burn) is an *excessus* or something "of surpassing power" in some genus (e.g., of hot things). An operative habit, e.g., a moral or intellectual *virtus,* is an *excessus* in a different sense: it is that fullness of perfection by which the innate undeveloped potency of some power of the soul is rendered capable of—and in some cases actually inclined to—its maximal exercise. The doctrine of the *De caelo* passage, linked with other characteristically Aristotelian tenets (virtue is the ordering of something perfect to what is best for it;[52] virtue makes a man as well as his work good;[53] human happiness is the active attainment, in accord with virtue, of the best of all things for man[54]), provides the foundations for Thomas's understanding of the necessity of having and exercising virtues in order to be happy. When virtue is understood according to its essence, "it bespeaks the ultimate of a power, because it designates the completion of a power."[55] It is so called "not because it is always something belonging to the essence of a power, but because it inclines to the ultimate that a power is capable of."[56] When Thomas wishes to show that magnificence is a virtue, he appeals to this doctrine:

eius, quae est calidum. Quod quidem non simpliciter invenitur in igne, sed cum quadam acuitate, quia maxime est penetrativus in agendo, et pertingit usque ad minima; et iterum cum quodam superexcedenti fervore. Et per hoc significatur actio huiusmodi angelorum, quam in subditos potenter exercent, eos in similem fervorem excitantes, et totaliter eos per incendium purgantes. Tertio consideratur in igne claritas eius. Et hoc significat quod huiusmodi angeli in seipsis habent inextinguibilem lucem, et quod alios perfecte illuminant." Thomas continues by saying that the cherubim are named *a quodam excessu scientiae.*

[52] Thomas frequently quotes the dictum "virtus dicitur dispositio perfecti ad optimum"; in the *Sentences* commentary alone, for example, at *I Sent.* 1.1 obj. 11 (33); *II Sent.* 26.4 ad 2 (678), 27.2 ad 9 (700); *III Sent.* 23.1.3.1 (707, §58), 24.3.2 (775, §92); and *IV Sent.* 46.1.1.2 ad 1 (Busa, 1:660b). Though this point is found most explicitly in Aristotle's *Eudemian Ethics* 2.5 (1222a6–10), Thomas deduces the dictum from *Physics* 7.3 (246a10–247a20). Cf. *In Phys.* 7.5, §6 (2:339b–340a): "Virtus enim universaliter cuiuslibet rei est quae bonum facit habentem, et opus eius bonum reddit. . . . Similiter pulchritudo et macies dicuntur ad aliquid (et sumitur macies pro dispositione, qua aliquis est expeditus ad motum et actionem). Huiusmodi enim sunt quaedam dispositiones eius quod est perfectum in sua natura per comparationem ad optimum, idest ad finem, qui est operatio."

[53] Aristotle, *Ethics* 2.6 (1106a14–23).

[54] Ibid. 1.6 and 1.9.

[55] *De virtutibus in commune* 1.1 ad 6 (Marietti, 709b–710a): "potest intelligi essentialiter; et sic virtus dicitur ultimum potentiae, quia designat potentiae complementum; sive id per quod potentia completur, sit aliud a potentia, sive non." Cf. *II Sent.* 10.3 (262): "virtus dicitur ultimum in re de potentia"; and *III Sent.* 23.1.3.3 ad 2 (708, §68): "virtus dicitur ultimum potentiae in eodem genere, quod est genus principii respectu ejus cujus dicitur potentia vel virtus."

[56] *De virtutibus in commune* 1.9 ad 15 (Marietti, 733a): "virtus dicitur esse ultimum poten-

> "Virtue" is said with reference to the ultimate that a power is capable of—not the ultimate on the side of defect, but rather on the side of excess, whose *ratio* consists in magnitude. And therefore to do something great, from which the name "magnificence" is taken, properly pertains to the *ratio* of virtue. Hence, magnificence names a virtue.[57]

And when he sets about explaining why a distinct order of angels is denominated *virtutes,* the same idea is in the background:

> "Virtue" can be taken in two ways. First, commonly, considered as the medium between essence and operation, and in that sense all the heavenly spirits are called "heavenly virtues," as also "heavenly essences." Secondly, as meaning a certain *excessus* of strength; and thus it is the proper name of an angelic order. Hence Dionysius says (*Celest. Hier.* 8) that "the name 'virtues' signifies a certain virile and immovable strength"; first, in regard of those divine operations which befit them; secondly, in regard to receiving divine gifts. Thus it signifies that they undertake without any fear the divine [tasks] pertaining to them, which seems to pertain to strength of mind.[58]

On the other hand, *excessus* in a negative sense is the contrary of *defectus* in matters admitting of a *medium,* and in this way *excessus* or *superabundantia* is contrasted both with any *defectus* or *diminutio* and with the *medium* of conformity to reason that the virtues place into passions and operations.[59] Here, excess or defect is said in reference to conformity with the rules that govern human action, namely, reason and the divine law.[60] In terms of confor-

tiae, non quia semper sit aliquid de essentia potentiae; sed quia inclinat ad id quod ultimo potentia potest." Cf. *ST* 1-2.66.1 obj. 2 (6:428): "omne illud cuius ratio consistit in maximo, non potest esse maius vel minus. Sed ratio virtutis consistit in maximo, est enim virtus ultimum potentiae."

[57] *ST* 2-2.134.1 (10:89): "virtus dicitur per comparationem ad ultimum in quod potentia potest: non quidem ad ultimum ex parte defectus; sed ex parte excessus, cuius ratio consistit in magnitudine. Et ideo operari aliquid magnum, ex quo sumitur nomen magnificentiae, proprie pertinet ad rationem virtutis. Unde magnificentia nominat virtutem."

[58] *ST* 1.108.5 ad 1 (5:499): "Virtus autem dupliciter accipi potest. Uno modo, communiter, secundum quod est media inter essentiam et operationem: et sic omnes caelestes spiritus nominantur caelestes virtutes, sicut et caelestes essentiae. Alio modo, secundum quod importat quendam excessum fortitudinis: et sic est proprium nomen ordinis. Unde Dionysius dicit, VIII cap. Cael. Hier., quod nomen Virtutum significat quandam virilem et inconcussam fortitudinem, primo quidem ad omnes operationes divinas eis convenientes; secundo, ad suscipiendum divina. Et ita significat quod sine aliquo timore aggrediuntur divina quae ad eos pertinent, quod videtur ad fortitudinem animi pertinere."

[59] *ST* 1-2.64 summarizes the nature and role of the *medium* in each kind of virtue. The background is *Ethics* 2.6, esp. 1106b7–17 and 1106b24–35.

[60] *ST* 1-2.19.3–4 and 63.2; *Quaestiones disputatae de malo* [*DM*] 1.3. Cf. *ST* 1-2.68.1 ad 2 (6:447): "vitia, inquantum sunt contra bonum rationis, contrariantur virtutibus: inquantum autem sunt contra divinum instinctum, contrariantur donis. Idem enim contrariatur Deo et rationi,

mity to the dual measure of reason and divine law, any *excessus* or *defectus* always implies sin, while passions and operations that observe the mean are good and integral to human perfection.[61] A general principle obtains: "the good of anything consists in a *medium,* according to which it is conformed to a rule or measure which it is possible to go beyond or fall short of."[62] One sees this principle at work most clearly in discussions of the moral virtues whose task is to regulate the passions, i.e., to make them obedient servants of reason, readily susceptible to the imposing of its *mensura.* It is in such contexts that we find Thomas's rejection of the Stoic doctrine of the passions as evils and of the wise man's complete freedom from them, which Thomas characterizes as "inhuman."[63] Nevertheless, Thomas usually adds that if the Stoics be understood to mean by "passions" those that are disordered, the quarrel would be about words, for the Peripatetic account too maintains that the motions of the sensitive appetite are morally good only when moderated by reason, i.e., when they follow the mean appointed by reason according to relevant circumstances.[64]

The distinction between ordered (ruled, measured, moderate) and disordered (unruly, unmeasured, immoderate) passions is applied throughout the *Secunda pars.* The terse analysis of the goodness or badness of the irascible passion *audacia* is typical:

> Now a passion is sometimes moderated according to reason, and sometimes it lacks the mode of reason, either by excess or by deficiency, and on this ac-

cuius lumen a Deo derivatur"; and 68.8 ad 2 (6:455): "per hoc quod homo bene se habet circa rationem propriam, disponitur ad hoc quod se bene habeat in ordine ad Deum."

[61] On the Thomistic doctrine of *mensura* and its antecedents, see James McEvoy, "The Divine as the Measure of Being in Platonic and Scholastic Thought," *Studies in Medieval Philosophy,* ed. John F. Wippel, Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy 17 (Washington, D.C., 1987), 85–116.

[62] *ST* 1-2.64.3 (6:415): "bonum alicuius rei consistit in medio, secundum quod conformatur regulae vel mensurae quam contingit transcendere et ab ea deficere." Aristotle introduces the idea at *Ethics* 2.2 by making a comparison: it belongs to the nature of virtues "to be destroyed by defect and excess, as we see in the case of strength and of health (for to gain light on things imperceptible we must use the evidence of sensible things); both excessive and defective exercise destroys the strength, and similarly drink or food which is above or below a certain amount destroys the health, while that which is proportionate both produces and increases and preserves it" (1104a11–17).

[63] This is in the context of the discussion of Christ weeping over the death of Lazarus (*Super Ioan.* 11.5 n.1535 [Marietti, 286]), which is interpreted as a demonstration on the part of Christ of the truth of his humanity: "Stoici enim dixerunt quod nullus sapiens tristatur. Sed valde inhumanum esse videtur quod aliquis de morte alicuius non tristetur." Cf. *ST* 1-2.59.3 ad 3 (6:382): "tristitia immoderata est animae aegritudo: tristitia autem moderata ad bonam habitudinem animae pertinet, secundum statum praesentis vitae."

[64] *ST* 1-2.59.2 and 5; *ST* 2-2.123.10.

> count the passion is vicious. Now, the names of the passions are sometimes taken from [their] superabundance, as "anger" is said of not just any [anger] but a superabundance, in which case it is vicious. And in the same way, too, daring, when meaning a superabundance [thereof], is accounted a sin.[65]

Thomas establishes that covetousness is a sin in the same way, appealing explicitly to the principle of commensuration:[66]

> Wherever there are things whose good consists in due measure, evil necessarily ensues through excess or diminishment of that measure. Now in all things that are for the sake of an end, the good consists in a certain measure, since the things that are towards an end must be commensurate with it, as, for instance, medicine is commensurate with health, as is clear from the Philosopher (*Politics* 1.6). Now external goods have the *ratio* of "useful for an end," as said above. Hence it is necessary that man's good with respect to them consists in a certain measure—namely, that a man seeks, according to a certain measure, to have external riches, insofar as they are necessary for him to live in keeping with his condition. And therefore sin consists in an excess over this measure, namely, that he wishes to acquire or retain these things beyond a due manner; which pertains to the *ratio* of covetousness, which is defined as immoderate love of possessing.[67]

While the moral virtues offer the readiest examples, all the virtues and vices without exception are analyzed in terms of excess, defect, and mean, although exactly what this trio labels will vary notably from one class of operative habits to another. As we have seen, the excess, defect, and mean of

[65] *ST* 2-2.127.1 (10:49): "Passio autem quandoque quidem est moderata secundum rationem: quandoque autem caret modo rationis, vel per excessum vel per defectum; et secundum hoc est passio vitiosa. Sumuntur autem quandoque nomina passionum a superabundanti: sicut ira dicitur non quaecumque, sed superabundans, prout scilicet est vitiosa. Et hoc etiam modo audacia, per superabundantiam dicta, ponitur esse peccatum."

[66] I use this phrase to refer to a line of argument found in many places, e.g., *In librum Boetii de hebdomadibus expositio* 2 n.37 (Marietti, 399): "Alia vero quae sunt exterius, appetuntur vel refutantur inquantum conferunt ad propriam perfectionem: a qua quidem deficit quandoque aliquid per defectum, quandoque autem per excessum. Nam propria perfectio uniuscuiusque rei in quadam commensuratione consistit"; cf. *SCG* 3.139 (14:419, Sed).

[67] *ST* 2-2.118.1 (9:455): "in quibuscumque bonum consistit in debita mensura, necesse est quod per excessum vel diminutionem illius mensurae malum proveniat. In omnibus autem quae sunt propter finem, bonum consistit in quadam mensura: nam ea quae sunt ad finem necesse est commensurari fini, sicut medicina sanitati; ut patet per Philosophum, in I Polit. Bona autem exteriora habent rationem utilium ad finem, sicut dictum est. Unde necesse est quod bonum hominis circa ea consistat in quadam mensura: dum scilicet homo secundum aliquam mensuram quaerit habere exteriores divitias prout sunt necessaria ad vitam eius secundum suam conditionem. Et ideo in excessu huius mensurae consistit peccatum: dum scilicet aliquis supra debitum modum vult eas vel acquirere vel retinere. Quod pertinet ad rationem avaritiae, quae definitur esse immoderatus amor habendi."

moral virtues concerned with passions have reference to the interior condition of the agent, the ordering of his soul's powers under the governance of reason (thus, here one speaks of the *medium rationale*); with justice, they are brought into the ambit of the *medium rei,* the establishment of equality or due proportion in exchanges of things owed;[68] with the intellectual virtues, they refer to exceeding or falling short of the being of things, which measures speculative and practical truth in the created intellect; with the theological virtues, there cannot even be a fixed *medium,* much less an *excessus,* on the part of the object believed, hoped in, loved, since it is absolute truth and infinite good; but there can be *defectus* or *excessus per accidens* with reference to man's state of life or condition of soul.[69] For our topic, the theological virtues offer the most interesting perspective. As just mentioned, because these virtues have no mean and no *excessus,* a Christian can never believe, hope, or love as much as he ought, and yet even doing what little he can suffices to keep him in contact with the infinite object as attained by these virtues. Yet this object is never given to man in such a way that it would become his own; it always remains the being, the truth, of God, in which the creature is granted a share by divine pleasure. It is quite in keeping with the basic meaning of *ekstasis,* a "standing outside oneself," to see faith, hope, and charity as ecstatic virtues both in their essence, for they make man share in the divine nature, and in their exercise, for they drive man towards God in a motion that never comes to a static term where "everything is done that can be done." Hence Thomas remarks: "the good of such virtues does not consist in a mean but increases the more we approach to the summit."[70]

There is, then, considerable flexibility in how *excessus, defectus,* and *medium* are understood for each virtue, or put differently, what should be identified as the *extremitas* in either direction. A concise comparison of the negative and positive senses of *extremitas* in the context of moral virtues is found in the response to an objection occasioned by the *De caelo* definition of *virtus.* The objector argues: "It would seem that moral virtue does not observe

[68] "Things" here also include acts of the soul. For example, acts of worshiping God are justly owed to him on account of his excellence, acts of thanksgiving are owed to whomever gives something good to us, etc. Because Thomas takes the scenario of commutative justice (exchange between equal persons of equalizable goods) as paradigmatic for all virtues that are "parts" of justice, he organizes the subordinate virtues according as they more or less perfectly exhibit this commutative *ratio* (*ST* 2-2.80). God's infinite *excessus* is the basis for Thomas's argument that the *ratio* of justice is found least perfectly in the most important justice-virtue, religion, by which we make an inevitably finite return to a God who deserves infinite worship and thanks (*ST* 2-2.81).

[69] *ST* 1-2.64.4.

[70] Ibid. (6:416): "Et sic bonum talis virtutis non consistit in medio, sed tanto est melius, quanto magis acceditur ad summum."

the mean. For the nature of a mean is incompatible with that which is extreme. Now the nature of virtue is to be something extreme; for it is stated in *De caelo* 1 that virtue is the ultimate of a power."[71] Thomas responds:

> Moral virtue has goodness from the rule of reason, while for matter it has passions or operations. If therefore we compare moral virtue to reason, so, according to that which is of reason, it has the *ratio* of one extreme, which is conformity; while excess and defect have the *ratio* of the other extreme, which is deformity. But if moral virtue be considered according to its matter, so it has the *ratio* of a mean, insofar as it leads the passion back to the rule of reason. Hence the Philosopher says (*Ethics* 2) that "virtue, according to essence, is a mean state," insofar as the rule of virtue is imposed on its proper matter, "but it is an extreme according to the best and the excellent," viz., according to conformity with reason.[72]

Earlier we saw that *excessus* could be regarded as perfective when it leads man beyond himself into God. It is in this sense that anything undertaken in excess of the common mode of virtue, such as consecrated virginity, evangelical poverty, and the renunciation of one's own will by a vow of obedience, is held worthy of praise, insofar as it enables one to strive more intensely for spiritual goods and the heavenly kingdom: "he who gives all that is his in order to fulfill the counsel of Christ is not prodigal but does a perfect act of virtue. . . . And one should make a similar response about virginity and other things of this sort, in which is seen an excess above the common mode of virtue."[73] More generally, Aquinas holds that "some moral virtues are perfected by tending to an extreme."[74] So, too, the infused moral virtues are

[71] *ST* 1-2.64.1 obj. 1 (6:412): "Videtur quod virtus moralis non consistat in medio. Ultimum enim repugnat rationi medii. Sed de ratione virtutis est ultimum: dicitur enim in I de Caelo, quod virtus est ultimum potentiae."

[72] Ibid. ad 1 (6:412): "virtus moralis bonitatem habet ex regula rationis: pro materia autem habet passiones vel operationes. Si ergo comparetur virtus moralis ad rationem, sic, secundum id quod rationis est, habet rationem extremi unius, quod est conformitas: excessus vero et defectus habet rationem alterius extremi, quod est difformitas. Si vero consideretur virtus moralis secundum suam materiam, sic habet rationem medii, inquantum passionem reducit ad regulam rationis. Unde Philosophus dicit, in II Ethic., quod virtus secundum substantiam medietas est, inquantum regula virtutis ponitur circa propriam materiam: secundum optimum autem et bene, est extremitas, scilicet secundum conformitatem rationis."

[73] *Liber contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem* [*Contra impugnantes*] 6 ad 10 (41:A102.744–50): "qui omnia sua dat propter Christi consilium implendum, non est prodigus, sed perfectum actum virtutis facit. . . . et similiter est dicendum de virginitate, et de aliis huiusmodi, in quibus videtur excessus supra communem modum virtutis."

[74] *ST* 1-2.64.1 obj. 3 (6:412): "quaedam virtutes morales perficiuntur per hoc quod tendunt ad extremum." In the reply, as well as in the reply to the second objection, Thomas grants this point to be true but explains how any moral virtue that is extreme in terms of its "quantity" (i.e., how much it does or expends, as one sees with magnificence on the one hand and poverty

distinguished from naturally acquired moral virtues by the different *acts* to which they lead, springing from different *motives:* while natural temperance aims at moderating pleasures of touch according to the good of man in this life, supernatural temperance *mortifies* the flesh by abstinence, in order that a man may grieve over sin, free his soul for contemplation, and please God by the holocaust of his life.[75] In the striking article (1-2.61.5) in which Thomas, introducing the Neoplatonic authorities Macrobius and Plotinus, initiates a transition from the realm of political virtues to theological virtues—adding, in a sense, a Platonic corrective to the prior Aristotelian perspective—we find a discussion of the virtues that carry man beyond the confines of the natural order and lead him into the realm of God. The point of departure is Augustine's statement that the soul needs to follow God in order to give birth to virtue. Thus the exemplar of human virtue must pre-exist in God, as do the *rationes* of all things; and so we may speak of "exemplar virtues" in God (e.g., God's "fortitude" as his unchangeableness). Moreover, since human beings are *naturally* social, the cardinal virtues having their exemplar in God can exist in us according to a *natural* mode, as political virtues whereby we act well in merely human affairs. Thomas furnishes the reader with a hermeneutical key to his treatise on virtue by noting that up to the present moment he has been speaking of the cardinal virtues in *this* sense—at the natural, political level. Yet there is something more:

> But because it pertains to man that he should also do as much as he can to draw himself to divine things, as even the Philosopher declares (*Ethics* 10.7), and as Scripture often admonishes us, as in Matthew 5:48, "Be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect," we must place certain virtues between the political, which are human virtues, and the exemplar, which are divine virtues. Now these virtues are distinguished according to diversity of movement and term. Thus, certain ones are virtues of those who are on their way and tending towards the divine likeness, and these are called purifying virtues. In this manner, prudence counts as nothing all things of the world in its contemplation of divine things and directs all the thoughts of the soul to God alone, while temperance, so far as nature allows, relinquishes what is required for the use of the body; it belongs to fortitude, moreover, to keep the soul unafraid of going out [*excessus*] of the body and rising up [*accessus*] to heavenly things, while justice is the whole soul giving consent to the way thus proposed. Again, certain ones are virtues of those who have already attained to the divine like-

on the other) must still hold the mean as regards conformity with the rule of reason. The distinction between the formal aspect of the virtue (conformity with reason, which should be done to the extreme) and its particular matter (which must always be moderated, at least as regards due circumstances) is all important in working out this solution.

[75] On the difference between acquired and infused virtues, see *ST* 1-2.63.3–4.

> ness, and these are called virtues of a purified soul. In this manner, prudence gazes upon God alone; temperance knows nothing of earthly desires; fortitude has no knowledge of passion; and justice, by imitating the divine mind, is joined to it by an everlasting covenant. And such are the virtues that we say to be in the blessed or in others who are most perfect in this life.[76]

Infused and fostered by God, such superhuman virtues and the ecstatic life they create carry the human person to the height of perfection ("tota anima consentiat"), the inmost participation of divine eternity and blessedness ("sola divina intueatur, cum divina mente perpetuo foedere societur").

Nevertheless, something like what I have called the "Platonic corrective" is found in Aristotle when he distinguishes between ordinary virtues and vices and the rare extremes of bestial vice and divine or heroic virtue: "If, as they say, men become gods by excess of virtue, of this kind must evidently be the state opposed to the brutish state; for as a brute has no vice or virtue, so neither has a god; his state is higher than virtue, and that of a brute is a different kind of state from vice."[77] Regarding the notion of heroic or divine virtue, Thomas comments:

> The human soul is a mean (or: middle) between the higher and divine substances with which it shares intelligence and brute animals with which it shares sensitive powers. Just as therefore the affections of the sensitive part are sometimes corrupted in man even to the point of likeness to dumb animals, and this is called brutishness, beyond human vice and incontinence; so also the rational part in man is sometimes perfected and strengthened beyond the usual mode of human perfection, as though in likeness to separated substances, and this is called divine virtue, beyond ordinary human virtue and continence. For

[76] *ST* 1-2.61.5 (6:398): "Sed quia ad hominem pertinet ut etiam ad divina se trahat quantum potest, ut etiam Philosophus dicit, in X Ethic.; et hoc nobis in sacra Scriptura multipliciter commendatur, ut est illud Matth. v, 'Estote perfecti, sicut et Pater vester caelestis perfectus est': necesse est ponere quasdam virtutes medias inter politicas, quae sunt virtutes humanae, et exemplares, quae sunt virtutes divinae. Quae quidem virtutes distinguuntur secundum diversitatem motus et termini. Ita scilicet quod quaedam sunt virtutes transeuntium et in divinam similitudinem tendentium: et hae vocantur virtutes purgatoriae. Ita scilicet quod prudentia omnia mundana divinorum contemplatione despiciat, omnemque animae cogitationem in divina sola dirigat; temperantia vero relinquat, inquantum natura patitur, quae corporis usus requirit; fortitudinis autem est ut anima non terreatur propter excessum a corpore, et accessum ad superna; iustitia vero est ut tota anima consentiat ad huius propositi viam. Quaedam vero sunt virtutes iam assequentium divinam similitudinem: quae vocantur virtutes iam purgati animi. Ita scilicet quod prudentia sola divina intueatur; temperantia terrenas cupiditates nesciat; fortitudo passiones ignoret; iustitia cum divina mente perpetuo foedere societur, eam scilicet imitando. Quas quidem virtutes dicimus esse beatorum, vel aliquorum in hac vita perfectissimorum." See also *ST* 1-2.65.2, where it is stated that only infused virtues deserve to be called virtues absolutely speaking, while all acquired virtues deserve the name only relatively.

[77] Aristotle, *Ethics* 7.1 (1145a24–27).

> the order of things is so arranged that the mean between different parts touches both extremes. Whence, too, in human nature there is something that comes into contact with what is higher, something that is conjoined to what is below, and something that stands in a middle way.[78]

Thomas correlates what Aristotle refers to as divine or heroic virtue both to special helps given by God to men in their natural condition and, more aptly, to the gifts of the Holy Spirit:

> Gifts have something greatly beyond what belongs to the common notion of virtue, insofar as they are certain divine virtues perfecting man insofar as he is moved by God. Hence the Philosopher in *Ethics* 7 places above common virtue a certain heroic or divine virtue, according to which some are called divine men.[79]

All the virtues of man perfect his self-motion: theological virtues cause within him knowledge of, motion towards, and union with God; intellectual virtues perfect his reason in its acts; moral virtues perfect the appetitive powers in their obedience to the dictates of reason.[80] The gifts of the Holy Spirit, however, continually dispose the soul to receive and be led by the motion or prompting of God himself, so that God is the artist, the teacher, the sun, and man the tool (*organum*) to be used, the pupil to be guided, the moon to be illuminated.[81]

[78] *Sententia libri VIII Ethicorum* [*Sent. VIII Ethic.*] 1 (47:381.91–107): "anima humana media est inter superiores substantias et divinas, quibus communicat per intellectum, et animalia bruta quibus communicat in sensitivis potentiis; sicut ergo affectiones sensitivae partis aliquando in homine corrumpuntur usque ad similitudinem bestiarum et hoc vocatur bestialitas supra humanam malitiam et incontinentiam, ita etiam rationalis pars quandoque in homine perficitur et confortatur ultra communem modum humanae perfectionis, quasi in similitudinem substantiarum separatarum, et hoc vocatur virtus divina supra humanam virtutem et continentiam; ita enim se habet rerum ordo, ut medium ex diversis partibus attingat utrumque extremum, unde et in humana natura est aliquid quod attingit ad id quod est superius, aliquid vero quod coniungitur inferiori, aliquid vero quod medio modo se habet."

[79] *ST* 1-2.68.1 ad 1 (6:447): "Habent [dona] tamen aliquid supereminens rationi communi virtutis, inquantum sunt quaedam divinae virtutes, perficientes hominem inquantum est a Deo motus. Unde et Philosophus, in VII Ethic., supra virtutem communem ponit quandam virtutem heroicam vel divinam, secundum quam dicuntur aliqui divini viri." Cf. *ST* 1-2.68.2.

[80] *ST* 1-2.68.8.

[81] *ST* 1-2.68.1 corp. and ad 3, 68.2, and 68.4 ad 1. On the notion of holy men and women as *organa* of God or of the Holy Spirit, see the text just cited (*ST* 1-2.68.4 ad 1); *ST* 3.25.6; and *Super Isaiam,* prologue. The human nature of Christ is also referred to several times as *organum Deitatis* or by a similar phrase (e.g., *III Sent.* 12.2.1; *IV Sent.* 48.1.1 ad 5; *SCG* 4.41 [15:141, Sed cum]; *ST* 1-2.112.1 ad 1; *Compendium theologiae* 1.211). Thomas comments on the gifts of the Holy Spirit in a number of other places, e.g., *Super Isaiam* 11 (28:79.87–80.210) and *Super Gal.* 5.6 (Marietti, 1:635–38); for an overview, see M.-Michel Labourdette, "Dons du Saint-Esprit—Saint Thomas et la théologie thomiste," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 3:1610–35.

When, however, radical or "excessive" ways of living are undertaken for the wrong reasons, in the wrong circumstances, etc., they become excessive in the morally bad sense. As Aquinas explains, "virginity abstains from all sexual matters, and poverty from all wealth, for a right end, and in a right manner, i.e., according to God's command, and for the sake of eternal life. But if this is done in an undue manner, i.e., out of unlawful superstition, or again for vainglory, it will be superfluous [=in excess]."[82] In such texts we encounter again a negative *excessus,* something bad, unhealthy, unnatural. Any result disproportionate to what a nature intends, or any failure to attain what is intended for something by its maker, is said to go beyond, or exceed, the process leading to it. Corruption or defect is *praeter naturam* and thus an example of *quidam excessus:*

> For nothing that is "beside nature" is everlasting, since what is beside nature is subsequent to what is according to nature. This is plain from the fact that in the generation of anything, whatever is beside nature is a certain excess, i.e., a corruption and defect of that which is according to nature (for example, monstrosities are certain corruptions and defects of a natural thing). But corruptions and defect are naturally posterior, just as lacking is subsequent to having.[83]

More particularly, sickness and sin are disharmonious and ugly because they are *secundum excessum a propria natura* of the body and of the soul:

> Theologians praise the Godhead as wise and beautiful, because all existing things in which a proper nature is found to be preserved without corruption are filled with all divine harmony, i.e., perfect consonance or order to God, and are, moreover, filled with a holy comeliness; when he says "harmony," it refers to the wisdom to which it belongs to order and give measure to things; but when he says "comeliness," it refers most of all to beauty. Now, by the very fact that something of harmony or comeliness is diminished, corruption befalls things according to an *excessus* from [their] proper nature—like sickness in bodies, and sin in the soul.[84]

[82] *ST* 1-2.64.1 ad 3 (6:413): "Abstinet enim virginitas ab omnibus venereis, et paupertas ab omnibus divitiis, propter quod oportet, et secundum quod oportet; idest secundum mandatum Dei, et propter vitam aeternam. Si autem hoc fiat secundum quod non oportet, idest secundum aliquam superstitionem illicitam, vel etiam propter inanem gloriam; erit superfluum." Cf. *Contra impugnantes* 6 ad 10 (41.A102.746–48): "si autem non debito fine aut aliis circumstantiis indebitis omnia daret prodigus esset."

[83] *In De caelo* 2.4, §6 (3:137a): "Nihil enim quod est praeter naturam, est sempiternum: quia illud quod est praeter naturam, est posterius eo quod est secundum naturam: quod quidem patet ex hoc quod in generatione cuiuslibet rei, id quod est praeter naturam est excessus quidam, idest corruptio et defectus, eius quod est secundum naturam (sicut videmus quod monstra sunt quaedam corruptiones et defectus rei naturalis); corruptio autem et defectus est naturaliter posterior, sicut privatio quam habitus."

[84] *DDN* 1.2 n.59 (Marietti, 19): "laudant Deitatem theologi sicut sapientem et pulchram,

PSYCHOLOGICAL *EXCESSUS:* MADNESS OR LOSING ONE'S MIND

The link between sin or sickness and excessiveness, between bodily or mental disease and the trespassing of nature (*propria natura*), brings us to a final and quite distinct sphere of meaning. Within this final category—mental, psychic, or spiritual *excessus*—the positive and negative uses of the term stand furthest apart, separated by an abyss that stretches their connection almost to the breaking point. The *excessus* of mental disease is the worst and most destructive for man, fearful as death; the *excessus* of divine inspiration and charity is the best and most perfective, surpassing all creaturely hopes.

Insanity or madness is the most obvious instance of a psychological *excessus,* and with his customary realism Thomas finds frequent occasion to mention it, usually in conjunction with sleep, drunkenness, fury, lust, stupidity, or other things that deprive a person, to one degree or another, of the use of reason. While *insanus* means sick, unhealthy, unsound, *insania* typically refers to mental sickness in particular. There are other words, too, that indicate madness or the loss of one's mind, among them *amentia, dementia, furor,* and *mania.*[85] Thomas had at least two very good pastoral reasons for discussing this whole matter: whether insane persons should be permitted to receive the sacraments, and to what extent insanity, in any of its forms, diminishes culpability for sin.[86]

quia omnia existentia, in quibus invenitur propria natura salvata absque corruptione, sunt plena omni harmonia divina, idest perfecta consonantia seu ordine a Deo et sunt, iterum, plena sancto decore; ut quod dicit: harmonia, referatur ad sapientiam cuius est ordinare et commensurare res; quod autem dicit: decore, maxime ad pulchritudinem referatur. Per hoc, autem, quod diminuitur aliquid de harmonia vel decore, accidit corruptio in rebus, secundum excessum a propria natura, sicut aegritudo in corporibus et peccatum in anima."

[85] *Amentia* literally means "mindlessness" or "loss of mind"—having lost the *use* of one's mind, "having lost one's wits." I shall cite texts where Thomas says that anger and lust can lead to *amentia;* they make a person "mindless" or "not mindful" of what he is doing (though such English phrases are a good bit weaker in force than the Latin). The prefixes of *amentia* and *dementia* may indicate a subtle difference: *a-mentia* would be a total loss of the use of reason, whereas *de-mentia* would be a partial falling away (the word "demented" has preserved this connotation of *partial* madness). However, I have not yet been able to ascertain any consistent pattern in Aquinas's usage that would suggest a distinction consciously made between the terms, and in any event, it makes little difference for the present discussion. For the sake of consistency, I keep to the same translations: for *insanus,* "insane" or "unsound"; for *amens,* "mad" or, where the discussion is more pastoral, "insane" (in one instance I had to say "mindless" to bring out the point); for *furiosus,* "frantic" or "raving." The term *furor* is more narrow, signifying more or less what "fury" does in contemporary English.

[86] In passing, it may be noted that Thomas, whom hagiographers like to portray as a placid, retiring contemplative, seems to have had a flair for labeling certain ideas crazy and their proponents as none too intelligent. In *SCG* 1.3 (13:8, Adhuc[1]), for example, he writes, "a man would show himself to be the most insane fool if he declared the assertions of a philosopher to

An indication of Thomas's understanding of *insania* may be found in a discussion of how the virtue of mercy, as a part of temperance, moderates the use of punishment by keeping it within reasonable bounds. Here Thomas points out the mental unsoundness of those who take delight in punishment:

> Unsoundness [*insania*] bespeaks the corruption of health. Now just as bodily health is corrupted by the fact that the body falls away from the rightful constitution of the human species, so too *insania* in the soul is so called from the fact that the human soul falls away from the rightful disposition of the human species. This happens both in terms of reason itself, e.g., when someone loses the use of reason, and in terms of the appetitive power, e.g., when someone loses the human affection according to which a man is naturally a friend to every man, as is said in *Ethics* 8. Now the *insania* which shuts off the use of reason is opposed to prudence. But when someone takes delight in punishing a man, this is also called *insania,* because in this way it is indicated that he is devoid of the human affection upon which mercy follows.[87]

Insania is here divided into that which consists in the loss of the use of reason and that which consists in the absence of the affection that ought to be operative.[88] Cognitive and appetitive *insania* are brought together in a discussion of how reason can be unseated by violent passion. Reason can be overcome

> through a certain bodily change by which reason is in a way fettered, nor is free to go forth into its act, even as sleep or drunkenness, owing to some change worked on the body, fetter the use of reason. And that this takes place in the passions is clear from the fact that sometimes when passions are very intense a man completely loses the use of reason; for many have lapsed into insanity on account of an abundance of love or anger.[89]

be false because he was incapable of understanding them" ("maximae amentiae esset idiota qui ea quae a philosopho proponuntur falsa esse assereret propter hoc quod ea capere non potest").

[87] *ST* 2-2.157.3 ad 3 (10:269): "insania dicitur per corruptionem sanitatis. Sicut autem sanitas corporalis corrumpitur per hoc quod corpus recedit a debita complexione humanae speciei, ita etiam insania secundum animam accipitur per hoc quod anima humana recedit a debita dispositione humanae speciei. Quod quidem contingit et secundum rationem, puta cum aliquis usum rationis amittit: et quantum ad vim appetitivam, puta cum aliquis amittit affectum humanum, secundum quem 'homo naturaliter est omni homini amicus,' ut dicitur in VIII Ethic. Insania autem quae excludit usum rationis, opponitur prudentiae. Sed quod aliquis delectetur in poenis hominum, dicitur esse insania, quia per hoc videtur homo privatus affectu humano, quem sequitur clementia."

[88] The same division between an *excessus* in the apprehensive part of the soul and an *excessus* in the appetitive part appears in Thomas's treatment of *extasis* (*ST* 1-2.28.3) and *raptus* (*ST* 2-2.175.2).

[89] *ST* 1-2.77.2 (7:63): "per quandam immutationem corporalem, ex qua ratio quodammodo ligatur, ne libere in actum exeat: sicut etiam somnus vel ebrietas, quadam corporali transmutatione facta, ligant usum rationis. Et quod hoc contingat in passionibus, patet ex hoc quod ali-

Recalling that Thomas welcomes Aristotle's metaphor of reason as ruler or king within the soul,[90] and the passions as free subjects with some power of resistance,[91] one appreciates why a massive bodily *immutatio* or *transmutatio* at the level of the passions, amounting to a violent revolution in the soul's government, can result in the weakening or obliteration of reason's rulership.[92] If Thomas is no dualist, he nevertheless underscores the duality of passible human nature and the resultant possibility of one or the other "nature" holding sway: sometimes a man's whole soul is uniformly, as it were, sensualized or intellectualized, "because either the sensitive part is totally subjected to reason, as occurs in the virtuous, or on the contrary reason is totally absorbed by passion, as happens in those who have gone mad."[93]

This alarming situation is a more intensified form of something quite ordinary, namely, the "fettering" of reason during sleep. Aquinas sees a likeness between dreaming and madness: "in us deception occurs, properly speaking, according to [the faculty of] *phantasia,* through which we sometimes adhere to the likenesses of things as though they were the things themselves, as is clear in those who are sleeping or mad."[94] During sleep, reason, no longer *magister actu regens,* cedes first place to the imagination which is then free to roam unfettered. Truth and falsehood become strangely vague, place and time lose their logic, judgment turns unreliable, self-awareness (and the self-possession related to it) disintegrate.[95] Something similar takes place in drink-

quando, cum passiones multum intenduntur, homo amittit totaliter usum rationis: multi enim propter abundantiam amoris et irae, sunt in insaniam conversi."

[90] Cf. *ST* 2-2.47.12 (8:360): "Regere autem et gubernare proprie rationis est. Et ideo unusquisque inquantum participat de regimine et gubernatione, intantum convenit sibi habere rationem et prudentiam."

[91] Cf. *ST* 1-2.56.4 ad 3 and 58.2.

[92] Cf. *ST* 1-2.77.7 (7:68): "passio quandoque quidem est tanta quod totaliter aufert usum rationis, sicut patet in his qui propter amorem vel iram insaniunt."

[93] *ST* 1-2.10.3 ad 2 (6:88): "cum in homine duae sint naturae, intellectualis scilicet et sensitiva, quandoque quidem est homo aliqualis uniformiter secundum totam animam: quia scilicet vel pars sensitiva totaliter subiicitur rationi, sicut contingit in virtuosis; vel e converso ratio totaliter absorbetur a passione, sicut accidit in amentibus."

[94] *ST* 1.54.5 (5:53): "deceptio autem in nobis proprie fit secundum phantasiam, per quam interdum similitudinibus rerum inhaeremus sicut rebus ipsis, ut patet in dormientibus et amentibus." This is said in contrast to the metaphorical way in which perverse *phantasia* is attributed to the demons: "phantasia proterva attribuitur daemonibus, ex eo quod habent falsam practicam existimationem de vero bono." Thomas often quotes Dionysius's statement that evil in the demons is threefold: "furor irrationabilis, demens concupiscentia et fantasia proterua" (*DM* 16.1 obj. 3 [23:279.25–7]), sometimes substituting the phrase "concupiscentia amoris" for the second, as at *Quaestiones disputatae de potentia* [*DP*] 6.6 obj. 3 (Marietti, 172a). In the *DP* he replies (Marietti, 176a): "Utitur autem metaphorice nomine furoris et concupiscentiae pro voluntate inordinata, et nomine phantasiae pro intellectu errante in eligendo."

[95] For a philosophical account of what is occurring in the dream-state, see F.-X. Maquart,

ing beyond sobriety, or in getting worked up into amorous passion or seething anger: in such cases, too, the rulership of reason is thrown down while some inferior power takes charge.[96] For Aquinas, imagination has disconcerting potential: "the judgment and apprehension of reason, as well as the judgment of the estimative power, can be obstructed owing to a vehement and disordered apprehension of the imagination, as is clear in madmen."[97] A sleeping or drunken or raging man's habits, like those lingering to little purpose in a madman's soul, are not ready to go into act:

> Sometimes a habit is so responsive that it can go into act immediately when a man wishes. But other times the habit is so bound that it cannot go into act. Hence in one sense a man seems to have a habit and in another sense not to have it, as is evident in one sleeping, a maniac, or a drunkard. Men are disposed in this way when under the influence of the passions. For we see that anger, sexual desires, and certain passions of this kind obviously change not only the animal [i.e., psychic] motions but the external body, for example when the body gets heated up by them. And sometimes these passions grow to such an extent that they lead people to madness. And so it is plain that the incontinent are disposed like those asleep, or maniacs, or drunkards, who have the habit of practical science fettered in regard to particulars.[98]

"Le rêve et l'extase mystique: Étude philosophique et théologique," *Études carmélitaines* 17.1 (1932): 41–81, esp. 47 ff. Maquart explores Thomas's account of the suspension during sleep of the normal functioning of the *sensus communis* and the *vis cogitativa,* the unfettering of the imagination, the loss of free will and the collapse of truthful reasoning. In the dream-state, "l'exubérante activité de l'imagination trouve le champ libre et impose, par suite de l'abdication de la volonté, ses propres fantaisies à l'intelligence, si bien qu'au choix volontaire succède un déroulement d'images que seule l'association régit. . . . Par suite de cette inversion, à la logique de la raison, qui procède par attributions intrinsèques, succède la logique des rapports extrinsèques de l'association" (50–51). The dream is "une régression du concept vers l'image, le contraire d'une abstraction" (52), in which "le centre en est descendu du plan de l'intelligence au plan de la sensibilité" (53). He contrasts all of this with what takes place in mystical ecstasy, wherein the higher powers of the soul are elevated and perfected. "Malgré les ressemblances de surface, rêve et extase mystique ne peuvent s'identifier. . . . Si l'on peut parler pour l'un et l'autre de simplification, ce n'est certes pas dans le même sens: le rêve est, sur l'état de veille, une simplification descendante, appauvrissante, dans l'extase au contraire la simplification est ascendante, enrichissante" (41).

[96] Children, too, are said to be lacking the full use of reason; hence we find texts that compare the mad and frantic to them. With children, of course, there is no question of another power *taking over,* but rather of a power, reason, that has not *yet* taken charge in nature's due course. Cf. *ST* 2-2.88.9 obj. 1 and *ST* 3.68.12 obj. 2.

[97] *ST* 1-2.77.1 (7:61): "Impeditur enim iudicium et apprehensio rationis propter vehementem et inordinatam apprehensionem imaginationis, et iudicium virtutis aestimativae: ut patet in amentibus."

[98] *Sent. VII Ethic.* 3 (47:392.177–93): "aliquando enim est habitus solutus, ut statim possit exire in actum cum homo voluerit; aliquando autem est habitus ligatus ita quod non possit exire

Accordingly, bad things done by sleeping, furious, amorous, or drunk men, once they have passed well into their conditions of *amentia,* can no longer be imputed to them as free agents responsible for their deeds.[99] The active role of reason being suppressed, there is no willing of the deed: to fall beneath reason is to fall beneath responsibility.[100] At the peak of *amentia,* one cannot even speak of continence or incontinence, because the very judgment of reason, in comparison with which the conqueror of passion is called continent and the vanquished incontinent, ceases to be present to the mind.[101] A reason chained

in actum, unde quodammodo videtur habere habitum et quodammodo non habere, sicut patet in dormiente vel maniaco aut etiam ebrioso. Et hoc modo sunt dispositi homines dum sunt in passionibus; videmus enim quod irae et concupiscentiae venereorum et quaedam huiusmodi passiones manifeste transmutent et corpus exterius et non solum animales motus, puta cum ex his incalescit corpus; et quandoque tantum increscunt huiusmodi passiones quod quosdam in insanias deducunt. Et sic manifestum est quod incontinentes similiter disponuntur dormientibus, aut maniacis aut ebriosis, quod scilicet habent habitum scientiae practicae in singularibus ligatum." As usual, Thomas allows bodily changes a wide range of influence; a disturbance of passion can be so strong as to obstruct altogether the use of reason (cf. *ST* 1-2.10.3). See also the texts in nn. 99–101.

[99] *ST* 2-2.154.5 (10:229): "id quod agit homo dormiens, qui non habet liberum iudicium rationis, non imputatur ei ad culpam: sicut nec illud quod agit furiosus aut amens." Similarly, women who are taken advantage of by men owing to being asleep, drunk, or mentally unstable are guiltless, unless beforehand they intended this to occur: *IV Sent.* 33.3.1 ad 6. Cf. *ST* 1-2.88.6 ad 2. As Thomas always points out when treating of culpable vs. non-culpable ignorance, a person is responsible for placing himself in a situation known to be likely to weaken the use or judgment of reason.

[100] Cf. *ST* 1-2.6.7 ad 3 (6:62): "si concupiscentia totaliter cognitionem auferret, sicut contingit in illis qui propter concupiscentiam fiunt amentes, sequeretur quod concupiscentia voluntarium tolleret." The direct proportion between concupiscence and involuntariness explains how culpability for a particular act may be diminished: *DM* 3.9 (23:87.208–21): "ex aliqua corporali transmutatione ligatur usus rationis, ut uel totaliter nichil consideret uel quod non libere considerare possit, sicut patet in dormientibus et freneticis. Per passiones autem fit aliqua immutatio circa corpus, ita quod interdum aliqui propter iram uel concupiscentiam uel aliquam huiusmodi passionem in insaniam inciderunt. Et ideo, quando huiusmodi passiones sunt fortes, per ipsam transmutationem corporalem ligant quodammodo rationem ut liberum iudicium de particularibus agendis non habeat. Et sic nichil prohibet aliquem scientem secundum habitum et in uniuersali, per infirmitatem peccare." Relying on the same principle, Thomas maintains in *Quodlibet* 3.12.2 ad 2 (25:286.68–84) that the guilt incurred by a badly-formed conscience is obviated by madness. Cf. *ST* 1-2.76.3 ad 3.

[101] *ST* 2-2.156.1 (10:259): "Si vero passiones adeo increscant quod totaliter auferant usum rationis, sicut accidit in his qui propter vehementiam passionum amentiam incurrunt, non remanebit ratio continentiae neque incontinentiae: quia non salvatur in eis iudicium rationis, quod continens servat et incontinens deserit." Thus, in an objection against baptizing the insane, which argues that since they lack the use of reason their intention can only be disordered (*ST* 3.68.12 obj. 1), the mistake is easy to see: if there is no use of reason, there is, morally speaking, no intention at all. Hence Thomas responds that, provided the person has made no indication to the contrary, the Church's intention suffices and may substitute for their lack of intention.

down by some other force can no longer perform its function as interior standard or light.

While sexual desire is an obvious instance of a passion whose excessive vehemence can lead to mental breakdown or the loss of one's mind, *ira* (anger) and *furor* (raging, wrath, rancor) also hold a prominent place among the causes by which reason is overthrown and some degree of *amentia* suffered. Appealing to Seneca, Thomas writes that "other more vehement passions lead man away from right reason more than desire for pleasures of touch, like fear of deadly dangers, which stupefy man, and anger, which is like insanity."[102] Seeking to prove that anger is the most grievous of sins, an objector argues that "anger is most of all harmful, because it draws man away from reason, through which man is lord of himself; for Chrysostom says that 'anger differs in no way from madness; it is a demon while it lasts, indeed more troublesome than one harassed by a demon.'"[103] Although Thomas does not agree that it is most grievous in itself (hatred of the good and envy at the good are, *ceteris paribus,* worse sins), he grants that anger has a peculiar impetuosity, a strength and quickness of movement, by which it is capable of overmastering a man, getting the better of his reason: "owing to anger especially, some have lapsed into fury and insanity, which pertain to folly."[104] Anger skews judgment: "Gregory says that what is right seems perverse to a mind drunk with fury."[105] Because they could not tolerate insults, Alcibiades put up a good fight, the great-souled Achilles went mad from anger, fearing nothing, and Ajax killed himself.[106] Intense anger can give rise to a fearlessness somewhat like the rare vice of *impaviditas,* which Thomas, following Aristotle, associates with insanity and even with an entire nation: "it does not happen except in insane persons or in some who lack the sense of pain that they should fear

[102] *ST* 2-2.155.2 obj. 2 (10:254): "quaedam aliae passiones vehementius abducunt hominem a ratione recta quam concupiscentiae delectabilium tactus, sicut timor periculorum mortis, qui stupefacit hominem; et ira, quae est insaniae similis, ut Seneca dicit." Thomas does not disagree with the objection on this point, but only with the false conclusion, viz., that continence has more to do with passions of fear and anger than with pleasures of touch.

[103] *ST* 2-2.158.4 obj. 2 (10:276): "Ira autem maxime nocet: quia aufert homini rationem, per quam est dominus sui ipsius; dicit enim Chrysostomus quod 'irae et insaniae nihil est medium, sed ira temporaneus est quidam daemon, magis autem et daemonium habente difficilius.'"

[104] *ST* 2-2.46.3 obj. 3 (8:346): "Praeterea, ex ira aliqui praecipue vertuntur in furorem et insaniam, quae pertinent ad stultitiam." Thomas does not deny this premise of the objection.

[105] *DM* 16.6 obj. 15 (23:308.127–29): "Gregorius dicit in Pastorali, quod menti furore ebrie peruersum uidetur esse quod rectum est."

[106] *Expositio libri Posteriorum* 2.16 (1*2:230.44–50): "Sicut Alcibiades, id est Hercules, dictus est magnanimus, et etiam Achilles et etiam Aiax, qui omnes habent unum quid commune, quod est non sustinere iniurias: cuius signum est quod Alcibiades non sustinens iniurias dimicauit, Achilles uero in insaniam uersus est propter iram, Aiax autem interfecit seipsum."

nothing—say neither earthquakes nor floods nor other such things, as is said to happen in those who are called Celts, which is the name of a people."[107] Similarly, a man who is unmoved by injuries done to himself is either a mighty lover of God or thoroughly witless:

> To be unmoved when one is injured is sometimes due to the fact that one has no taste for worldly things, but only for heavenly things. Hence this belongs not to worldly stupidity but to divine wisdom, as Gregory says. Sometimes, though, it is the result of a man's being simply stupid about everything, as may be seen in madmen, who do not discern what is injurious to them, and this belongs to folly simply.[108]

At various places Thomas, following Aristotle, Gregory of Nyssa, and Damascene, distinguishes the different kinds of anger, which will permit us to discern their relationship to madness. There is an anger that is quickly aroused (*fel* or *fellea*), an anger that lingers over wrongs (*mania*), and an anger that rages until it has taken revenge (*furor*), each presupposing the former and going beyond it, each one step further from a rational frame of mind:

> The three kinds of anger posited by Damascene as well as Gregory of Nyssa are taken from those things that cause anger to increase. This happens in three ways. In one way, from facility of the movement itself; and such anger he calls *fel,* because it is quickly aroused. In another way, on the part of the grief that causes anger, which lingers some time in the memory; and this pertains to *mania,* which is derived from *manere.* Thirdly, on the part of that which the angry man seeks, viz., vengeance; and this pertains to *furor,* which never rests until it punishes. Hence the Philosopher (*Ethics* 4) calls some angry persons *acuti* [choleric, *akrocholoi*], because they are easily angered; some he calls *amari* [bitter, *pikroi*], because they retain their anger for a long time; and some he calls *difficiles* [ill-tempered, *chalepoi*], because they never rest until they have punished.[109]

[107] *Sent. III Ethic.,* lec. 15 (47:165–66.129–35): "non enim contingit nisi in aliquo insano vel in aliquo qui non habet sensum doloris, quod scilicet nihil timeat, puta neque terrae motum neque inundationes neque aliquid talium, sicut dicitur accidere de quibusdam qui vocantur Celtae, quod est nomen gentis."

[108] *ST* 2-2.46.1 ad 4 (8:345): "non moveri iniuriis quandoque quidem contingit ex hoc quod homini non sapiunt terrena, sed sola caelestia. Unde hoc non pertinet ad stultitiam mundi, sed ad sapientiam Dei, ut Gregorius ibidem dicit. Quandoque autem contingit ex hoc quod homo est simpliciter circa omnia stupidus: ut patet in amentibus, qui non discernunt quid sit iniuria. Et hoc pertinet ad stultitiam simpliciter."

[109] *ST* 1-2.46.8 (6:298–99): "tres species irae quas Damascenus ponit, et etiam Gregorius Nyssenus, sumuntur secundum ea quae dant irae aliquod augmentum. Quod quidem contingit tripliciter. Uno modo, ex facilitate ipsius motus: et talem iram vocat fel, quia cito accenditur. Alio modo, ex parte tristitiae causantis iram, quae diu in memoria manet: et haec pertinet ad maniam, quae a manendo dicitur. Tertio, ex parte eius quod iratus appetit, scilicet vindictae: et

As we are dealing here with different sets of terminology—one from a Latin version of the *Nicomachean Ethics,* another from translations of the Eastern Fathers, with a dose of confusion from medieval Latin's fluidity—the terms tend to be interchangeable in meaning and application, as Thomas recognizes.[110] Whether or not he succeeds in classifying the species of anger given by the *auctoritates,* what is more relevant at present is his observation that wrath or rage (*furor*) means *ira accensa,* anger kindled to a blazing pitch.[111] Just as "zeal implies an intensity of love," so *furor* implies "an intensity of anger,"[112] and as jealousy for the beloved can make a lover go mad, *furor* has power to throw the vengeful into *amentia.* Scripture may use the name of "wrath" to signify metaphorically God's unerring justice,[113] but an ethicist uses it to name the condition of a man beside himself with irascible passion, which is deadly for the order of reason: "that man perishes in wrath of soul who, on account of his wrath, cuts out wisdom and justice, which are the soul's chief goods."[114]

By allowing reason and its goods of wisdom and justice to be thwarted, the furious man abandons what distinguishes him from and places him over the

haec pertinet ad furorem, qui nunquam quiescit donec puniat. Unde Philosophus, in IV Ethic., quosdam irascentium vocat acutos, quia cito irascuntur; quosdam amaros, quia diu retinent iram; quosdam difficiles, quia nunquam quiescunt nisi puniant." Thomas parallels Aristotle and the Fathers in another place, where he is responding to the claim that their divisions do not match up: the sed contra of *ST* 2-2.158.5.

[110] *ST* 1-2.46.8 ad 2 (6:299): "Nihil autem prohibet ut thymosis Graece, quod Latine furor dicitur, utrumque importet, et velocitatem ad irascendum et firmitatem propositi ad puniendum." Given its customary use in English, one might think that *mania,* for example, should express the most intense form of anger, but it seems that for Thomas *furor* describes a condition beyond that of *mania.* One should also note that while *furor* and *furiosus* can refer to the anger that "sees nothing but red" and will not rest until vengeance is taken, it can also broadly signify madness, as when Thomas groups together *amentes* and *furiosi,* as he very often does.

[111] Thus we read in *Super Iob* 19 (26:114.104–106): "unde dicit iratus est contra me furor eius, quod dicit ad designandum vehementiam irae: nam furor est ira accensa." Later in the commentary we get the same account, ibid., 21 (26:127.300–301): "furor est ira accensa, nomine furoris acrior vindicta significatur." Cf. *Super Isaiam* 13 (28:87.77–78): the prophet writes *furor* "quantum ad impetuosam ultionem, quia furor est ira accensa." Cf. *Super Ps.* 36, §6 (Busa, 6:100b): "Ira et furor idem sunt; sed differunt secundum magis et minus: quia furor nihil aliud est quam ira accensa."

[112] *DV* 26.4 (22:761.182–83): "zelus importat intensionem amoris, furor intensionem irae." Cf. *III Sent.* 26.1.3 (822, §45): "furor autem intensionem irae."

[113] *Super Iob* 3 (26:26.549–54): "Et quamvis innocens sim tamen venit super me indignatio, idest poena a Deo—ira enim in Deo non accipitur pro commotione animi sed pro punitione—, in quo recognoscit adversitates huius mundi non absque divino nutu provenire"; cf. *ST* 1.3.2 ad 2.

[114] *Super Iob* 18 (26:109.37–39): "Ille enim in furore animam perdit qui propter furorem a sapientia et iustitia excidit quae sunt praecipue animae bona."

irrational animals,[115] becoming like a beast dominated by its instinctive passions:

> For nothing prevents something which is good in a particular manner from being called "bad" with respect to a certain nature, insofar as it is opposed to the perfection of the nobler nature; just as to be raging is a certain good with respect to a [watch-]dog, but an evil with respect to man who has reason. Nevertheless it is possible that there should be in man, according to his sensible and corporeal nature which he shares with brutes, a certain inclination to raging, which is evil for man.[116]

Corresponding inversely to the ways human nature can be elevated by grace to a sharing of the divine life (*deificatio*) are the various ways man can fall *beneath* his humanity into a bestial or brutish life. A barbaric or "rude" manner of life fomented by a lack of reasonable laws is one way of becoming generally brutish, although not necessarily to a very great extent; an uncontrolled eruption of feelings, for example in mourning the dead, is another and more transient way to become less than human; immense growth in vice is yet another, and certainly the worst, for which reason we disgrace the vicious by calling them "beasts" or "monsters" who "bear within their human bodies the heart of a beast."[117] As the *De Regno* teaches about tyrants: "A man governing without reason according to the lust of his soul in no way differs from a beast. . . . Men therefore hide from tyrants as from cruel beasts, and it seems that to be subject to a tyrant is the same thing as to lie prostrate beneath a raging

[115] *ST* 2-2.47.6 obj. 2 (8:353): "Praeterea, homo excedit res irrationales secundum rationem, sed secundum alia cum eis communicat. Sic igitur se habent aliae partes hominis ad rationem sicut se habet homo ad creaturas irrationales. Sed homo est finis creaturarum irrationalium ut dicitur in I Politic. Ergo omnes aliae partes hominis ordinantur ad rationem sicut ad finem." Thomas does not dispute this part of the objection.

[116] *De substantiis separatis* 20 (40:D77.79–88): "nihil enim prohibet aliquid quod est particulariter bonum alicui naturae, in tantum dici malum in quantum repugnat perfectioni nobilioris naturae, sicut furiosum esse quoddam bonum est cani, quod tamen malum est homini rationem habenti: possibile tamen est in homine secundum sensibilem et corporalem naturam in qua cum brutis communicat, esse quandam inclinationem ad furorem qui est homini malum." Comparable is Thomas's assertion at *ST* 1-2.55.3 ad 2 that a lower power can be "perfect" in vice, even though such a perfection is evil simply speaking with respect to human nature, and hence cannot be called a *virtus humana.*

[117] *Sent. VII Ethic.* 1 (47:381–82.145–54): "primus est ex conversatione gentis, sicut apud Barbaros, qui rationabilibus legibus non reguntur, propter malam convivendi consuetudinem aliqui incidunt in malitiam bestialem; secundo contingit aliquibus propter aegritudines et orbitates, idest amissiones carorum, ex quibus in amentiam incidunt et quasi bestiales fiunt; tertio propter magnum augmentum malitiae, ex quo contingit quod quosdam superexcellenter infamamus dicentes eos bestiales." *Super De Trin.*, expositio prohemii (50:78.109–11): "monstra dicuntur homines qui in corpore humano cor gerunt bestiale, propter peccatum bestiis similes effecti in affectu."

beast."[118] Man becomes brutal or bestial whenever and to the extent that the order of reason, by which he is constituted in his natural dignity, is lost. It is in this way that *any* sinful act, whether of anger, lust, gluttony, pride, or some other vice, can rightly be described as "subhuman" behavior which, if sufficiently grave and repeated often enough, leads at last to a bestial character for which living beneath or below reason has become connatural, a "second nature." Such a man is then called, by way of opprobrium, a dog, a pig, a bear, or whatever beast he is most like. Commenting on Aristotle's notion of bestial vice, Thomas argues that the harmony of human affections can be perverted in such a way that it does not go beyond the limits of a human life (and this is incontinence or human wickedness, comparable to a sickness from which one can naturally recover), or it can be altogether corrupted, so that it goes beyond the limits of a human life, "in likeness to the desires of some brute animal, say a lion, bear, or pig, and this is what is called brutishness. And it is just as if the make-up of a man's body had been changed into the make-up of a lion or a pig."[119] If the sinner's evil-doing grows to the point where it gravely violates or jeopardizes the common good of society, he cedes his right to be a protected member of the political community. Civil authorities may, and sometimes must, deal with him as with a dangerous animal, "for a bad man is worse than a beast and is more harmful."[120]

[118] *De Regno* 1.3 (42:453.134–41): "homo absque ratione secundum animi sui libidinem presidens nichil differt a bestia; unde Salomon dicit 'Leo rugiens et ursus esuriens, princeps impius super populum pauperem'; et ideo a tyrannis se abscondunt homines sicut a crudelibus bestiis, idemque uidetur tyranno subici et bestie seuienti substerni."

[119] *Sent. VII Ethic.* 1 (47:380–81.62–74): "uno igitur modo potest contingere perversitas in tali consonantia ita quod non exeatur extra limites humanae vitae et tunc dicetur simpliciter incontinentia vel malitia humana, sicut et aegritudo humana corporalis in qua salvari potest natura humana; alio modo potest corrumpi contemperantia humanarum affectionum ita quod progrediatur ultra limites humanae vitae in similitudinem affectionum alicuius bestiae, puta leonis, ursi aut porci, et hoc est quod vocatur bestialitas et est simile sicut si ex parte corporis complexio alicuius mutaretur in complexionem leoninam vel porcinam."

[120] *ST* 2-2.64.2 ad 3 (9:68): "homo peccando ab ordine rationis recedit: et ideo decidit a dignitate humana, prout scilicet homo est naturaliter liber et propter seipsum existens, et incidit quodammodo in servitutem bestiarum, ut scilicet de ipso ordinetur secundum quod est utile aliis; secundum illud Psalm.: 'Homo, cum in honore esset, non intellexit: comparatus est iumentis insipientibus, et similis factus est illis'; et Prov. XI dicitur: 'Qui stultus est serviet sapienti.' Et ideo quamvis hominem in sua dignitate manentem occidere sit secundum se malum, tamen hominem peccatorem occidere potest esse bonum, sicut occidere bestiam: peior enim est malus homo bestia, et plus nocet, ut Philosophus dicit, in I Polit. et in VII Ethic." Lest one come away with the impression that Thomas is eager to see the death penalty enacted, one should note, first, that he speaks of sins serious enough to make someone fit to be treated as a wild beast, evidently crimes of the first magnitude, and second, that he says it *can* be good ("potest esse bonum") to punish such criminals with death, even as it is necessary at times to kill a rabid animal that threatens to injure people. See *SCG* 3.144 and *ST* 2-2.64.1–2; cf. *ST* 2-2.10.8, 11.3, and 25.6 ad 2.

A glutton whose belly is his god seems to be afflicted with a kind of madness that pushes him well past the bounds of nature. As Thomas explains in the commentary on the *Ethics,* "nature desires nothing except that needs be supplied; hence that someone should take [food or drink] beyond need is an excess beyond nature. And thus such people are called belly-mad (*gastrimargi*), from *gastir* meaning belly and *margos* meaning raving or insanity, as if they had a raving or insane stomach, because they stuff nature beyond need."[121] The gluttony that appears to be localized in mouth, throat, and stomach turns its disorder back upon the man, transforming his soul into the interior image of what he does externally. A raving stomach produces in due course a raving man; this is why a lesser vice like gluttony is said to lead invariably to vices that are worse, more interior and more corruptive.[122] This reciprocal likeness and causality between flesh and spirit, much dwelled upon by moralists such as Gregory the Great, is grounded in a keen appreciation of the intimate union of body and soul, whereby each acts upon and mirrors the other:

> According to the order of nature, on account of the tying-together of the powers of the soul in one essence and of the soul and body in the one being of the composite, the higher and the lower powers, and even the body and the soul, let flow from one to the other whatever superabounds in any one of them; and hence it is that from the apprehension of the soul the body is changed with regard to heat and cold, and sometimes even to the extent of health and sickness and even to death; for it does happen that a person meets with death from joy or sorrow or love. And hence it is that there occurs in the glorified body an overflowing of the very glory of the soul . . . and contrariwise, a change of the body overflows into the soul. For a soul joined to the body imitates its make-up in point of madness or docility and other such things, as is said in the *Book of Six Principles.*[123]

[121] *Sent. III Ethic.* 20 (47:185.136–42): "natura enim non concupiscit nisi quod suppleatur indigentia, unde quod aliquis assumat ultra indigentiam est excessus supra naturam. Et ideo tales dicuntur gastrimargi, a gastir, quod est venter, et margos, quod est furor vel insania, quasi furor vel insania ventris, quia scilicet implent naturam praeter indigentiam."

[122] In this connection one might recall a popular patristic and monastic genre, the treatise on the seven deadly sins (influential in Thomas's structuring of the *De malo*), which typically emphasizes the connection between lesser fleshly sins and greater spiritual ones, showing how the former when indulged initiate a downward spiral into the latter.

[123] *DV* 26.10 (22:784.162–81): "secundum naturae ordinem, propter colligantiam virium animae in una essentia et animae et corporis in uno esse compositi, vires superiores et inferiores, et etiam corpus et anima invicem in se effluunt quod in aliquo eorum superabundat; et inde est quod ex apprehensione animae transmutatur corpus secundum calorem et frigus, et quandoque etiam usque ad sanitatem et aegritudinem et usque ad mortem; contingit enim aliquem ex gaudio vel tristitia vel amore mortem incurrere. Et inde est quod ex ipsa gloria animae fit redundantia in corpus glorificandum . . . et similiter est e convero, quod transmutatio

On Jesus' words "we piped to you, and you did not dance; we wailed, and you did not weep" (Luke 7:32), Thomas quotes Gregory of Nyssa: "Singing and lamentation are nothing else but an *excessus,* the one of joy, the other of sorrow. Now, a certain harmonious melody resounds from a musical instrument in such a way that when a person is moved to tap his foot and make a fitting movement in his body he shows his internal response to the music."[124] In spite of his critique of astrological determinism, Thomas willingly grants that men who have lost something of their self-possession and self-rulership by living immersed in their passions are that much more likely to be swayed and moved by celestial influences, making them more akin to animals driven by instinctive appetites than men living by reason and will.[125]

Nevertheless, as tempering words like *quasi* and *sicut* indicate, it would be false to think that insanity, regardless of its magnitude, actually strips away reason and leaves a person mindless, no more than a beast. As long as a man remains alive, he must be living by and through the rational soul, even if its higher powers are fettered. Thomas is careful to point out that "those who are frantic or mad lack the use of reason *per accidens,* i.e., owing to some impediment in a bodily organ, and not, like irrational animals, owing to the lack of a rational soul."[126] However much the shining of the light of reason may be

corporis in animam redundat. Anima enim coniuncta corpori eius complexiones imitatur secundum amentiam vel docilitatem et alia huiusmodi, ut dicitur in libro sex principiorum."

[124] *Glossa continua super Evangelia, seu Catena aurea in quatuor Evangelia* [*CA*] *Luc.* 7, §5 (Marietti, 2:103): "Canticum autem et lamentatio nil aliud est quam excessus, hoc quidem gaudii, illud vero moeroris. Resonat autem quaedam consona melodia ex organo musico, secundum quam dum homo pede et motu consono corporis commovetur, intrinsecam dispositionem manifestat; et ideo dicit [cantavimus vobis tibiis, et non saltastis;] lamentavimus, et non plorastis."

[125] *SCG* 3.85 (14:256, Sciendum): "Interdum etiam ex corporibus caelestibus actus humanus causatur inquantum ex indispositione corporis aliqui amentes efficiuntur, usu rationis privati. In quibus proprie electio non est, sed moventur aliquo naturali instinctu, sicut et bruta. Manifestum autem est, et experimento cognitum, quod tales occasiones, sive sint exteriores sive sint interiores, non sunt causa necessaria electionis: cum homo per rationem possit eis resistere vel obedire. Sed plures sunt qui impetus naturales sequuntur, pauciores autem, scilicet soli sapientes, qui occasiones male agendi et naturales impetus non sequuntur." Thomas opines that the heavenly bodies exercise a physical influence on all sublunary bodies, and he extends this causality even to the body of Christ prior to the resurrection: *ST* 3.12.4 ad 3. In several places Thomas mentions "lunatics" and discusses the extent to which their behavior is caused by the lunar cycle. *Super Matt.* 4, n.392 (Marietti, 60): "Lunatici proprie dicuntur qui patiuntur infirmitatem cuiusdam amentiae in defectu lunae"; cf. *Super Matt.* 17 n.1458 (Marietti, 222): "lunaticus proprie est qui secundum statum lunae alienatur."

[126] *ST* 3.68.12 ad 2 (12:105): "furiosi vel amentes carent usu rationis per accidens, scilicet propter aliquod impedimentum organi corporalis, non autem propter defectum animae rationalis, sicut bruta animalia." This is in reply to an objection: "Praeterea, homo bruta animalia superexcedit in hoc quod habet rationem. Sed furiosi et amentes non habent usum rationis, et quandoque etiam in eis non expectatur, sicut expectatur in pueris"—an argument that clearly

dimmed by impediments in the lower powers, the human soul can never be deprived of this light, since it pertains to the very nature of the rational soul.[127]

Insanity is not always a condition into which a previously sane man falls or lapses on account of excessive passion, a massive bodily change like getting struck in the head, or a corrupt way of life. Some are simply born in the condition of not having the use of reason, and their lack of reasoning ability, in no way their own fault, cannot be accounted brutishness. At three places in his works, the context identical (whether the sacraments should be given to the mentally disturbed or handicapped), Thomas draws a distinction *de amentibus:* "certain ones are called 'mindless' in a broad sense, because they have a weak mind, just as something can be called invisible which is but poorly seen; and nevertheless they are in some way teachable. . . . Certain others, on the contrary, are altogether lacking the judgment of reason, and these were either such from birth . . . or they [later] fell into madness."[128] Another text adds a nuance: among those who are mentally unsound either from birth or from a later sickness, some have never had lucid intervals, while others do have lucid intervals.[129]

Nor should we think that madness is caused only by physical factors (the bodily indispositions or vehement passions so often mentioned), for some have lapsed into madness "by the exercise of spiritual operations."[130] As they were no strangers to vice, the medievals were no strangers to mental illness. William of Auvergne gives

> numerous examples of unfortunates who come to believe that they are Christ, the Holy Spirit, or Antichrist. Less loftily, Jean Gerson claims that he knew a

anticipates the functionalist position of those who equate human dignity or rights with some kind of distinctively human *functioning,* in order to be able to conclude to the permissibility of killing some humans who are not "functional" in the respect viewed as relevant. Thomas makes the same point about the *per accidens* nature of a lack of reason at *ST* 1-2.67.3.

[127] *ST* 2-2.15.1 (8:118): "Et hoc lumen [scil. lumen naturalis rationis], cum pertineat ad speciem animae rationalis, nunquam privatur ab anima. Impeditur tamen quandoque a proprio actu per impedimenta virium inferiorum, quibus indiget intellectus humanus ad intelligendum, sicut patet in amentibus et furiosis."

[128] *IV Sent.* 9.5.3 (396, §195–96): "Quidam enim dicuntur large amentes, quia debilem mentem habent, sicut dicitur invisibile quod male videtur; et tamen sunt aliquo modo docibiles. . . . Quidam vero sunt omnino carentes judicio rationis; et isti vel fuerunt tales a nativitate . . . vel inciderunt in amentiam."

[129] *IV Sent.* 4.3.1.3 (184, §211–12). Cf. *ST* 3.68.12 (12:105): "circa amentes et furiosos est distinguendum. Quidam enim sunt a nativitate tales, nulla habentes lucida intervalla, in quibus etiam nullus usus rationis apparet. . . . Alii vero sunt amentes qui ex sana mente quam habuerunt prius, in amentiam inciderunt. . . . Quidam vero sunt qui, etsi a nativitate fuerint furiosi et amentes, habent tamen aliqua lucida intervalla, in quibus recta ratione uti possunt."

[130] *II Sent.* 22.2.2 (561): "et ita post sequens peccatum ex toto excusaret, ut patet in his qui exercitio spiritualium operationum in amentiam vertuntur."

> learned man of science who thought he was a rooster, and even sang like one. He fled into the woods, not to be heard from again. Another individual believed he had grown a horn on his forehead; others thought they had feet of iron (and stomped around), while still others thought they had feet of glass (and were afraid to walk).[131]

The ancients supplied a famous example, Cratylus, who, feeling that stability of reference is impossible if all things are in flux, "finally arrived at such dementia," says Thomas, "that he thought that he should not express anything in words, but in order to express what he wanted he would only move his finger."[132] It is fitting at this point to recall Reginald's anxieties when Thomas hung up his writing tools after the mystical experience of 6 December 1273. Bartholomew of Capua relates that the *socius* urged his Master to continue, fearing he might have lost his mind from too much study ("timens ne propter multum studium aliquam incurisset amentiam").[133]

The many kinds of *infirmitas rationis* or *insania secundum animam* have this much in common: "irrationality and madness, fury and concupiscence, imply a divergence of the will from right judgment of intellect or reason."[134] In the end, it is exactly this lack of reason, this weakening or loss of it when it should be operative, that makes the condition of *amentia* such a horrible thing, little different from death:

> It seems that some transformation could happen to a virtuous man that would altogether take away his happiness by completely hindering the operation of

[131] Dyan Elliott, "The Physiology of Rapture and Female Spirituality," in *Medieval Theology and the Natural Body,* ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis, York Studies in Medieval Theology 1 (Woodbridge, 1997), 148 and n. 34, citing William of Auvergne, *De universo* 2.2, cap. 35, and Jean Gerson, *De passionibus animae,* cap. 20.

[132] *In Metaphys.* 4.12 n.684 (Marietti, 188): "Et hanc opinionem habuit Cratylus, qui ad ultimum ad hanc dementiam devenit, quod opinatus est quod non oportebat aliquid verbo dicere, sed ad exprimendum quod volebat, movebat solum digitum."

[133] See *Processus canonizationis sancti Thomae Aquinatis, Neapoli,* LXXIX, in *Thomae Aquinatis vitae fontes praecipue,* ed. Angelico Ferrua (Alba, 1968), 319. The early biographers of Friar Thomas speak forcefully of the saint's habitual *abstractio mentis,* accompanied by the telltale sign of enrapturement, *alienatio a sensibus;* see, e.g., *Ystoria sancti Thome de Aquino de Guillaume de Tocco (1323),* ed. Claire le Brun-Gouanvic, Studies and Texts 127 (Toronto, 1996), 130, 154, 174. Concerning the mystical experience of December 1273 and its significance for the interpretation of Aquinas's work, see my "Golden Straw: St. Thomas and the Ecstatic Practice of Theology," *Nova et Vetera* [English ed.] 2 (2004): 61–90.

[134] *II Sent.* 7.2.1 ad 1 (187): "Irrationalitas autem et amentia, furor et concupiscentia important obliquitatem voluntatis a recto judicio intellectus vel rationis." The desperate words of Ophelia over Hamlet's apparent mental collapse are a perfect poetic summary of Aquinas's views on the subject: cf. *Hamlet* III.1.150–61, as given in *The Complete Works,* ed. Alfred Harbage (New York, 1977). Notice the emphasis on Hamlet's being "quite, quite down," reminiscent of Thomas's speaking at *ST* 1-2.28.3 of bad cognitive *extasis* as a *depressio.*

> virtue, e.g., if through sickness he incurred a furious temper or loss of control or any other mental breakdown. But since happiness can only be sought in a human life, which is according to reason, when the use of reason is gone, such a life is gone. Hence, in what concerns a human life, the condition of madness is to be considered like the condition of death.[135]

That for St. Thomas the "condition of death" would be, from a purely natural standpoint, something horrible and fearful—much like the Hades of Greek mythology or the Sheol of some Hebrew writings—is impressively demonstrated by Mary F. Rousseau.[136]

As is clear from the texts discussed up to this point, not every sort of losing or going out of one's mind is an instance of *amentia* or *dementia* properly speaking, just as not every displacement or suspension of reason is unnatural or contrary to nature (or, for that matter, contrary to grace). While all the cases examined so far involve a certain *likeness* to death inasmuch as the active use of reason, the human power *par excellence,* is impeded, not all may be likened to death in the same way or with the same fittingness.[137] The use of reason and with it the exercise of virtue can be interrupted by things as natural and good as sleep or sexual intercourse; one even acts virtuously by suspending the use of reason when appropriate.[138] One can become delirious from

[135] *Sent. I Ethic.* 16 (47:59.148–56): "Videtur tamen aliqua transmutatio virtuoso posse accidere, quae omnino auferat eius felicitatem impediendo totaliter operationem virtutis, puta si per aegritudinem, maniam vel furiam seu quamcumque amentiam incurrat. Sed, cum felicitas non quaeratur nisi in vita humana, quae est secundum rationem, deficiente usu rationis deficit talis vita, unde status amentiae reputandus est quantum ad vitam humanam sicut status mortis."

[136] Mary F. Rousseau, "Elements of a Thomistic Philosophy of Death," *The Thomist* 43 (1979): 581–602. Prescinding from supernatural assistance, separated souls are "diminished knowers, diminished lovers, diminished images of God" who "could well make their own the words with which the shade of Achilles greeted Odysseus: 'How did you find your way down to the dark where these dim-witted dead are camped forever, the after-images of used-up men?'" (ibid., 599). For a more optimistic interpretation, see Patrick Quinn, "The Relationship Between Human Transcendence and Death in the Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas," *Milltown Studies* 25 (1990): 63–75.

[137] This connection to death takes on a new significance in light of the ways in which death, the dying to self demanded by love of God and neighbor, is involved in the Christian life. The *extasis* of the moral and spiritual life is not itself a death, for it is not corruptive, but it presupposes the death of what Aristotle would call ignoble self-love and St. Paul, the old man.

[138] According to Thomas, there are times when it is virtuous for man to live—that is, to act or to permit activity—"outside of" or "beyond" reason; one might speak of moments of legitimate or praiseworthy unknowing, either by transcending reason in a hyperintensity of wakefulness or by falling beneath it or letting it be blocked it in a kind of unconsciousness, swoon, or mist. Of the former, the noblest example of activity beyond reason would be the union of *agnosia* spoken of by Dionysius in the *Mystical Theology* or by the anonymous author of *The Cloud of Unknowing;* the very act of supernatural faith, the wayfarer's uninterrupted dark night, shares the character of this union with the God who dwells in inaccessible light. Of the

drinking too much wine, which indicates a moral failing, or from suffering a fever, which does not. One might be born with a mental disability or one might lapse into it as a result of violent passion. The "absence of mind" brought on by anger or gluttony, jealousy or lust, admits of as many degrees of intensity as the passion that causes it; the ensuing behavior can range from something trivial, say forgetting one's table manners, to something terrible, falling into beastliness. Hence, to state accurately what it means to "go out of one's mind," one must always take note of the kinds, causes, and degrees of *excessus mentis.* Reasoning is more impeded in the insane than in the sleeping.[139] By recognizing that concupiscence is more natural to man than fury, and certainly more natural than drunkenness, one would be inclined to judge it more leniently. A further indication of the difference between desire and drunkenness would be the latter's guaranteed consequence, the loss of the use of reason, which is by no means a necessary consequence of the former.[140] Similarly, a habit of getting drunk is worse than gluttony, because the matter with which sobriety is concerned—drink that can inebriate and, as Thomas puts it, mix up the head on account of its volatility, *fumositas*—is of its nature more potent than other food and drink, and so deserving of special care. A measured use of drink brings strength, while excess brings harm, because it hinders the use of reason.[141]

EXCESSUS AND OTHERNESS

As can be gathered from the root word *ex-cedere* and its uses, *excessus* always implies a comparison, proportion, or relation: one thing must be in excess of another, or the same thing must be somehow in excess of itself. We can understand this point better by considering for a moment an Aristotelian concept likewise embedded in multiplicity and reliant on proportion, *dunamis.*[142] Having distinguished the various meanings of *dunamis* in *Metaphysics*

second kind of unknowing, evident examples are sleep and sexual intercourse (*ST* 1-2.18.9 ad 3; *ST* 2-2.153.2 ad 2). Thomas enunciates the broad principle that all operations that fulfill genuine needs of life belongs to the *vita activa* which provides for such needs by orderly actions; hence these actions are virtuous (*ST* 2-2.179.2 ad 3).

[139] *ST* 3.68.12 obj. 3.

[140] *ST* 2-2.150.4 ad 3 (10:189): "concupiscentia non totaliter ligat rationem, sicut ebrietas, nisi forte sit tanta quod faciat hominem insanire."

[141] Cf. *ST* 2-2.149.1.

[142] *Dunamis* is not unrelated to *ekstasis.* As Kevin Corrigan shows, for Aristotle *ekstasis* is always connected with change, whether it be perfective or corruptive, while ancient authors in general understand *ekstasis* to be connected with motion, the act of the potential as potential ("Ecstasy and Ectasy in Some Early Pagan and Christian Mystical Writings," in *Greek and Me-*

5.12, Aristotle concludes that "the proper definition of the primary kind of capacity [potency, ability] will be a source of change in another thing or in the same thing qua other" (1020a5–6). For example, an animal can move locally because one part of its body actually in motion is capable of moving another, as yet inactive, part capable of being acted upon (and for this reason, the animal body must be heterogeneous, constituted of various sorts of parts: flexible tissues, inflexible bones, etc.).[143] More fundamentally, the animal as a whole is able to go from being at rest to being in motion because it is not simple but manifold: when stirred up by the cognition of an appetible object, the animal's appetite, made to be *in actu* by the appetible *in actu,* is then the principle by which the resting members are brought from potency to act.[144] Appetite is a source of change in the same thing qua other, since the diversity of the powers of appetite, of local motion, and of limbs enables one and the same animal to move itself from rest, and once in motion, to continue moving itself. In short, composition, multiplicity, or manifoldness is a basic prerequisite for the sort of *dunamis* found in things that are not, of their essence, simply *in actu,* that is, things whose being is pure actuality.[145]

It is no different with the *excessus* whereby one and the same thing is said to exceed itself or to be outside of itself. Something can admit of excess or stand apart from itself to the extent that it is not simple but manifold, not al-

dieval Studies in Honor of Leo Sweeney, S.J., ed. William J. Carroll and John J. Furlong [New York, 1994], 27–38). One might take this as sound evidence that *ekstasis* is—or is perceived to be—bound up with *dunamis,* with potentiality; and this connection already indicates the basic reason why Thomas denies that God can be ecstatic *sensu stricto,* although the kind of *extasis* that belongs to him is the source and perfection of creaturely *extasis.* I will return to this point.

[143] *De partibus animalium* 2.1 speaks of the difference between homogeneous and heterogeneous parts, 2.9 on bones and muscles. *De historia animalium* summarizes the motions that belong to various animal genera and species, *De motu animalium* gives an account of "the common cause of any sort of animal movement whatsoever" (698a5–6), and *De progressu animalium* investigates the organs involved in animal motion. In these works Aristotle proposes the account we have just summarized.

[144] See *De anima* 3.9–11 (432a15–434a21); *Sent. III De anima* 14–16. The principle underlying this argument—that nothing in potency, insofar as it in potency, can reduce itself to act, i.e., be the cause of its own actuation, but rather, must be actuated by something already in act, which communicates actuality univocally or equivocally to the effect—is the foundation of all the chief arguments of metaphysics, such as the primacy of form over matter and of the soul over the body, the *quinque viae* (evidently the first, second, and third, implicitly the fourth and fifth), the total dependence of the creature's existence and perfections upon self-subsistent *esse,* the truth that the created will is a moved mover, etc.

[145] Tradition has named this sort of *dunamis* "passive potency," the capacity to be changed or acted upon by another (i.e., a patient's receiving of actuality from an agent), to prevent confusion with "active potency," the power to change or act upon another (i.e., an agent's giving of actuality to a patient). Aristotle already makes the distinction clearly, though he does not use this pair of terms. See Aristotle, *Metaphys.* 9.8; and Aquinas, *In Metaphys.* 9.7–9.

together one but composite. Hence, adapting Aristotle's definition of *dunamis,* we may define *excessus* as "a going beyond another thing or the same thing qua other." If there were no otherness in a subject, there could be no *excessus a seipso,* no possibility of the kind of separation from or motion out of oneself implied in the very word *ex-cedere.* This is the fundamental reason why God cannot surpass, fall beneath, or stand outside of himself. He who simply *is,* infinitely, unchangeably, eternally, cannot be "beside himself": "it belongs *per accidens* to God to be referred to another outside himself."[146] In contrast, although man is truly one substance with one form, two "natures" are found in him,[147] two principles united without confusion: the intellectual nature and the sensitive, the powers of reason and rational appetite and the powers of sensation and sensitive appetite, the self-subsistent spiritual soul and the corruptible body. Always we see Thomas arraying the human powers in terms of the contrast between the spiritual, intellectual, or rational, and the bodily, sensitive, or animal.[148] It belongs to man's proper good to keep the distinct but related orders of powers *well* ordered among themselves by the mind's free governance, unified in the service of loving and contemplating God as origin and goal of all reality. But there is a further dimension to man's good, opening up a further duality—human and divine, natural and supernatural. By the divine actualization of their obediential passive potency, the higher powers of the soul are made to attain objects that exceed the limits of human nature. The supernatural good for man is to order *all* that he is, spiritual and fleshly, rational and sensitive, to God, who with a love altogether "excessive" (cf. John 3:16) raises the human being to fellowship with himself.

The contrast is clear. Madness is an *excessus* beyond oneself, because in this condition one is drawn away from the intellectual nature most proper to man and cast down into the sensitive nature he shares with brute animals. Grace, too, brings about an *excessus* from oneself, yet here one is drawn upwards into participation of a higher life; the creature is elevated beyond the

[146] *I Sent.* 30.1 ad 2 (703): "per accidens convenit Deo referri ad aliud extra se."

[147] The "two natures" of man are mentioned in several texts. For example, in the prologue to *ST* 1.75 he speaks of man as being composed *ex spirituali et corporali substantia,* and at *ST* 2-2.25.7 he notes that good men judge the *rationalem naturam* to be primary in themselves, whereas the bad cede primacy to the *naturam sensitivam et corporalem.* See also *ST* 1-2.10.3 ad 2, cited in n. 93 above.

[148] Thomas identifies *homo interior* and *anima.* The interior man is the *pars intellectiva* distinguished from the *pars sensitiva cum corpore,* which is the exterior man (*ST* 1.75.4 ad 1 [5:201]). In the scriptural commentaries the interior man is said to be the *ratio* or *mens;* see *Super Eph.* 3.4; *Super Rom.* 7.4; and *Super II Cor.* 4.5. These commentaries speak also of *homo carnalis* and *homo spiritualis;* the latter is defined as "pars animae . . . a Spiritu Dei et illuminatur secundum intellectum et inflammatur secundum affectum et voluntatem" (*Super I Cor.* 2.3 n.117 [Marietti, 1:255]; cf. *Super Rom.* 7.3). See *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 7.1:661.

limits of its own natural life. Each is an *excessus a propria natura,* but the one is corruptive because it debases, making a man *less* or *lower* than he is by nature, whereas the other is perfective because it elevates, making him *more* or *higher* than he is by nature. Yet neither debasement nor elevation would be possible unless man were manifold, so that he could abandon the good of his better part for the good of the lower, or even, as it were, abandon the good of himself as a certain whole for the good of a whole better than himself, as when a citizen sacrifices his life for the common good of his people, or when a Christian relinquishes marriage, property, and self-determination so as to imitate and participate more perfectly in the life of Christ, who, being true God, is the common good of the human race and of the entire universe.[149]

Although I have spoken here primarily of the *excessus a seipso* of the madman (to which correspond also a number of suggestive texts in Aquinas concerning the *excessus mentis* of the lover of God[150]), this notion cannot be restricted to human psychic or spiritual phenomena. The fact of metaphysical boundaries implied in the notion of *excessus* leads irresistibly to a further and more universal conclusion. Since composition of potency and act is found in every creature—whether, as among material things, composition of prime matter and the substantial form through which *esse* comes, or, as in the angels, composition simply of *essentia* and *esse*—the creature as such, in its finitude and non-eternity, expressions of its manifoldness, lives a continual *excessus* of self-displacement and dependency. Reflection on being in place or acting in a place, too, can illuminate creaturely *extasis.* The *extasis* that belongs to God is founded upon his ubiquity, whereas the creature's *extasis* is rooted in its singularity, its being contained under limits.[151] *Extasis* taken strictly is as intrinsically connected with finitude as the divine *extasis* of crea-

[149] See *Super I Cor.* 12.3 n.753 (Marietti, 1:377): "Estis membra dependentia de Christo membro, quod quidem dicitur membrum secundum humanitatem, secundum quam praecipue dicitur ecclesiae caput. Nam secundum divinitatem non habet rationem membri aut partis, cum sit commune bonum totius universi."

[150] For example, on *extasis* in the life of St. Paul, see *DV* 13.5 corp. and 18.5 arg. 2 et ad 2; *Super II Cor.* 5.3 and 12.1; and *ST* 2.175.6. On ecstatic conditions of other holy men, see *Super Heb.* 12.3 (Isaac); *Super Ps.* 17, §11 (the Apostles); *Super Ps.* 22, §2 (being drunk with divine love); and *Super Ps.* 30, §§1 and 19 (David). On the mystical sleep of Adam during which Eve was formed, see *DV* 18.1 arg. 14 et ad 14 and 18.5 arg. 2 et ad 2; *CA Matt.* 19, §1; and *Super Matt.* 19.1. On *extasis* as an effect of love, see n. 39 above.

[151] Hence, so far from being *less* "ecstatic," God's metaphorical *extasis* is, *in terms of its effect,* as much more perfect than the creature's literal *extasis* as his metaphorical working, desiring, or getting angry is, in terms of its effect, more perfect than the creature's literal work, desire, or anger. None can work as ecstatically, desire as effectively, punish as thoroughly as God can do, precisely *because* he is not ecstatic, needy, or angry. This claim strictly parallels Thomas's account of the difference between divine and creaturely knowledge and love (*ST* 1.14.8 ad 3 and 20.2). See also n. 165 below.

tion is connected with infinity; and as one consequence of finitude is locative presence, so one consequence of infinity is omnipresence, which, far from depending on place, *creates* places for beings by the indivisible immanence of the *causa essendi.*[152]

The question of the relationship between temporality and *extasis* is more complicated.[153] However, this much can be said: temporality is an aspect of *extasis* for temporal beings, whereas the eternity that is convertible with the divine being belongs uniquely to the divine *extasis* which is ontologically simple, as the definition of eternity well conveys: *interminabilis vitae tota simul et perfecta possessio.*[154] Explaining in his *Sentences* commentary why "He who is" is the name most proper to God, Thomas's first argument appeals to the perfection of the divine *esse:*

> For that is perfect of which there is nothing outside itself. But our being has something of it outside itself, for it is without something of itself which is now past, and something [else] which is in the future. In the divine being, however, nothing is either past or future; and therefore he has his whole perfect being, and on account of this, to him, speaking in regard to other things [i.e., other perfections], properly belongs being.[155]

Consider M.-D. Chenu's remark: "Time for the Hebrews, in the perspective of an organic progression and continuous maturing, is akin to a permanent creation, a continuous bringing to birth; it is described in the terminology of 'generation.'"[156] Creatures are always being born in time, are always changing for better or for worse. Their being *now* is always a being *from* the past *towards* the future. The creature is being shaped ahead of time, as it were, by the *extasis* of the present moment which reaches into the future, and its having-been-shaped is the testimony it bears to the reality of the past which is now outside of the creature.[157] In Chenu's words again, the creature's "present

[152] See *ST* 1.8, esp. art. 2.

[153] The angels are ecstatic in their being and operations, but they exist outside of the worldly time that depends upon the motion of bodies.

[154] *ST* 1.10.1 (4:94).

[155] *I Sent.* 8.1.1 (194–95): "Illud enim est perfectum cujus nihil est extra ipsum. Esse autem nostrum habet aliquid sui extra se: deest enim aliquid quod jam de ipso praeteriit, et quod futurum est. Sed in divino esse nihil praeteriit nec futurum est: et ideo totum esse suum habet perfectum, et propter hoc sibi proprie respectu aliorum convenit esse." For discussion of this passage and others like it, see Lawrence Dewan, "St. Thomas, Joseph Owens, and Existence," *The New Scholasticism* 56 (1982): 399–441.

[156] M.-D. Chenu, *Faith and Theology,* trans. Denis Hickey (New York, 1968), 120.

[157] Throughout his *The Metaphysics of Love* (New York, 1962), Frederick D. Wilhelmsen develops Thomas's idea that man is a being that has something of itself always outside itself; see esp. 23–24. Armand A. Maurer's *St. Thomas and Historicity* (Milwaukee, 1979) also contains pertinent observations on this topic.

has by no means the required intensity" to be the image of eternity, "and is not capable of even relative immobility. . . . We fall back into time, into lived time, which soon becomes time lost and gone"[158]; time "is a wound through which our life pours out."[159] Wilhelmsen sees the root of man's existential instability in the real composition of being and essence—a certain lack of self-identity implicit in being *created,* which makes the creature, in a sense, a stranger to itself:

> Man is always estranged from his essential being. This estrangement forms human existence into a tension between being and non-being in all its "forms." . . . [W]e can say that existence is the situation in which we encounter our being as well as our non-being, ourselves as standing inside and outside of being. God, in whom there is no estrangement, transcends the essence-existence polarity.[160]

As the text from the *Sentences* teaches, it belongs to the being of the creature as such that it be, or have being, outside of itself, as regards its inherent finitude and its dependency on God who constitutes it in its perfections, of which *esse* is the first. Central to this dependency is the fundamental *part to whole* relationship of the creature vis-à-vis its intrinsic final end, the order of the universe, and its extrinsic final end, God. Being by its very nature part of a whole—more precisely, part of many concentric wholes—the creature is ordered to the whole not merely as to something superior to and in some sense constitutive of it but as to that which, in its very universality, is most causative of and integral to its own proper perfection.[161] Motion, therefore, since it

[158] Chenu, *Faith and Theology,* 123–24.

[159] Ibid., 126. Chenu does not endorse this view, but presents it as the negative—and, as he sees it, superseded—pole of historical pessimism to which corresponds the positive pole of the economy of salvation, which is revealed as taking place in and through history. It would, however, be false to see the positive pole as engulfing the negative, for until the end of time our realm, destined for transfiguration, is still a realm of death and decay, which groans to be delivered and to be swallowed up in victory (Rom. 8; 1 Cor. 15; 2 Cor. 5).

[160] Wilhelmsen, *Metaphysics of Love,* 104–5.

[161] It is from this perspective that the fundamental relationship of the *bonum privatum* and the *bonum commune* becomes evident. The *bonum commune* is not something over and above what is "good for me" personally; it is precisely what is best for and most perfective of me, simply speaking. That which is most commonly sharable is, in being shared, the most beneficial to all who partake of it. The definitive exposition of Thomas's position is that of Charles De Koninck, *On the Primacy of the Common Good,* which, along with its companion pieces *The Principle of the New Order* and *In Defense of Saint Thomas* as well as I. T. Eschmann's *In Defense of Maritain,* have been published in a translation by Sean Collins in *The Aquinas Review* 4 (1997). For recent discussions, see Gregory Froelich, "The Equivocal Status of *Bonum Commune,*" *The New Scholasticism* 63 (1989): 38–57; idem, "Ultimate End and Common Good," *The Thomist* 57 (1993): 609–19; Lawrence Dewan, "Concerning the Person and the Common Good," *Études Maritainiennes/Maritain Studies* 5 (1989): 7–21; and Mary M. Keys,

aims at attaining something not yet had, is proper to the creature and foreign to God. Thomas's comment on Aristotle's refutation of the possibility of an infinite body in motion is also relevant at the theological level: "the infinite supports, i.e., sustains, itself, because it is in itself and not in another, for nothing contains it; and so it cannot be moved outside itself."[162] In general, the perfect or the infinite may be defined as "that outside of which there is nothing."[163] The incompleteness and potentiality of the creature, on the other hand, is expressed in its concrete need, welling up from the exigency of its finite form, to go beyond itself towards objects of desire. "It cannot be said," we read in the *De potentia,* "that that which moves itself should desire nothing outside of itself, because [then] it would never be moved—for motion is for the sake of acquiring something extrinsic in some way."[164] All things other than God are in motion and thus are being moved (if we take motion broadly enough to include immanent activities of the perfect, such as operations of intellect and will), whereas God is not being moved but only moves others. He is not, except metaphorically speaking, "moved by love," whereas every-

"Personal Dignity and the Common Good: A Twentieth Century Thomistic Dialogue," in *Catholicism, Liberalism, and Communitarianism,* ed. Kenneth L. Grasso, Gerard V. Bradley, and Robert P. Hunt (Lanham, Md., 1995), 173–95.

[162] *In Phys.* 3.9, §7 (2:129b): "Dixit enim quod fulcit, idest sustentat, infinitum seipsum, quia est in se et non in alio, cum nihil ipsum contineat; et sic non possit extra se moveri." Given what the infinite is, it cannot be contained; since it is altogether uncontained, it is everywhere, containing everything; thus it cannot move to where it was not before, nor, in fact, is any motion at all possible, since motion requires a place *outside of the mover* to which it is moving, and the infinite, as infinite, occupies all places. In short, the infinite is self-sufficient ("supports or sustains itself") *because* it is "in itself and not in another." The same argument can, with due modification, be made concerning God's infinity of *esse.*

[163] *Compendium theologiae* 1.56 (42:99.24): "perfectum est extra quod nichil est." The source of this statement is *Physics* 3, "infinitum est extra quod nihil est," which prompts Thomas in his commentary to explain the relationship between *infinitum, perfectum,* and *totum* (*In Phys.* 3.11). In the commentary on the *De caelo,* the notion of "extra quod nihil est" appears several times, e.g., *In De caelo* 1.3, §1 (3:9b): "antiqui dixerunt infinitum esse extra quod nihil est"; ibid. 2.5, §4 (3:140b): "perfectum dicitur esse illud extra quod nihil est accipere eorum quae possunt ipsi convenire, sicut homo dicitur esse perfectus cui non deest aliquid eorum quae ad hominem pertinent." The connection between *perfectum* and *infinitum* is considered in *DDN* 13.1 n.964 (Marietti, 360), where Thomas discusses why some ancients opposed the two: "perfectum opponitur infinito quia, ut dicitur in III Phys., infinitum est cuius quantitatem accipientibus, semper est aliquid ultra accipere; perfectum autem et totum est extra quod nihil est. Sic igitur creatura perfecta infinitati opponitur, sed Deus sua perfectione omnem infinitatem terminat quia quodcumque infinitum, divinae perfectioni comparatum, est finitum et terminatum." For discussion of these points, see Oliva Blanchette, "The Logic of Perfection in Aquinas," in *Thomas Aquinas and His Legacy,* ed. David M. Gallagher (Washington, D.C., 1994), 107–30.

[164] *DP* 6.6 (Marietti, 174b): "non enim potest dici, quod movens seipsum, nihil desideret extra se, quia nunquam moveretur: motus enim est ad acquirendum aliquid extrinsecum aliquo modo." At *ST* 1.9.1 we likewise read that everything that moves acquires something by its motion.

thing a creature does relies on being literally moved by his love. This is the basic reason for God's pure liberality of giving, in contrast to the creature's inescapable neediness.[165] Consider the statement with which Corrigan concludes his overview of *ekstasis* in Greek thought from Plato to Dionysius and Gregory of Nyssa: "Ecstasy is intimately connected with natural movement or growth—physical, moral, intellectual and spiritual."[166]

What about *super*natural movement or growth? For this, too, Aquinas confidently uses the word *excessus,* whether to convey the mental state of a prophet in the grip of divine inspiration, or the selfless dedication to God and neighbor of a believer spurred on by divine love. A translator eager to bring out the kinship of this meaning of *excessus* with other meanings already discussed might well choose the path of least resistance, "excess." But in view of what has been learned from madness, it seems that a more literal translation is demanded: "going out of," exactly as in the phrase "she's going out of her mind." For Thomas, a visionary goes out of her mind because God *takes* her out of her mind, carrying her beyond what is connatural to the human soul. A lover of God goes out of herself because her affections are borne away from a narrow concern with her own good to a selfless love of others for their own sake. One begins to see a deeper rationale behind Thomas's decision, in some writings, to treat together *excessus mentis* or going out of one's mind, *raptus* or being carried away, and *extasis* or standing outside of oneself.[167]

At the same time, these associated terms have to be distinguished if we wish to understand why Thomas never declares the Christian life an "enrapturement" (*raptus*) but will describe it as an *extasis,*[168] or why he maintains that a friendship between human beings who are virtuous on a natural plane brings about genuine *extasis* yet not the *excessus mentis* of the lover of Christ.

[165] For Aquinas, God is the *only* one who gives without gaining anything from the giving (*ST* 1.9.1 and 44.4 ad 1; *SCG* 1.93 and 3.18; *DV* 23.4; and *DP* 7.10). "Only in God does love become entirely gratuitous, totally without a turning back upon self, and this is because God is absolutely simple, without the duality inherent in a dependent nature" (Teresa Mary DeFerrari, *The Problem of Charity for Self: A Study of Thomistic and Modern Theological Discussion* [Washington, D.C., 1963], 67). In giving good things to the creatures he loves, and for *their* sake—above all, in willing to men and angels a share in his life—God does what an ecstatic lover does, indeed he does it in a way that as far surpasses all that creaturely lovers can do as uncreated being surpasses created being.

[166] Corrigan, "Ecstasy and Ectasy," 37.

[167] All three terms—*extasis, excessus mentis, raptus*—are discussed at *DV* 13.2 ad 9 and *ST* 2-2.175.2. In other texts, *extasis* and *excessus mentis* are treated together: see *ST* 2-2.174.1; *Super Ps.* 30, §1; and *Super II Cor.* 5.3. There are, of course, many independent occurrences of each of the three terms.

[168] An important Thomistic nuance is lost if one renders *raptus* as "ecstasy" in the questions on prophecy from the *Secunda secundae,* as Roland Potter does in *Prophecy and Other Charisms* [translation of and commentary on *ST* 2-2.171–78] (New York, 1969), 95 ff.

For Aquinas, *extasis* or *excessus a seipso* is really, even if not fully, present whenever a person exceeds himself ("outdoes himself," one might say) on behalf of another, for love of the other—that is, when he wills and does the good for her, *because* it is hers. This is the meaning Thomas gives to *extasis* in the moral life of the human person, as contrasted with the *extasis* of charity belonging to the Christian or the rarer *extasis* belonging to the recipient of a prophetic or apostolic mission.[169]

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We have followed a path from the most ordinary sense of *excessus,* according to which one number or dimension exceeds another, to a more extended sense according to which an object exceeds the capacity of a power (as the divine nature exceeds the capacity of the created intellect) or one power exceeds another in quantity of power (as intellection exceeds sensation in power for knowing and the kind of objects known), to the negative and positive aspects of *excessus* in natural and human *virtutes,* and finally to the *excessus a natura* and *excessus a ratione* characteristic of sickness, sin, and madness in their many different forms. Analysis of the ways in which madness and the spiritual disease of sin overthrow the rulership of reason has shown why it is appropriate to speak of *excessus a seipso* in a man who lacks the use of mind or loses it by going out of his mind, for in either case, the use of that better part which makes him what he is has fallen to the wayside.[170] It would require a separate discussion to see how, for Aquinas, this better part is exceeded in turn when the Spirit of God carries a man out of himself, and how love brings about the *extasis,* the self-transcendence, in which human perfection most of all consists.[171]

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[169] For references to discussions in Aquinas of the various topics mentioned in this paragraph, see nn. 39, 40, 88, 150, and 167 above.

[170] As Thomas establishes in *ST* 1.93, the end or completion of the production of man is the *imago Dei;* this is what man most fundamentally *is,* and his perfection is measured by the degree to which the potentiality contained in this image is actualized in him, not merely by his having a mind (aa. 1–6) but by his active *use* of it (a. 7), and not by merely *any* use but rather by the highest: attaining union with God in loving contemplation (a. 8). The final perfection of the *imago Dei* coincides with the perfect union of man and God in the *extasis* of the beatific vision, a mystical union of creature and creator realized ontologically and exemplarily in the Incarnate Word.

[171] See the references cited in n. 39. I wish to express my gratitude for the criticisms of anonymous reviewers and for Jonathan Black's invaluable assistance in making ready a final version.

DANTE IN ECSTASY: *PARADISO* 33 AND BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX*

Richard Kay

TO the reader who has followed Dante step by step on his journey to God, the end of the *Comedy* may well seem to be an anticlimax.[1] Up until the last four lines of the poem, the narrative moves in a crescendo from one momentous revelation to the next. Once the Pilgrim's vision has been strengthened, Beatrice shows him the immense amphitheatre of the Empyrean and then departs to take her seat in one of its uppermost tiers; Bernard of Clairvaux replaces her as the guide in the final stages of the pilgrimage. First, continuing the tour of heaven, Bernard identifies the most notable and significant blessed souls, who serve to define the typological structure of the empyreal amphitheatre. Then, in canto 33, the Pilgrim's vision, further empowered by grace, rises from the assembled saints to contemplate God as revealed in a series of visions seen within the ray of light that issues from the unseen mind of God to create and sustain both the Empyrean and Nature.[2] The ascent to a loftier theme is rendered unmistakable by St. Bernard's eloquent prayer to the Blessed Virgin, imploring that she join him and all the saints in seeking God's grace for the Pilgrim so that "the supreme pleasure may be disclosed to him" (33).[3] Consequently the Pilgrim, looking upward into the depths of the Ray, perceives God as a succession of images that represent progressively more arcane aspects of the divinity.

First he sees God as the sole and undivided source of all creation (85–90), which is a perception that Christianity shares with other monotheistic religions and that many medieval philosophers considered to be a demonstrable

* For reading a draft of this article, I am indebted to Casey Law and John R. Sommerfeldt.

[1] Thus Paul Priest, *Dante's Incarnation of the Trinity,* L'interprete 31 (Ravenna, 1982), 215–16: "Yet I can well remember that when I first came to the end of the *Commedia* I felt somewhat let down. Was this all there was?"

[2] Richard Kay, "Dante's Empyrean and the Eye of God," *Speculum* 78 (2003): 37–65.

[3] Unless otherwise stated, quotations are from Charles S. Singleton, trans., *The Divine Comedy,* Bollingen Series 80, 6 vols. (Princeton, 1970–75); in the passage cited here, capitalization has been altered. The Italian text is cited as edited by Giorgio Petrocchi, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata,* 4 vols., Edizione nazionale 7 (Milan, 1966–67), conveniently reprinted (with a few emendations) facing Singleton's translation.

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truth. For Christians, this creative aspect of God is identified with God the Father (*col valore infinito,* 81).[4] In the second stage of his vision, the Pilgrim's sight is strengthened so he can perceive God as the Trinity (115–20), which is a higher truth, being based on revelation rather than reason. Significantly, the Pilgrim finds nothing problematic about this image; it simply displays the doctrine of the Trinity in emblematic form and hence should be comprehensible to anyone familiar with the Nicene Creed.[5] But in its third phase, the vision rises still higher, beyond the comprehension of the human intellect unless it is aided by grace. The image is a depiction of the human body (*la nostra effige,* 131), which appears within the circle of God the Son (127–32) that was already apparent in the preceding image of the Trinity. The Pilgrim was eager to discover "how the image conformed to the circle and how it has its place therein" (137–38). Why he struggled to correlate the two figures is not made explicit, though the narrator implies that the problem might be solvable, perhaps in mathematical terms, since he compares the Pilgrim to a geometer seeking to square the circle (133–35), a problem which then was unsolved but not proven to be impossible.[6] "But my own wings were not sufficient for that, save that my mind was smitten by a flash wherein its wish came to it. Here power failed the lofty phantasy; but already my desire and my will were revolved, like a wheel that is evenly moved, by the Love which moves the sun and the other stars":

> ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne:
> se non che la mia mente fu percossa
> da un fulgore in che sua voglia venne.
> A l'alta fantasia qui mancò possa;
> ma già volgeva il mio disio e 'l *velle,*
> sì come rota ch'igualmente è mossa,
> l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle.
> (*Par.* 33.139–45)

[4] Priest, *Dante's Incarnation of the Trinity,* 305, s.v. "valore"; Richard Kay, *Dante's Christian Astrology* (Philadelphia, 1994), 129–33.

[5] That is, as it is repeated in the Roman liturgy. Cf. *Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum,* ed. H. Denzinger, C. Bannwart, and J. B. Umberg, 23d ed. (Freiburg i. B., 1937), 41–42, no. 86 (the "Nicene-Constantinopolitan" Creed of 381).

[6] Ronald B. Herzman and Gary W. Towsley, "Squaring the Circle: *Paradiso* 33 and the Poetics of Geometry," *Traditio* 49 (1994): 95–125 at 103–4. Dante, probably following Albertus Magnus, declared that it was *impossibile* to square the circle perfectly because the point—the "beginning" or "principle" (*principium*) of geometry—could not be measured; see *Convivio* 2.23.27, ed. Cesare Vasoli and Domenico de Robertis, as *Opere minori* 1/2, La letteratura italiana: Storia e testi 5.1/2 (Milan and Naples, 1988), 239. To solve his problem, the geometer in *Par.* 33.135 is accordingly trying to find a new and different principle (*quel principio ond' elli indige*) that would make a solution possible. Aristotle did not regard the problem as impos-

No wonder that readers have felt these, the closing lines of the *Comedy,* to be anticlimactic, for at least on the surface they raise more questions than they answer. Why did the Pilgrim's powers fail him? What was the mysterious "flash" and what was its effect? How does the Prime Mover's love act on the Pilgrim to bring his desire and will in harmony with God? Do these lines fittingly resolve the action of the poem in general and of the final vision in particular? And finally, what happens to the Pilgrim next? In short, the poem ends with an enigma.

The key to the solution, I believe, is provided by the mystical theology of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, as expounded now two generations ago by Étienne Gilson.[7] Although Bernard's influence on the *Comedy* has often been discerned,[8] it is surprising that no one seems to have expounded the final vision

sible; see *Categoriae* 7 (7b30). Cf. Dante's *Monarchia* 3.3.2: "the geometer is ignorant of how to square the circle" (*geometra circuli quadraturam ignorat*), trans. Richard Kay, *Dante's "Monarchia,"* Studies and Texts 131 (Toronto, 1998), 207.

[7] Étienne Gilson, *La théologie mystique de Saint Bernard,* Études de philosophie médiévale 20 (Paris, 1934; rpt. 1947), cited below from *The Mystical Theology of Saint Bernard,* trans. A. H. C. Downes, Cistercian Studies Series 120 (Kalamazoo, 1990). Already in 1934 Gilson had remarked in passing that "Dante, who was to choose St. Bernard as his supreme guide towards ecstasy, was evidently under the influence of his doctrine" (171). Five years later he amplified this opinion somewhat in *Dante et la philosophie,* Études de philosophie médiévale 28 (Paris, 1939; 3d ed., 1972). I cite the English translation by David Moore, *Dante and Philosophy* (New York, 1963), which was originally issued under the title *Dante the Philosopher* (New York, 1949); on Bernard, see pp. 46–50 and 233–39. For further discussion of my debt to Gilson, see below at nn. 123–25.

[8] Since 1939, the principal studies of Bernard as Dante's final guide are Alexandre Masseron, *Dante et Saint Bernard* (Paris, 1953); Alberto Vecchi, "Dante e S. Bernardo," *Benedictina* 7 (1953): 181–89; Romano Guardini, "Bernhard von Clairvaux in Dantes Göttlicher Komödie," *Hochland* 46 (1953–54): 55–64; Giorgio Petrocchi, "Dante e la mistica di san Bernardo," in *Letteratura e critica: Studi in onore di Natalino Sapegno,* vol. 1 (Rome, 1974), 213–29; Rosetta Migliorini Fissi, "La nozione di 'deificatio' nel *Paradiso,*" *Letture classensi* 9–10 (1982): 39–72; Mario Aversano, "La conclusione della *Commedia,*" in his *La quinta ruota: Studi sulla "Commedia,"* L'avventura letteraria (Turin, 1988), 189–221; Raymond D. DiLorenzo, "Dante's Saint Bernard and the Theology of Liberty in the *Commedia,*" in *Bernardus Magister,* ed. John R. Sommerfeldt, Cistercian Studies Series 135 (Kalamazoo and Cîteaux, 1992), 497–515; Steven Botterill, *Dante and the Mystical Tradition: Bernard of Clairvaux in the "Commedia,"* Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 22 (Cambridge, 1994). For Bernard's influence on Dante in general, see the papers by Francesco Mazzoni and Lino Pertile in the session "Dante e la tradizione mistica: San Bernardo di Clairvaux," in *Seminario dantesco internazionale / International Dante Seminar 1* [Princeton, 1994], ed. Zygmunt G. Barański, Società Dantesca Italiana, Centro di Studi e Documentazione Dantesca e Medievale 7 (Florence, 1997), 147–278; Fausta Drago Rivera, *S. Bernardo e l'ascesa mistica del Paradiso,* Pubblicazioni della Società Dante Alighieri Milanese, Quaderni 12 (Milan, 1995). Amilcare A. Iannucci ranks Bernard as one of "Dante's main theological *fontes*" and summarizes the current state of research: "Dante's Theological Canon in the *Commedia,*" *Italian Quarterly* 37 (2000): 51–56 at 53–54.

in Bernardine terms exclusively and in detail;[9] consequently, the questions raised above remain unresolved and the impact of the ending has not been adequately appreciated. In this article I shall attempt to correlate the Pilgrim's climactic experience with Bernard's description of how ecstasy is attained in this life by contemplation. First, however, I must remove two obstacles that have discouraged previous interpreters from reading the passage as I do.

I. Two Obstacles

The first obstacle is the temptation to interpret the poem's finale in terms of mystical theologies other than St. Bernard's. For example, Gilson himself once proposed St. Bonaventure as Dante's immediate source, while noting elements that were derived from Maximus the Confessor and Richard of Saint-Victor.[10] Steven Botterill, at the other extreme, has pointed out that one does not need to go beyond the works of Thomas Aquinas to explain the entire episode,[11] and many if not most of the commentators do indeed take the Pilgrim's final experience to be a foretaste of the beatific vision in the Thomistic sense,[12] even those who take this to be compatible with Bernard's concept of ecstasy.[13]

[9] Without elaborating, Edmund G. Gardner identified Bernard's description of *deificatio* as "the state to which Dante attains in the consummation of the vision," which he equated with "the mystical ecstasy and divine union described by Plotinus" (*Dante and the Mystics* [London, 1913], 118–19). Other parallels were noted by Giuseppe Zuccante, "San Bernardo e gli ultimi canti del Paradiso," in his *Figure e dottrine nell' opera di Dante* (Milan, 1921), 99–163 at 156–58. Sandra Rizzardi argues that Dante's language in *Par.* 33 "si conformi a quello di S. Barnardo come autore" ("Dante e l'orologio," *Studi e problemi di critica testuale* 60 (2000): 51–70 at 52), but unfortunately her examples (68–70) are all taken from the treatise *De contemplando Deo,* which Mabillon appended to his edition of Bernard's works (PL 184:365–80) while correctly attributing it to William of Saint-Thierry (PL 184:363–65).

[10] Étienne Gilson, "La conclusion de la Divine Comédie et la mystique franciscaine," *Revue d'histoire franciscaine* 1 (1924): 55–63. This thesis has for the most part been ignored by Dantists, though Migliorini Fissi praised its method while, for unstated reasons, rejecting its conclusions: "La nozione di 'deificatio' nel *Paradiso,*" 69 n. 65.

[11] Botterill, *Dante and the Mystical Tradition,* 215–21. The derivation of the final concord of wills from Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 1-2.62.3 (ibid., 218–19), however, seems strained.

[12] E.g., Singleton (n. 3 above) ad *Par.* 33.143 (6:587): "he now has a *foretaste* of the beatitude that awaits him at the end of life." Siro A. Chimenz was even more specific concerning the Pilgrim's final state: "Vale a dire che Dante in quell'attimo si trovò nelle condizioni medesime dei beati, cioè ebbe la loro medesima visione di Dio, e godette della medesima beatitudine" (*Il canto XXXIII del "Paradiso,"* Nuova lectura Dantis [Rome, 1951], 25). Likewise, *La Divina Commedia,* ed. Umberto Bosco and Giovanni Reggio, 3 vols. (Florence, 1979), 3:553 (ad *Par.* 33.143–45).

[13] Masseron, *Dante et Saint Bernard,* 155, 159–61; Migliorini Fissi, "La nozione di 'deificatio' nel *Paradiso,*" 66–71 (cf. her *Dante,* Strumenti 101, Letteratura [Florence, 1979], 145–

However attractive these parallels may be, I would contend that Dante *poeta* has authorized us to ignore them as guides to the meaning of the poem's mystical finale. Instead, he has indicated clearly and plainly that from *Paradiso* 31.58 onwards the Pilgrim's sole guide is to be Bernard of Clairvaux, who at that point replaces Beatrice.[14] Bernard's first words declare that it is his function to terminate the Pilgrim's desire" (*A terminar lo tuo disiro,* 65). How this is to be accomplished is made apparent as soon as the Pilgrim learns Bernard's identity: his essential qualifications for his declared task are announced with concision when the Pilgrim finds himself at last "gazing on the living charity of him who, in this world, in contemplation tasted of that peace" (*mirando la vivace / carità di colui che 'n questo mondo, / contemplando, gustò di quella pace,* 109–11). It is as a *contemplative,* then, that Bernard is first perceived (and still is, by the narrator who relates the encounter). The role is stressed again when Bernard begins his guided tour of the Empyrean: "that contemplator freely assumed the office of a teacher" (*quel contemplante / libero officio di dottore assunse,* 32.1–2). From these references, Botterill rightly concludes that it is Bernard's "contemplation that best defines him."[15]

While I agree with the common opinion that Bernard functions in the poem as a role model for the Pilgrim, providing the precedent for his ecstatic experience,[16] I would go further and take Bernard as the reader's guide as well. We must take into account not only his life but especially his doctrine, which is to say, not just the autobiographical fact that he experienced ecstasy, which he admitted hesitantly and rarely,[17] but also his theology of contemplation, which he expounded often and at length. There is, of course, nothing new in

47); Antonio C. Mastrobuono, *Dante's Journey of Sanctification* (Washington, D.C., 1990), 270–78.

[14] Botterill contends that Bernard is not the Pilgrim's "third guide," counting Virgil and Beatrice as the first two: "Life after Beatrice: Bernard of Clairvaux in *Paradiso* XXXI," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 32 (1990): 120–36 at 129–31; cf. his *Mystical Tradition,* 112 n. 37. Botterill's exclusion of Bernard as a guide is, as he realizes, a matter of definition, and his criteria seem unnecessarily restrictive. But whether or not Bernard-*personaggio* qualifies as a "guide" is not essential to my thesis because its basic contention will be that the historic Bernard's *doctrine* explains the finale. His very presence at this point is sufficient to suggest an intertexual reference.

[15] Botterill, *Mystical Tradition,* 82.

[16] Botterill formulates this view with concision: "If Bernard did it, Dante can" (ibid.).

[17] Bernard explicitly refers to his ecstasies only twice: *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum* 23.6.15 and 74.2.5, in *S. Bernardi Opera,* ed. J. Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols. (Rome, 1957–77), 1:148 and 2:242–43; trans. Kilian Walsh and Irene M. Edmonds, *On the Song of Songs,* 4 vols., Cistercian Fathers Series 4, 7, 31, and 40 (Kalamazoo, 1976–80), 2:38–39 and 4:89–90. On the contradictory evidence, see John R. Sommerfeldt, "The Epistemological Value of Mysticism in the Thought of Bernard of Clairvaux," *Studies in Medieval Culture* 1 (1964): 48–58 at 49–52.

this approach, which has been taken by Zuccante, Gardner, Masseron, Migliorini Fissi, DiLorenzo, and to a lesser extent by Botterill. This is in accord with Dante's well-known practice of identifying the sources of his poem by including their authors as characters in his *Comedy*. Some, like Virgil and Statius, play major roles, while others, such as Michael Scot and Guido Bonatti (*Inf.* 20.116, 118), are simply named in a context that serves as a sufficient hint that Dante made extensive use of their works.[18] Sometimes a whole bibliography is presented in an appropriate place, for instance the pagan authors assembled in the Noble Castle (*Inf.* 4), or the Christian ones identified in the Heaven of the Sun (*Par.* 10.94–138 and 12.127–41), or the authors of the books of the New Testament in the Mystical Procession (*Purg.* 29.133–44).[19] Consequently, we have abundant authorization to understand the figure of Bernard at the end of the poem as an implicit citation of his works, and especially those concerning contemplation, which, as Botterill says, is the character's defining feature.

What is new, I believe, is my proposal to take Bernard's doctrine as the privileged, exclusive source in the light of which we are to interpret the Pilgrim's contemplative experience. This new approach is suggested by the role that Dante assigns to Bernard, as the Pilgrim's *sole* guide in his contemplation of God. At the least, this rationale makes my principle plausible and probable, which suffices for us to adopt it as a working hypothesis that will ultimately be justified if it provides a more coherent account of the poem's conclusion than previous approaches have done.

*
* *

The second obstacle is the assumption that, because the Pilgrim's journey concludes with a foretaste of the beatific vision, the *viator* for a brief moment becomes a *comprehensor*, that is, a "man who attains to the beatific vision."[20] Although some commentators are content with simply stating that the Pilgrim's soul was raised to the condition of the blessed,[21] others stress certain

[18] For Dante's use of Scot and Bonatti, see Kay, *Dante's Christian Astrology*, 244–45 and passim.

[19] As is well known, Dante, following Jerome's interpretation of Apoc 4:4, represents the Old Testament by its twenty-four *books*, not authors. For an especially clear exposition, see Robert Hollander ad *Purg.* 29.83–84, in *Purgatorio*, trans. Jean Hollander and Robert Hollander (New York, 2003), 612.

[20] Singleton ad *Par.* 33.140–41 and 143 (6:585, 587).

[21] Thus Chimenz, and following him, Bosco and Reggio (n. 12 above), both in a Thomistic sense. He is followed by Natalino Sapegno in his commentary ad *Par.* 33.143–45 (*La Divina Commedia*, La letteratura italiana: Storia e testi 4 [Milan and Naples, 1957)], 1197). Similarly,

features of the beatific vision. Thus the Pilgrim is sometimes supposed to have seen God face to face (*facialiter*),[22] to have seen him as he really is (*sicuti est*), which is to say that he is known in his essence (*per essentiam*).[23] Most often, however, he is supposed to have intellectually comprehended the mystery of the Incarnation, on the assumption that this was the problem that the Pilgrim was trying to solve.[24]

Underlying and authorizing this line of interpretation is Beatrice's declaration that "the state of blessedness is founded on the act of vision, not on that which loves, which follows after":

> si fonda
> l'esser beato ne l'atto che vede,
> non in quel ch'ama, che poscia seconda. . . .
> (*Par.* 28.109–11)

Since it is certain "that a soul in bliss cannot lie" (*Par.* 4.95), Beatrice must be believed, and so it is generally agreed that this statement defines Dante's concept of the beatific vision. Most commonly, Beatrice here is supposed to be

Mark Musa explains that the Pilgrim is briefly "allowed to enjoy what all the souls of the Blest enjoy throughout eternity" (*The Divine Comedy,* 3 vols., Penguin Classics [New York, 1984–86], 3:400, ad *Par.* 33.143–45).

[22] Cf. 1 Cor 13:12: "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate: tunc autem facie ad faciem. Nunc cognosco ex parte: tunc autem cognoscam sicut et cognitus sum."

[23] Cf. 1 Jo 3:2: "Charissimi, nunc filii Dei sumus: et nondum apparuit quid erimus. Scimus quoniam cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus: quoniam videbimus eum sicuti est." By the mid-thirteenth century, Scholastics agreed that in the beatific vision the blessed see God's very essence and do so *facialiter;* see Christian Trottmann, *La vision béatifique des disputes scolastiques à sa définition par Benoît XII,* Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 289 (Rome, 1995), 15. A vision *per essentiam* is specified by Petrocchi, "Dante e la mistica," 218, and by Musa (see next note); it is justified in Thomistic terms as a form of ecstasy, or *raptus,* differing from the beatific vision only in being transitory, by Kenelm Foster, "Dante's Vision of God," in *The Two Dantes and Other Studies* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977), 66–85 at 70–73. The most sustained argument for a *per essentiam* vision, however, is Joseph Anthony Mazzeo, "Dante and the Pauline Modes of Vision," *Harvard Theological Review* 50 (1957): 275–305.

[24] E.g., Musa (n. 21 above): ". . . Dante comprehends how the two natures, the human and the Divine, are united in God. Such is the essence of God, and it is visible to all the souls of the Elect" (3:400, ad *Par.* 33.140–41). According to Sapegno, the Pilgrim received "la chiara visione del mistero" of the Incarnation (p. 1197, ad 141) and "il suo animo si è innalzato alla condizione degli spiriti beati" (ad 143–45). Some other commentators who hold that the mystery of the Incarnation was revealed to the Pilgrim are Tommaso Casini (1892), Philip H. Wicksteed (1899), G. A. Scartazzini and G. Vandelli (1903), John S. Carroll (1911), Daniele Mattalia (1960), Barbara Reynolds (1962), André Pézard (1968), and Bosco and Reggio (n. 12 above); also Foster, "Dante's Vision of God," 83; and Christopher Ryan, "The Theology of Dante," in *The Cambridge Companion to Dante,* ed. Rachel Jacoff (Cambridge, 1993), 136–52 at 151.

endorsing the Thomistic view of the beatific vision,[25] although the correspondence requires qualification because the angelic doctor allowed that in a sense the volitional act of love also precedes that of intellection, as its motive.[26] While it is possible that Dante may have understood from Aquinas that the enlightened human intellect becomes amorous without a subsequent act of the will,[27] he seems instead to have regarded love as the result of a second and distinct act (*quel* [*atto*] *ch'ama,* 111), which would have to be an act of the will and thus contrary to the teaching of Aquinas.[28] Either way, Dante evidently held that God must be "seen" intellectually, with the mind's eye, before he can be perfectly loved. Thus God must be understood before he can be loved; without intellectual vision, there cannot be a beatific vision.

This view seemingly constitutes a formidable obstacle to any interpretation of the poem's conclusion in terms of St. Bernard's mystical theology because Bernardine ecstasy has its foundation in love, a volitional act, rather than in the intellectual act of intuitive vision by which God is known. To be sure, Migliorini Fissi asserts that Bernard's concept of ecstatic *deificatio* is "inserted" into Beatrice's (supposedly) Thomistic pattern of beatifying acts, but she does not attempt to resolve the apparent contradiction between the two *schemata.*[29]

A closer look at Bernard's doctrine, however, shows that it is in fact compatible with Beatrice's concept of beatitude. Gilson explains, several times and at length, that for Bernard "charity is knowledge or even vision of God."[30] Bernard himself declared in no uncertain terms that both knowledge and love were necessary components of an ecstatic union, because, among other reasons, "without knowledge, the soul would have nothing to love."[31] Since in an ecstatic union both are conferred simultaneously by an act of grace, for Bernard their interrelationship is not one of temporal priority but rather one of

[25] Migliorini Fissi, "La nozione di 'deificatio' nel *Paradiso,*" 67: "Per Dante, come per Tommaso, la beatitudine si fonda primariamente su un atto intellettuale—la *visio* intuitiva di Dio—e non sull'amore che da essa deriva, ritenuto invece primario della tradizione mistica."

[26] Aquinas, *ST* 1-2.3.4 ad 4: "dilectio praeeminet cognitioni in movendo, sed cognitio praevia est dilectioni in attingendo."

[27] Trottmann, *La vision béatifique,* 319–20. Commentators usually assume that Aquinas is the source of Beatrice's dictum, e.g., Singleton ad 143, citing *ST* 1.62.4, and Sapegno ad 143–45, citing *ST* 1-2.3.1–8 and Suppl. 92.1–3, though relying more heavily on Serravalle's résumé.

[28] Aquinas, *ST* 1-2.3.4 resp.: "quantum ad id quod est essentialiter ipsa beatitudo, impossible est quod consistat in actu voluntatis."

[29] Migliorini Fissi, "La nozione di 'deificatio' nel *Paradiso,*" 67; cf. her intervention at Princeton: *International Dante Seminar 1,* ed. Barański (n. 8 above), 273–74.

[30] Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 23 and 147–49; cf. 208–10.

[31] Bernard, *Super Cant.* 8.3.6 (*Opera* 1:39; trans. 1:49); Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 114–15; the quoted phrase is Gilson's.

virtual identity, so that charity is knowledge. The soul is united with God when its original likeness (*similitudo*) to God is restored by grace, and this likeness is love, but it is also knowledge, though affective rather than intellectual knowledge, for the soul knows God by feeling him.[32] This mode of knowing is necessarily the case in this life, in which God can be neither perceived by the senses nor conceived by the intellect, but only can be apprehended by the heart. Thus, as Gilson concluded, Bernard's ecstatic vision is the substitute in this life for the beatific vision.[33] Still, such ecstasy is vision—and Bernard does refer to it as a *visio*[34]—but only in a qualified sense that distinguishes it from the beatific vision.

Consequently there is no conflict between Beatrice's formula for beatitude and Bernard's concept of ecstatic union because they are talking about different experiences—the one in heaven for eternity and the other in this life for a brief time. Indeed, the same may be true of that quasi-beatitude that most Dantists think the Pilgrim experienced as a foretaste of the beatific vision, for it is an unwarranted assumption that the foretaste must be identical with the beatific vision itself in every respect except duration. If one accepts my first principle, that Bernard supplied Dante's model for the finale, there is no difficulty in regarding the Pilgrim's ecstatic Bernardine experience as a foretaste of beatitude; Bernard, however, does not suppose, as do the Dantists cited above, that a foretaste of the beatific vision must confer a vision of God *per essentiam.* Quite to the contrary, Bernard flatly denied that any living person could see God as he is (*sicuti est*). The beatific vision, he wrote,

> is not for the present life; it is reserved for the next, at least for those who can say: "We know that when he appears we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is" [1 John 3:2]. Even now he appears to whom he pleases, but as he pleases, not as he is. Neither sage nor saint nor prophet can or could ever see him as he is, while still in this mortal body; but whoever is found worthy will be able to do so when the body becomes immortal. Hence, though he is seen here below, it is in the form that seems good to him, not as he is.[35]

[32] See Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 148–49, citing Bernard, *Super Cant.* 31.2 (*Opera* 1:220); Sommerfeldt, "Epistemological Value of Mysticism," 57; E. von Ivánka, "La structure de l'âme selon S. Bernard," in *Saint Bernard théologien: Actes du congrès de Dijon, 15–19 septembre 1953,* Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis, an. 9 (1953), 2d ed. (Rome, 1956), 202–8 at 206–7. Aversano (*La quinta ruota,* 212–15), citing Augustine and Gregory, contends that the protagonist's vision of God was not *per essentiam* but instead *per similitudinem;* however, he suggests that the likeness consists of the visual images representing the Trinity and the Incarnation.

[33] Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 149, quoted below at n. 69.

[34] E.g., *Super Cant.* 82.3.8 (*Opera* 2:287; trans. 4:179), quoted below at n. 68.

[35] Ibid. 31.1.2 (*Opera* 1:220; trans. 2:125): "At talis visio non est vitae praesentis, sed in novissimis reservatur, his dumtaxat qui dicere possunt: 'Scimus quia cum apparuerit, similes ei

The difference between ecstasy and the beatific vision, then, is not merely that the ecstatic is in this life and the *beatus* in the next. The content of the experience is qualitatively different, as Gilson emphasized:

> It would be a contradiction to imagine him [the ecstatic] as in some way or other temporarily elect; and it is consequently true to say that the term [or goal] of love, in this life, cannot be the vision of God face to face [*facialiter*], nor the possession of the Sovereign Good as it is in Itself [*sicuti est*], how brief soever such vision and such possession.[36]

*
* *

Two stumbling-blocks for those who will read my interpretation have now been removed: we are to read the last seven lines with Bernard as our exclusive guide, and consequently they cannot be describing the beatific vision enjoyed by the saints, since the Pilgrim is still a living man. Hence the way is now open to read the Pilgrim's experience as an example of ecstasy in St. Bernard's sense of the term.

II. Bernardine Ecstasy

Bernard's mystical theology, as Gilson showed, is a tightly integrated and conceptually rigorous system with its own characteristic features. Consequently, before attempting a point-by-point comparison of Dante's finale with Bernard's doctrine of ecstatic union, it will be useful to view Bernardine ecstasy in the larger context of his theology, because such an overview will make it plain that Dante adopted Bernard's system, not piecemeal, but as a whole, and moreover that he stressed its most distinctive features.

Liberum arbitrium.

Bernard's mystical theology is firmly based on his conception of human nature, which he deduces from its creation: God made man to his image and likeness ("ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram," Gen 1:26). According to Bernard, the soul is not God's image, for that is the Word; instead, "God cre-

erimus, quia videbimus eum sicuti est' [1 John 3:2]. Et nunc quidem apparet quibus vult, sed sicuti vult, non sicuti est. Non sapiens, non sanctus, non propheta videre illum sicuti est potest aut potuit in corpore hoc mortali; poterit autem in immortali, qui dignus habebitur. Itaque videtur et hic, sed sicut videtur ipsi, et non sicuti est." Gilson takes this text to be "a canon of interpretation for the rest" (*Mystical Theology*, 235 n. 114).

[36] Gilson, *Mystical Theology*, 91 (my interpolations).

ated man to his own image" (Gen 1:27), which is to say that man is capable of conforming to that image and yearns to do so.[37] This capability consists in the gift of free will (*liberum arbitrium*) that confers on humankind its inalienable dignity.[38] For Bernard, this is the power to distinguish good from evil without constraint; it endows man with "freedom from necessity" or "from constraint" (*libertas a necessitate* or *a coactione*), so that he always knows right from wrong. Bernard's *liberum arbitrium* therefore functions like what today is commonly called conscience.[39]

Before the Fall, man was not only able to discern the good but also was able to make decisions based on this perception (*liberum consilium*), and furthermore he was able to carry out the good plans he had decided on (*liberum complacitum*).[40] Consequently, prelapsarian man was free in three ways: *liberum arbitrium* gave him freedom of choice (*libertas a necessitate*), while free counsel enabled him to form right intentions and thus enabled him to be free from sin (*libertas a peccato*), and thus he was also free from misery (*libertas a miseria*).[41] As long as Adam and Eve were guided by *liberum arbitrium,* their conduct was virtuous and upright (*rectus*), which for Bernard means that they acted out of "love for eternal things," or in a word, out of *caritas,* true love.[42]

[37] Bernard, *Super Cant.* 80.1.2 (*Opera* 2:277–78; trans. 4:146–47); Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 135 n. 202.

[38] Bernard's most extensive analysis of the soul's "greatness" (*magnitudo*) discerns further affinities to the Word, namely its "simplicity of essence" and "perpetuity of life" (*Super Cant.* 80.3.5 and 81.3.5 [*Opera* 2:281, 285; trans. 4:151, 162]), but elsewhere he mentions only *liberum arbitrium:* e.g., *Liber de gratia et libero arbitrio* 9.28 (*Opera,* 3:185; trans. Daniel O'Donovan, *On Grace and Free Choice,* with introduction by Bernard McGinn, Cistercian Fathers Series 19a [Kalamazoo, 1977; rpt. Kalamazoo and Spencer, Mass., 1988], 84). See also Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 225 n. 46.

[39] Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 47–51; Goffredo Venuta, *Libero arbitrio e libertà della grazia nel pensiero di S. Bernardo* (Rome, 1953), 67. Cf. McGinn's introduction to *On Grace and Free Choice:* "Only freedom from necessity, that by which the will can judge itself good or bad is of the essence of free choice" (22). Scholastic discussion of conscience and its twin *synderesis* in relation to *liberum arbitrium* begins in the early thirteenth century: Odon Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles,* vol. 2 (Louvain and Gembloux, 1948), 110. For Bernard's conception of *conscientia,* as the Holy Spirit speaking in the human heart, see Philippe Delhaye, "La conscience morale dans la doctrine de S. Bernard," in *Saint Bernard théologien* (n. 32 above), 209–22.

[40] Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 47–51. Bernard's doctrine of *liberum arbitrium* is also summarized by DiLorenzo, "Dante's Saint Bernard," 506–9.

[41] Bernard, *De gratia* 7.21–23 (*Opera* 3:181–83; trans. 79–80); Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 51–54; see also McGinn's introduction to *On Grace and Free Choice,* 26–27.

[42] The quoted phrase is Gilson's. For this and the next paragraph, see his *Mystical Theology,* 53–54.

After the Fall, however, man retained only his innate potential for goodness, his *liberum arbitrium,* by which he had been made *ad imaginem* of God's Image, the Word. What he lost was his likeness (*similitudo*) to God, namely his freedom to choose good and to do it, and consequently his virtuous rectitude (*rectitudo*) as well, so that his soul was no longer upright but instead bent down (*curva*), because his love now was of earthly rather than heavenly things. Having lost their original likeness to God, Adam and Eve were exiled to the "region of unlikeness" (*regio dissimilitudinis*),[43] where the soul was enslaved to sin and, slavelike, lived in fear rather than love.

Man's case was not entirely hopeless, however, because, even though after Eden he followed his own self-will (*voluntas propria*) rather than uniting his will with God's will (*voluntas communis*),[44] still he knew that his way was wrong, because his *liberum arbitrium* told him so, and fear of the consequences urged him to reform his soul by regaining the freedoms it had lost at the Fall, which would restore his likeness to God and enable him to re-unite his will with God's. The transformation, or better reformation, of man to his true and original self, is what Bernard calls *deificatio,* because it makes man more like God.[45] Of course the cooperation of divine grace is required throughout the reformative process, but God's instrument is the *liberum arbitrium,* to which he restores in some measure the gift of free counsel so that the will, which because of its likeness to the Word can already discern the good, can now choose to do what it has known all along was the better course.[46]

Bernard's doctrine of grace and free will is deeply indebted to Augustine,[47] but there is a distinctive difference that must be (repeatedly) emphasized because it supplies the key to Dante's finale by explaining how the Pilgrim's concern with the image of Christ is linked to the union of his will with God's. The difference is that, while both Bernard and Augustine locate man's natural image of God in the human mind (*mens*), for Bernard it exists not in the intellect but in the will.[48] By thus privileging will over intellect, Bernard is able

[43] Bernard borrowed the phrase from Augustine, *Confessiones* 7.10, but gave it new meaning in his *Sermo de diversis* 42.2 (*Opera* 6/1:256–57). For Gilson it is a key concept and thus the title of chapter 2 in his *Mystical Theology;* see esp. 45 and 224 n. 43.

[44] Bernard, *Sermo 2 in resurrectione Domini* 8 (*Opera* 5:98–99); Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 55.

[45] Bernard, *Liber de diligendo Deo* 10.27–28 (*Opera* 3:142–43; trans. Robert Walton, *On Loving God,* 2d ed. with commentary by Emero Stiegman, Cistercian Fathers Series 13b [Kalamazoo, 1995], 29–31); Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 130–32..

[46] Bernard, *De gratia* 8.26–27 (*Opera* 3:184–85; trans. 82–83), and McGinn's introduction to *On Grace and Free Choice,* 23.

[47] Ulrich Faust, "Bernhards 'Liber de gratia et libero arbitrio': Bedeutung, Quellen und Einfluss," *Analecta monastica* 6 (1962): 35–51 at 44–50.

[48] Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 46; reiterated in *The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy (Gifford*

to place *love* at the center of his moral theology, as the affection of the will for either good or evil.[49] This emphasis on love is of course characteristically Cistercian—one has but to think of the order's constitution, the *Carta caritatis*—but in stressing *liberum arbitrium* rather than reason as the means of restoring man's likeness to God, Bernard does differ even from his Cistercian contemporaries, notably William of Saint-Thierry.[50]

The Christian life, according to Bernard, is the soul's continuing attempt to restore its lost likeness to God—a process that can only be completed perfectly in the beatific vision. How this end is to be pursued within the context of monastic asceticism is the subject of Bernard's treatise *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae,*[51] but this is a guide to conduct, and hence to the active life,[52] whereas our present inquiry concerns the ecstasy that is the crown of the contemplative life, which Bernard treated in the *De diligendo Deo* and in his sermons on the Song of Songs. Let us focus, then, on Bernard's theology of mystical contemplation, as the kind of Christian experience that fits the Pilgrim's special case, namely that of a living man who is united with God for a brief, ecstatic moment.

Ecstasy.

Rather than attempt a synthesis of Bernard's views on the ecstatic experience,[53] I shall analyze successively his two principal descriptions of it, beginning with the *De diligendo Deo,* which he wrote in 1126/27.[54] The work has been called "basic Bernard" because it treats his most fundamental theme—why and how God should be loved.[55] Bernard's treatment of this theme is based on a seeming paradox that confronts the contemplative Christian: God is to be loved for himself but yet loving him is to our advantage (6.17). Bernard resolves the apparent contradiction by distinguishing four degrees, or stages, through which the contemplative progresses. First he loves himself for

Lectures 1931–1932), trans. A. H. C. Downes (New York, 1936), 211–12, and followed by McGinn in the introduction to *On Grace and Free Choice,* 32–33.

[49] Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 37.

[50] Ibid., 239 n. 178.

[51] Bernard, *Liber de gradibus humilitatis et superbiae* (*Opera* 3:13–59; trans. George Bosworth Burch, *The Steps of Humility,* 2d ed. [Notre Dame, 1963]).

[52] Masseron argued that the steps of humility are reflected in Dante's examples of pride in *Purg.* 12 (*Dante et Saint Bernard,* 197–222).

[53] Such a synthesis can be gleaned from Gilson's *Mystical Theology,* but not from the cursory remarks of Robert Javelet in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 4:2114–15, s.v. "ecstase."

[54] On the date, see Stiegman's commentary in *On Loving God,* 64.

[55] Ibid., 45. For another analysis of the work, see Pacifique Delfgaauw, "La nature et les degrés de l'amour selon S. Bernard," in *Saint Bernard théologien* (n. 32 above), 234–52.

his own sake (8.23–25); next, for his own sake he loves God, and then he comes to love God for God's sake (9.26); finally, as the fourth and final step, he loves himself only for God's sake (10.27–28). The last stage especially concerns us, for it is there that the living contemplative experiences ecstasy. The ecstatic state, as has already been remarked,[56] is an imperfect foretaste of the beatific vision, not only because it is momentary rather than unending, but also because in it God is not seen in an intellectual vision but instead is felt by the affection of love.[57] The love attained in this state is infused as a gift from God, Bernard explains, "for it is in God's hands to give it to whom he wishes, it is not obtained by human efforts."[58] Its effect is to alter what Bernard calls the "intention of the will,"[59] so that the soul's will becomes identical with God's. Its intention becomes his. Thus, "just as God willed everything to exist for himself, so we wish that neither ourselves nor other beings to have been nor to be except for his will alone; not for our pleasure."[60] Through infused charity, the human will is accordingly re-formed to conform with the divine will, or in other words, it is restored to its original, prelapsarian state,[61] whereby it attains, if only briefly, the freedom from misery (*libertas a miseria*) that was lost in the Fall. The result is what Bernard calls *deificatio,* by which he means that the soul becomes like God, but without ever losing its identity. He illustrates the relationship with several traditional similes, for example that the soul unites with God just "as a drop of water seems to disappear completely in a big quantity of wine, even assuming the wine's taste and color."[62]

At the end of his life, over twenty-five years later, Bernard († 1153) returned to the same theme as the climax of his commentary on the Song of Songs, and this treatment deserves our special attention because in it Bernard,

[56] See the second obstacle, pp. 188–92 above.

[57] Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 149; Ivánka, "La structure de l'âme" (n. 32 above), 206–7.

[58] Bernard, *De diligendo Deo* 10.29 (*Opera* 3:144; trans. 31): "quippe quod Dei potentiae est dare cui vult, non humanae industriae assequi."

[59] Ibid. 10.28 (*Opera,* 3:143; trans. 30): "intentio voluntatis"; see Stiegman's commentary in *On Loving God,* 124.

[60] Bernard, *De diligendo Deo* 10.28 (*Opera* 3:143; trans. 30): "quomodo Deus omnia esse voluit propter semetipsum, sic nos quoque nec nosipsos, nec aliud aliquid fuisse vel esse velimus, nisi aeque propter ipsum, ob solam ipsius videlicet voluntatem, non nostram voluptatem."

[61] See Stiegman's commentary in *On Loving God,* 124. Gilson explains that when Bernard speaks of the "form of the soul," he does not mean its essential form—form in the Aristotelian sense—but rather its *proprium,* "that is to say a qualification inseparable from the subject in which it resides and from which it remains nevertheless distinct" (*Mystical Theology,* 53).

[62] Bernard, *De diligendo Deo* 10.28 (*Opera* 3:143; trans. 30). On *deificatio,* see Delfgaauw, "Nature et degrés de l'amour," 246–51; on the source of the metaphor, see Stiegman's commentary in *On Loving God,* 184–85 n. 313.

like Dante, links man's likeness to the Word with his ecstatic union with God. Bernard reads the *Canticum canticorum* as a moral allegory (*moraliter*)[63] in which the soul searches for the Word—*Quaerit anima Verbum.*[64] He begins by devoting three sermons (80–82) to establishing that the human soul does indeed resemble the Word, for without this likeness the soul would not be attracted to the Word, since "like seeks like."[65] Once the possibility of the search is established, Bernard goes on to describe it, first in general, then in its several stages. As always, he is careful to acknowledge the role of divine grace in initiating the search by turning the soul to the Word: this conversion is effected "by grace, not by nature, nor even by effort."[66] What grace confers on the soul is love, for the Word "would not see her [the *anima*] when she was unlike him, but when she is like him [the *Verbum*] he will look upon her, and he will allow her to look upon him."[67] While still living, the converted soul will progress in its love until it sees God in the mystical marriage which is ecstasy, the nature of which Bernard most clearly defines with "a cry of admiration":

> It is assuredly a thing most marvellous and astonishing, that likeness which accompanies the vision of God, and is itself the vision. I can only describe it as subsisting in charity. This vision is charity, and the likeness is charity.[68]

"Thus," Gilson explains, "for the soul reformed to the Divine likeness by love, the very affection of love is the sole possible substitute here below for the vision of God which we lack, and love therefore in us stands for vision."[69]

In sermon 83, Bernard goes on to explain how the searching soul is reformed to the Word. At every stage of the process, the soul imitates Christ's love, and thus progressively its will is conformed in charity to that of the Word until at last the two are the same:

[63] At *Super Cant.* 80.1.1 (*Opera* 2:277; trans. 4:145), Bernard resumes his moral exposition ("sermo . . . moralium . . . conditus"), which continues to the end of the work.

[64] Ibid. 85.1.1 (*Opera* 2:307; trans. 4:195).

[65] Ibid. 82.3.7 (*Opera* 2:297; trans. 4:178): "Et certe de ratione naturae, similis similem quaerit."

[66] Ibid.: "Quod tamen utrumque dixerim de gratia praesumendum, non de natura, sed ne de industria quidem."

[67] Ibid.: "Intuebitur similem, qui dissimilem non videbat; sed et se intuendum praestabit."

[68] Ibid. 82.3.8 (*Opera* 2:297; trans. 4:179): "Admiranda prorsus et stupenda illa similitudo, quam Dei visio comitatur, immo quae Dei visio est, ego autem dico in caritate. Caritas illa visio, illa similitudo est."

[69] Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 149. As he had explained earlier, this "famous doctrine of charity as knowledge of God" (147) is part of a doctrinal complex based on 1 John 4 (22–23).

> Such conformity weds the soul to the Word, for one who is like the Word by nature shows himself like him too in the exercise of his will, loving as she is loved. When she loves perfectly, the soul is wedded to the Word.[70]

The final form of love Bernard now terms "pure love" (*purus amor*), by which he means a love that is not "founded on some hope of gain," and hence one that "has no self-interest,"[71] so that, in the formulation of the *De diligendo Deo,* the soul no longer even loves itself except for God (10.27–28).

In sermon 85, Bernard sums up his doctrine of mystical marriage by giving seven reasons why the soul seeks the Word. In this life the soul that is united with the Word in mystical marriage can be readily identified "[w]hen you see a soul leaving everything and clinging to the Word with all her will and desire, living for the Word, ruling her life by the Word, conceiving by the Word what she will bring forth by him. . . ."[72] Just as carnal marriage results in offspring, so spiritual marriage has its effects, which according to Bernard are twofold. "For spiritual persons, like holy mothers, may bring souls to birth by preaching [*praedicando*], or may give birth to spiritual insights by meditation."[73] He assumes that the former needs no explanation and instead concludes with his most extensive treatment of the ecstatic state. It is surely ecstatic, for "the soul leaves even her bodily senses and is separated from them, so that in her awareness of the Word she is not aware of herself."[74] The ecstasy "lasts a short time and is experienced rarely," and moreover it is ineffable, "beyond description." Such ecstasy is in essence the moment when the soul enjoys the Word in bliss.[75]

[70] Bernard, *Super Cant.* 83.1.3 (*Opera* 2:299; trans. 4:182): "Talis conformitas maritat animam Verbo, cum cui videlicet similis est per naturam, similem nihilominus ipsi se exhibet per voluntatem, diligens sicut dilecta est. Ergo si perfecte diligit, nupsit."

[71] Ibid. 83.2.5 (*Opera* 2:301; trans. 4:185): "Suspectus est mihi amor, cui aliud quid adipiscendi spes suffragari videtur. . . . Purus amor mercenarius non est."

[72] Ibid. 85.4.12 (*Opera* 2:315; trans. 4:208 [modified]): "Ergo quam videris animam, relictis omnibus, Verbo votis omnibus adhaerere, Verbo vivere, Verbo se regere, de Verbo concipere quod pariat Verbo. . . ."

[73] Ibid. 85.4.13 (*Opera,* 2:315; trans. 4:209): "Sed attende in spirituali matrimonio duo esse genera pariendi, et ex hoc etiam diversas soboles, sed non adversas, cum sanctae matres aut praedicando, animas, aut meditando, intelligentias pariunt spirituales."

[74] Ibid. (*Opera* 2:315–16; trans. 4:209 [modified]): "In hoc ultimo genere interdum [anima] exceditur et seceditur etiam a corporeis sensibus, ut sese non sentiat quae Verbum sentit."

[75] Ibid. 85.4.13–14 (*Opera* 4:315–16; trans. 209–10). This concludes Bernard's treatment of the soul's search for the Word. In sermon 86, the last in the uncompleted work, Bernard adds some practical words of advice to the seeker.

III. Bernard and Dante's Finale

Bernard's concept of ecstatic union, though rich and complex, can be reduced to four basic features: first, it is based on the likeness between human nature and the Word; second, this likeness has been impaired by original sin and can be made functional again only by divine grace; third, grace restores the likeness by an infusion of love, or charity; and finally, once grace has restored man's capacity to love God as God loves him, the result is a union of wills. My thesis is that these four features provide an economical and sufficient explanation for the finale of the *Paradiso* (33.139–45, quoted above after n. 6). To begin, I shall give a preliminary overview of the four principal points of correspondence, after which I shall examine each point in detail.

The final episode begins with the Pilgrim's attempt to see the likeness between Christ's divinity and human nature, but, because, due to original sin, his own powers were insufficient, he would not have been able to do so if his mind had not been aided by a flash of grace. The flash provides the answer by an infusion of charity, which is the likeness he has been seeking, and in feeling this love, his will is brought into conformity with God's for a brief, ineffable moment of ecstatic union. After this the Pilgrim, like the soul that is married to God, will presumably return to benefit other souls by preaching, which in his case will be writing the *Divine Comedy*.

The surest way to substantiate this thesis is to show that Dante's concluding lines (*Par.* 33.136–45) can be expounded in terms of Bernard's mystical theology, which I propose to do by answering five questions: What was the Pilgrim's problem? Why was he unable to solve it? How did the flash resolve his impasse? Was Bernardine ecstasy the result? and What happened next?

The Pilgrim's Problem.

The Pilgrim was confronted with a new sight, the depiction of "our effigy" within the circle representing the Word (*Par.* 33.127–32). The narrator explains that he wanted to see how the human image "conformed" (*si convenne,* 137) to the divine one and "how it has its place therein" (*come vi s'indova,* 138). Commonly it is said that the Pilgrim's problem was to understand how Christ's two natures, human and divine, could be united in one person.[76] While this may be true at some broadly allegorical level, this interpretation can only be justified if it conforms to the literal sense of the story, inasmuch as it was a principle of Dante's literary theory that it is impossible to come to an understanding of the spiritual-mystical senses, and especially the allegori-

[76] See n. 24 above.

cal sense properly speaking, before first understanding the literal sense.[77] But clearly in the story the Pilgrim saw neither the incarnate Christ nor either of his natures; instead at the literal level he saw a circle and an effigy that were poetic fictions representing some hidden truth. To determine what that truth may be we must, as the *Convivio* prescribes, first be sure of the literal sense.

As I have suggested elsewhere,[78] at the literal level we are to understand that the Pilgrim has seen the human figure within the circle but not in any evident relation to it, and his problem is simply to understand how the two are related. The answer is provided by Vitruvius, who explained that the human figure is proportioned both to a square (*homo ad quadratum*) and to a circle (*homo ad circulum*)—a theory best known today from Leonardo da Vinci's composite illustration of the two *homines*. Most likely, the Pilgrim saw the human figure in the attitude of the *homo ad quadratum*, standing with arms outstretched and legs together, which of course is the attitude of crucifixion.[79] At the literal level, then, all that the Pilgrim saw was the effigy of a human being in the posture of one crucified; what this figure represents is a matter of interpretation, and the answer will depend on the mystical-spiritual sense according to which it is interpreted, for it can signify not only Christ himself but also sinful mankind that he redeemed on the Cross, since, in the words of St. Paul, "our old man [*vetus homo noster*] is crucified with him, that the body of sin may be destroyed" (Rom 6:6b).[80]

[77] Dante, *Conv.* 2.1.11 (ed. Vasoli, 118): "Onde con ciò sia cosa che la litterale sentenza sempre sia subietto e materia de l'altre, massimamente de l'allegorica, impossibile è prima venire a la conoscenza de l'altre che a la sua."

[78] Richard Kay, "Vitruvius and Dante's *Imago Dei*," forthcoming in *Word & Image*.

[79] Not to be confused with the *homo quadratus*, or "four-square man," who "truly extends his arms and legs to the four corners of the universe," according to Edgar de Bruyne, *Études d'esthétique médiévale*, 3 vols. (Bruges, 1946; rpt. Geneva, 1975), 2:360. Instead, the spread-eagled posture is in fact that of the Vitruvian *homo ad circulum*, whose extremities form the corners of a square inscribed within a circle; see, e.g., Albrecht Dürer's illustration of Vitruvius, *De architectura* 3.1.1 in London, British Library Add. 5230, fol. 2r, reproduced in Frank Zöllner, *Vitruvs Proportionsfigur: Quellenkritische Studien zur Kunstliteratur im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*, Manuskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft in der Wernerschen Verlagsgesellschaft 14 (Worms, 1987), fig. 12. Since the *homo quadratus* is not an image of the crucified Christ, who instead is posed like the *homo ad quadratum*, the former would be better described as a cosmic Christ, the disincarnate Word (whom Dante represents by a circle), and such was clearly what Thierry of Chartres († 1148/55) meant when he identified the second person of the Trinity as the *primus tetragonus*. Consequently Guy P. Raffa is mistaken in his identification of the *homo quadratus* with "Christ, the crucified man-god": *Divine Dialectic: Dante's Incarnational Poetry* (Toronto, 2000), 170–78, quotation at 177.

[80] The "gran veglio" of *Inf.* 14.103 was first identified as Paul's "vetus homo" by Giovanni Busnelli, "La concezione dantesca del gran veglio di Creta," appended to his *L'Etica Nicomachea e l'ordinamento morale dell' "Inferno" di Dante*, Biblioteca storico-critica della letteratura dantesca, 2d ser., 4 (Bologna, 1907), 159–91. Anthony K. Cassell subtly explores the

At the literal level, then, the Pilgrim's problem is simply to discover how this figure, which as seen fits within a square, can conform to the circle in which it appears. To be sure, we are not told that the figure the Pilgrim sees is in a posture that conforms to a square, but the narrator broadly hints at that relationship by comparing the Pilgrim's problem to that of the geometer who seeks the principle by which the circle might be squared (133–35).[81] The reason that the narrator knows the literal answer is because it had come to the Pilgrim in a flash of comprehension (141) that if the *homo ad quadratum* raises his arms and spreads his legs, he becomes the *homo ad circulum* described by Vitruvius.

Once the literal sense of the vision has been established, we can attempt to interpret this poetic fiction according to the three superior, mystical-spiritual, or broadly allegorical, senses, which contain the poet's intended truth.[82] The purpose of this exercise is to determine whether one of the superior senses fits the storyline better than the others, and the result will in turn authorize us to interpret the Pilgrim's problem in terms of Bernard's mystical theology.

Strictly speaking, the *allegorical* sense signifies "those things that are to be believed in the new law" (*quid credas* in the familiar mnemonic jingle),[83] and Dantists have had no trouble in reading the image of our effigy within the circle of the Son as an emblem of the Incarnation.[84] The Pilgrim's problem would accordingly be to understand how Christ's two natures, human and divine, can be joined in one substance. But the answer to this problem would not be available to the Pilgrim in this life, because theologians were agreed that for all living Christians the Incarnation was a mystery of the faith that would not be understood intellectually until the answer was revealed in the beatific vision.[85] Since the Pilgrim's wish was in fact satisfied in this life (140–41), I infer that his problem was not that posed by the mystery of the Incarnation.

typological implications of this identification in *Dante's Fearful Art of Justice* (Toronto, 1984), 57–65.

[81] See n. 6 above.

[82] For Dante's treatment of the four hermeneutic senses, see *Conv.* 2.1.2–12; cf. *Epistole* 13 (to Cangrande) 7.20–22., ed. Giorgio Brugnoli, in *Opere minori* 2, La letteratura italiana: Storia e testi 5/2 (Milan and Naples, 1979), 610.

[83] The definitions are those of Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1330), quoted by Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1959), 23 n. 2 (from PL 113:28CD; the verse is quoted on the same page).

[84] See n. 24 above.

[85] Albert Michel, "Incarnation," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 7:1445–1539 at 1455–56; Aquinas, *ST* 1.12.1; *Summa contra gentiles* 4.27; *Super epistolas S. Pauli lectura* ad 2 Cor 12:2 (lect. 1).

The *anagogic* sense can likewise be eliminated. It signifies "those things that are to be hoped for in future beatitude" (*quo tendas*). In this sense the Pilgrim would be a figure of the soul desiring to receive the beatific vision, because it would reveal to him the mystery of the Incarnation. But, as we have seen, the Pilgrim does not enjoy the beatific vision with its attendant revelations, so the anagogic sense, which pertains to a postmortem future, does not fit the literal sense of the story, in which the Pilgrim's wish is fulfilled while he is living.

The only mystical sense that does fit Dante's fiction is the one called *moral,* or tropological, which signifies "those things that are to be done by us" (*quid agas*). This is not surprising, since the *Epistle to Cangrande* asserts that this is the principal sense of the *Comedy,* "morals or ethics" being the branch of philosophy to which the author assigns his poem, "inasmuch as the whole as well as the part was conceived, not for speculation, but with a practical object."[86] Moreover, this is also the sense in which Bernard reads the Songs of Songs—*moraliter*—as an allegory of the soul searching for reunion with the Word.[87] In this moral sense, the Pilgrim's problem would be "to see" (*veder,* 137) the likeness between mankind and the Word. That he wishes "to see" does not necessarily imply intellectual vision, however, because, according to Bernard, in a state of ecstasy the vision is an affect, which is felt rather than understood: "This vision is charity, and the likeness is charity."[88] If we are to be guided by Bernard, then, the Pilgrim's problem must be understood as a moral, personal one: when he wishes to see the likeness between the Word and mankind, we are to understand that he desires to love as he has been loved (1 John 4:19).

The three spiritual senses, it will be observed, correspond respectively to the three theological virtues, of faith, hope, and charity. Only the moral sense, with its concern with charity, fits the literal sense of the story, in which the Pilgrim's wish is fulfilled in the present, and significantly, by love (*amor,* 145). To be sure, the other two senses do play a supporting role by reminding us of the faith that will become intellectual sight in the beatific vision, but neither one defines the Pilgrim's present problem.

From the foregoing analysis it might seem that I have departed from the *communis opinio* that the Pilgrim's problem concerned the Incarnation, but this is not the case; instead, I would maintain that, according to Bernard's spiritual itinerary, the Pilgrim has reached a stage at which his attention would

[86] Dante, *Epistole* 13.16.40 (ed. Brugnoli 625), trans. Paget Toynbee, *Dantis Alagherii Epistolae. The Letters of Dante,* 2d ed. (Oxford, 1966), 202 (his Ep. 10)

[87] See n. 66 above.

[88] Bernard, *Super Cant.* 82.3.8 (*Opera* 2:297; trans. 4:179); see n. 68 above.

be focused on the Incarnation. Since we have posited that the poem culminates in Bernard's fourth degree of love, the Pilgrim at the moment he was pondering the problem posed by *la nostra effige* would accordingly have been at the third stage of loving God, in which man loves God for God's sake.

> Whoever loves this way, loves the way he is loved, seeking in turn not what is his but what belongs to Christ, the same way Christ sought not what was his, but what was ours, or rather, ourselves.[89]

The contemplative at this stage is therefore conscious not just of God's love in general but most especially of the Incarnation as the supreme revelation of God's love for man.[90] Nonetheless, the Pilgrim, while loving God for the Incarnation, still wishes to understand intellectually how (*come,* 137) it was effected, which is the mystery of the Incarnation that no living man can understand. This intellectual desire, though natural to man, will only be satisifed in the beatific vision.

Indovarsi.

The Pilgrim's problem has two parts. In addition to wishing to know how the human image conforms to a circle, he also wished to know "how it has its place therein" (*come vi s'indova,* 138). Although the general sense of the poet's neologism *indovarsi* is plain from the context, its specific significance has not been appreciated, because no equivalent expression has been discerned in Scholastic Latin.[91] I propose that Dante derived his verb from the technical term *proprium ubi,* which Aquinas used to designate the "proper place" to which terrestrial bodies moved in order to perfect themselves by attaining the divine likeness.[92] Dante himself used the term in the proem to the *Paradiso* to describe not only the movement of lightning, which moves away from "its proper site" (*il proprio sito*), but also that of the Pilgrim, who ascends even faster from earth to heaven, which is his proper place (*Par.* 1.92–

[89] Bernard, *De diligendo Deo* 9.26 (*Opera* 3:141; trans. 28): "Qui enim sic amat, haud secus profecto quam amatus est, amat, quaerens et ipse vicissim non quae sua sunt, sed quae Iesu Christi, quemadmodum ille nostra, vel potius nos, et non sua quaesivit."

[90] See Stiegman's commentary in *On Loving God,* 120–23.

[91] Angelo Adami in *Enciclopedia dantesca,* 6 vols. (Rome, 1970–78), 3:425, s.v. "indovarsi."

[92] Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles* 3.22.3: "Unde finis motus eorum est ut consequantur divinam similitudinem quantum ad hoc quod sint in seipsis perfecta, utpote habentia propriam formam et proprium *ubi*" ("Hence, the end of their [the lower bodies'] motion is to achieve the divine likeness by being perfected in themselves; for instance, by possessing their proper form and being in their proper place," trans. Vernon J. Bourke et al., *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith,* 5 vols. [New York, 1955–57], 3:84).

93).[93] Beatrice then elaborates, devoting her first discourse to the cosmic order in which each created nature, guided by instinct, seeks its appropriate goal (109–41).[94] Her explanation is a fitting prologue to what Lino Pertile has called Dante's "drama of desire," for throughout the *Paradiso* the purified Pilgrim is impelled by his desire for God to come ever closer to his goal, until at last his *disio* is fulfilled.[95] Thus the two parts of the Pilgrim's problem correspond to the two elements in its solution, namely the satisfaction of his desire and the conformity of his will—the *disio* and *velle* of *Par.* 33.143.

Bernard can again be our guide. Although he was by no means the first to conceive of God as the satisfaction of human desire,[96] the theme is fundamental to Bernard's theology, so much so that Stiegman calls its epigrammatic expression "the alpha and omega of his spirituality": "He makes you desire, he is what you desire" (*Ipse facit ut desideres, ipse est quod desideras*).[97] Moreover, Bernard drives his point home with uncharacteristically philosophic precision: "He is the efficient and final cause of our love."[98] Therefore the second part of the Pilgrim's problem, like the first, is firmly rooted in Bernardine mysticism.

What then was the problem? At the literal level, the Pilgrim wants to know the proper place of the human body in relation to a circle. Again the answer will be based on the Vitruvian *homo ad circulum,* with his navel at the circle's center and his extremities touching its circumference, but now the Pilgrim is probing deeper, for he wants to know not only how the human shape can conform to the proportions of a circle but also whether this relationship is natural and proper to man—in short, whether it is an intrinsic (though not essential) physical property of the human body, its *proprium.*[99] If so, it will be a property that mankind shares with giants and with Lucifer, for the Pilgrim already

[93] *Enciclopedia dantesca* 5:272, s.v. "sito."

[94] Compare *Par.* 1.112–14 with *Conv.* 4.28.2: "the noble soul . . . returns to God as to that port from which it departed when it came to enter into the sea of this life" (trans. Richard H. Lansing, *Dante's "Il Convivio" ("The Banquet")* [New York and London, 1990] 232).

[95] Lino Pertile, "*Paradiso:* A Drama of Desire," in *Word and Drama in Dante: Essays on the "Divina Commedia,"* ed. John C. Barnes and Jennifer Petrie, Publications of the Foundation for Italian Studies, University College, Dublin (Dublin, 1993), 143–80.

[96] Pertile stresses Gregory the Great's concept of the pious life as a pilgrimage of desire ("Drama of Desire," 148–50) and also recognizes Bernard's influence on Dante in this regard (150–51). Aversano relates Gregory's doctrine of desire specifically to Dante's finale (*La quinta ruota,* 209–12).

[97] Bernard, *De diligendo Deo* 7.21 (*Opera,* 3:137; trans. 24); Stiegman's commentary in *On Loving God,* 85.

[98] Bernard, *De diligendo Deo* 7.22 (*Opera,* 3:137; trans. 24): "Dixi supra: causa diligendi Deum, Deus est. Verum dixi, nam et efficiens, et finalis."

[99] See n. 61 above.

knows from the last canto of the *Inferno* that both have human proportions.[100] The underlying reason, of course, is that they all have been made in God's likeness, which in the fictional, literal sense of the poem is taken to be a physical likeness to a circle.

We already know that the real sense of Dante's story, as opposed the poetic fiction that conveys it, is the moral, or tropological, sense. In this sense, the Pilgrim's problem evidently concerns his desire to be united with God, but that desire is not in itself problematic for him, since Beatrice had made it clear at the beginning of the cantica that heaven was his proper place, and moreover, the narrator makes the goal unmistakable when, just before the series of final visions under Bernard's tutelage begins, he describes himself as one "who was drawing near to the end of all desires" (*ch'al fine di tutt' i disii / appropinquava*, 33.46–47). Thus, at the moment when *la nostra effige* appeared, the Pilgrim had no doubt that his desires were about to be satisfied, but he was still uncertain what that meant. His immediate question was: *how* is man's desire fulfilled in God? Or, in terms of the vision he was pondering: *how* does man find his proper place in relation to the Word? The operative word is *come* (138). Thus his problem was yet another intellectual *dubbio,* the last of the Pilgrim's many attempts to satiate his natural desire to know. As we shall see, the answer he received was neither more nor less than the experience itself.

The Pilgrim's *aporia.*

The Pilgrim wished "to see" the likeness between mankind and the Word, "but my own wings were not sufficient for that"—or more literally, "were not able for that" (*ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne,* 139).[101] He is compared to the geometer who seeks an elusive *principio,* a basic principle, which in Aristotelian terms is a self-evident truth that is recognized intuitively by the intellect.[102] At the literal level, this is the realization that the human body is proportioned to a circle, which is a first truth because it is validated by simply visualizing the diagram of the *homo ad circulam.* In this case, then, the Pilgrim's aporia is only relative: he would not have been able to solve the problem if he had not hit upon the requisite principle in a flash of intuitive insight.

[100] *Inf.* 34.30–33. For details, see Richard Kay, "Vitruvius and Dante's Giants," forthcoming in *Dante Studies.*

[101] *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary,* s.v. "ciò" (1:160).

[102] Aristotle, *Posterior analytics* 2.19 (99a15–100b17) and *Nicomachean Ethics* 6.6 (1140a31–1141a7); cf. Dante, *Conv.* 4.15.15–16. See Alfonso Maierù in *Encicopedia dantesca* 4:673–77, s.v. "principio."

The moral level is the only spiritual sense we have to consider, because, as we have seen, it is the main one that fits the story. An analysis of the image of the Pilgrim's *proprie penne* will show that line 139 can be read in Bernard's terms. It is the last of a long series of wing-and-feather imagery in the poem that signifies desire. In the *Inferno* this allegory is implicit, for instance in the bird images associated with Francesca, but most dramatically in the batlike wings of Lucifer, which cause hell to freeze over and imprison him.[103] Furthermore, the poet makes the meaning of this allegory explicit in *Purgatorio* when he says that to climb the mountain, the Pilgrim not only needs his feet but also must fly, to which the narrator adds an all-important gloss: "I mean with the swift wings and the plumes of great desire" (*dico con l'ale snelle e con le piume / del gran disio,* 4.28–29). Moreover, this autointerpretation is both confirmed and expanded at the beginning of the last day of the journey, on which (Virgil says) the Pilgrim will enjoy the fruit for which all mankind hungers (*Purg.* 27.115–17). On hearing this, "Such wish upon wish [*voler sopra voler*] came to me to be above, that at every step thereafter I felt my feathers [*le penne*] growing for the flight" (121–23), which is to say that by progressive acts of his will, his desire increased. The psychological process operative here has of course already been expounded at length by Virgil in his discourse on love (*Purg.* 18.16–75): briefly, it is that *liberum arbitrium* can discern and decide which desirable objects the soul will in fact fix on as its objects of desire, or love. Finally and most memorably, Dante employs the feather image *a malo* to signify the greedy desires that corrupt the Church as a result of the Donation of Constantine (*Purg.* 32.124–26, 135–41).

Accordingly, if the Pilgrim's wings are his desire, or love, then why is this insufficient for him "to see" the likeness between mankind and the Word? Because the wings are his own (*proprie,* 139), and hence the desire, or love, they represent is likewise his love of himself. Dante's expression corresponds exactly with what Bernard calls man's *voluntas propria,* his self-will, which prevents him from joining his will to God's to form a *voluntas communis,* a common will.[104] To attain this conformity of wills, the lost likeness between man and the Word must be restored to the soul, and this can only be accomplished by grace, which infuses into it the gift of charity. Bernard emphasizes that a soul experiences ecstasy "by grace, not by nature, nor even by effort."[105] Thus the Pilgrim's aporia, read *moraliter* with Bernard, acknowl-

[103] On the Neoplatonic image of the soul's wings, see Robert M. Durling and Ronald L. Martinez, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri,* 3 vols. (New York and Oxford, 1996–), 1:562 (additional note 6) and 2:73, ad *Purg.* 4.27–30).

[104] See above at n. 44.

[105] See nn. 66 and 58 above.

edges that without the intervention of grace, the soul is unable to love as it is loved.

The Flash.

The Pilgrim would accordingly have been at a loss to solve his problem, "save that my mind was smitten by a flash wherein its wish came to it" (*se non che la mia mente fu percossa / da un fulgore in che sua voglia venne,* 140–41). From the foregoing section it is already apparent that the flash is one of intuitive insight at the literal level and at the moral level it is the infusion of charity as a gratuitous gift of grace, and no more need be said to establish the correspondence with Bernard's doctrine.

A purist might object, however, that *fulgore* (141) does not mean "flash" but instead describes a bright *effulgence* of light emanating as visible rays of glory from God, his angels, or the blessed souls.[106] In the *Comedy,* the word Dante uses to signify lightning and flashes that resemble it is instead *folgore,* and I have argued elsewhere that this is indeed the correct reading at line 141, since it is equally well attested in the manuscript tradition and fits the context better.[107] Certainly the sense of the passage requires a flash, as a long line of English translators agree.[108]

Union of Wills.

We are now at last in a position to explain the experience with which the poem ends. After stating that the Pilgrim's experience after the flash was ineffable, the narrator sums it up by describing the net effect of the flash. God's love revolved the Pilgrim's desire and will like a wheel that is evenly moved:

> A l'alta fantasia qui mancò possa;
> ma già volgeva il mio disio e 'l *velle,*
> sì come rota ch'igualmente è mossa,
> l'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle.
> (*Par.* 33.142–45)

Although the last three lines do sum up the net effect of the Pilgrim's progress, as some commentators insist, still the passage more particularly de-

[106] Lucia Onder in *Encicopedia dantesca* 3:72, s.v. "fulgore."

[107] Richard Kay, "Flash or Effulgence? Mental Illumination in Dante's *Paradiso* 33.141," forthcoming in *Medieval Paradigms: Essays in Honor of Jeremy duQuesnay Adams,* ed. Stephanie A. Hayes.

[108] E.g., H. F. Cary (1812), E. H. Plumptre (1886), Arthur John Butler (1891), Philip H. Wicksteed (1899), Charles Eliot Norton (1908), John D. Sinclair (1946), H. R. Huse (1954), Barbara Reynolds (1962), and Singleton. Longfellow (1867) makes it "a flash of lightning."

scribes the ultimate stage of the journey, in which the Pilgrim's soul is at last united with God.[109] Either way, the critical consensus has always been that the Pilgrim's will is finally in harmony with God. Only occasionally, however, has this union been explicitly described as a unity, or concord, of wills human and divine,[110] which of course must necessarily be the case, since such a union is possible only if God wills it. Furthermore, there has been general acceptance of Bruno Nardi's explanation of the image of the wheel as one philosophically and theologically appropriate to the circular, and hence perfect, motion of those things that are moved by God's love, including not only the human soul but also the heavens and the angels.[111]

The general sense of the passage is best illuminated by Dante's own definition of love, which it exemplifies in the highest degree:

> Love, taken in its true sense and subtly considered, is nothing but the spiritual union of the soul and the thing which is loved, to which union the soul of its own nature hastens quickly or slowly according to whether it is free or hindered.[112]

Moreover, Dante clarifies this definition by explaining that the soul "naturally longs and desires to be united with God,"[113] which provides an admirable gloss to line 143.[114]

[109] On the two perspectives, see Fernando Salsano in *Enciclopedia dantesca,* 2:390, s.v. "desio."

[110] For Singleton, *velle* (143) refers to "a will that is both human and divine" (6:587). According to C. H. Grandgent, the Pilgrim's "individual will is merged in the World-Will of the Creator" (*La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri* [Boston, 1933], 964). Botterill says of lines 142–43, "Here, at last, divine love acts on his will to bring it into accord with God's . . ." ("Life after Beatrice," 133). André Pézard connects the image of the *rota* (144) with the biblical allegory of the potter's wheel (Jer 18:1–12, Is 45:1–9), which Jerome took to be "a parable of *liberum arbitrium*" (Dante, *Oeuvres complètes,* trans. A. Pézard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 5th ed. [Paris, 1985], 1674).

[111] Bruno Nardi, "Sì come rota ch'igualmente è mossa," in his *Nel mondo di Dante* (Rome, 1944), 337–50: "La quiete del desiderio appagato non significa inerzia e sonnolenza, che anzi non si scompagna dall'eterno moto dell'amore; moto circolare ed uniforme che esprime la perfetta concordia del volere umano col volere divino" (349). Rizzardi, "Dante e l'orologio" (n. 9 above) argues that the image is one of clockwork. For John Freccero, the *rota*'s twofold motion was that of a cosmic epicycle ("The Final Image: *Paradiso* XXXIII, 144," in Freccero's collected essays, *Dante: The Poetics of Conversion,* ed. Rachel Jacoff [Cambridge, Mass., 1986], 245–57); this Platonic interpretation has been refuted, however, by Mastrobuono, *Dante's Journey of Sanctification,* 270–78.

[112] Dante, *Conv.* 3.2.3 (ed. Vasoli, 298; trans. Lansing, 90): "Amore, veramente pigliando e sottilmente considerando, non è altro che unimento spirituale de l'anima e de la cosa amata; nel quale unimento di propia sua natura l'anima corre tosto e tardi, secondo che è libera o impedita."

[113] Ibid. 3.2.7 (ed. Vasoli, 304; trans., Lansing 91): "e però che 'l suo essere dipende da Dio e per quello si conserva, [l'anima umana] naturalmente disia e vuole essere a Dio unita per lo suo essere fortificae."

[114] In an eloquent and sensitive study, Lino Pertile has shown how the Pilgrim's *disio* is at

The present study accepts these conclusions and builds on them by pointing out that, if we accept Bernard of Clairvaux as our guide, such a concord of wills human and divine is the *voluntas communis* that a living man experiences when grace restores to him his lost likeness to God, which is perfect love. At this highest, ecstatic level of contemplation, he ceases to love himself for his own sake (*voluntas propria*) and instead comes to love himself only for God's sake[115].

For Bernard, the concord of wills is made possible because man, having *liberum arbitrium,* was created as an image of the Word, and this relationship provides the answer to the Pilgrim's problem. Thus the terms of the Pilgrim's problem appropriately foreshadow its solution, for how the soul fits (*convenne,* 137) the Word is by having been made to its image, and how the soul finds its place within the Word (*s'indova,* 138) is by having its likeness restored. As Gilson has remarked, Bernard's mystical theology is to be distinguished from similar systems by the prominent role played in it by free will, which is both the image and the way of restoring the likeness.[116] Dante's dependence on Bernard rather than any other source is therefore strongly indicated by his similar emphasis on man as the Word's image and on ecstasy as a union consisting of concordant wills.

At the literal level, the proportions of the human effigy, like man's free will, give it the *potential* to fit within the circle of the Word, but it does not do so when standing in the position of the *homo ad quadratum,* since its horizontally outstretched arms do not touch the circumference. This potential is actualized only when the figure is repositioned as the *homo ad circulum,* so that the likeness is restored and it becomes evident what the proper and perfect place of man is within the circle. Allegorically, the likeness is restored to a living soul by an infusion of love, which unites human and divine wills in a "consent of affections."[117] The affective character of this ecstatic union is what differentiates it from the beatific vision, which is effected by the intellect rather than by the will.

last fulfilled: "the ecstasy of contemplation is rewarded with the possessing, but paradoxically not with the understanding in human, rational terms, of the Godhead" ("Drama of Desire, 171). As this provides the solution to the second part of the Pilgrim's problem (see the section on *indovarsi* above), I shall concentrate instead on the union of wills. See also n. 111 above.

[115] Robert Hollander has equated the *whole* Bernard episode (*Par.* 30.90–33.145) to Bernard's fourth *gradus* of loving God, arguing that at this stage the Pilgrim's intellect is perfected and that he finally experiences "his own beatific vision" ("The Invocations of the *Commedia,*" in Hollander's *Studies in Dante,* L'interprete 16 [Ravenna, 1980], 31–38 at 34–35).

[116] Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 127 and 239 n. 178.

[117] Bernard, *Super Cant.* 71.3–4.9–10 (*Opera* 2:220–21); Gilson, *Mystical Theology,* 124–25, cf. n. 175.

Moreover, it is the affective nature of the Bernardine ecstasy, consisting as it does of love, that makes the experience ineffable. That the Pilgrim's final experience is an ineffable one the narrator makes clear by prefacing his description of its effects with this disclaimer: "Here power failed the lofty phantasy" (*A l'alta fantasia qui mancò possa,* 142). The love that has been infused into the Pilgrim's mind surpasses the power of his intellect, we are to understand, because it has not been formed in the normal, natural way through sense perceptions that create the image, or phantasm (*fantasia*) that the intellect requires in order to operate.[118] Thus the Pilgrim could say, as Dante does in the *Convivio,* "my contemplation has transported me to a region where my fantasy has failed my intellect."[119]

Afterwards.

Although the poem ends abruptly with Dante in ecstasy, the reader does not need Bernard's help to extrapolate the sequel, for even if the Dante-*personaggio* had not expressed his intention to write a poem about his journey through the afterworld (*Purg.* 32.103–5, 33.52–54; *Par.* 17.112–42), the reader knows, because he is reading it, that Dante-*poeta* did so. Nevertheless, Bernard expected that the ecstatic experience would be followed "by preaching" (*praedicando*), to induce other souls to seek such a union for themselves.[120] For Bernard, the active and the contemplative life are far from mutually exclusive; instead, both are fruits of the soul's union with the Word, but with an important difference, since the ecstatic person cannot be known as such to others by the fruits of his ecstasy, which are incommunicable, whereas the preacher can. This implies that the *Comedy* can be regarded not only as a likely consequence of the Pilgrim's ecstatic union but also as a token of mystical marriage to the Word, which, according to Bernard, can be known from those fruits that can be shared with others. This is not to claim that the historical Dante Alighieri actually experienced ecstasy, but only that Bernard's view heightens the verisimilitude of the Pilgrim's fictional union of wills.

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[118] On *fantasia* (Lat. *phantasma*) in Aristotelian and Scholastic psychology, see especially Vasoli ad *Conv.* 3.4.9 (333–37); also Michele Rak in *Enciclopedia dantesca* 2:793–94, s.v. "fantasia."

[119] Dante, *Conv.* 3.4.11 (ed. Vasoli, 337; trans. Lansing, 98): "Sì che, se la mia considerazione mi transportava in parte dove la fantasia venia meno a lo 'ntelletto, se io non potea intendere non sono da biasimare."

[120] See n. 73 above.

Bernard has proved a good guide. His mystical theology has provided the key to the *Comedy*'s last enigma, whereby its apparently anticlimactic ending can be read as an ecstatic climax. Specifically, Bernard has taught us to read the final episode as a moral allegory of the soul's temporary, ecstatic reunion with God while in this life. Perhaps the most persuasive feature of this reading is that it links together the otherwise seemingly disparate elements of the finale, so that the solution to Pilgrim's problem comes to him as the restoration of perfect love for God, which is the likeness that he sought. The discovery that love is the link and the likeness is a fitting climax to the great love poem that is the *Comedy,* which begins with frustrated desire for happiness and soon comes to be motivated by love for Beatrice, and which places Virgil's discourse on love at its very center. Moreover, Bernard's conception of ecstasy as a substitute for the beatific vision makes it the appropriate experience for the Pilgrim because he is still a living man, and all the more so because Bernard taught that the pure love experienced in ecstasy would also be evidenced in preaching, which in Dante's case was the composition of the *Comedy.* Finally, if Beatrice, as a consequence of her name, represents something that makes Dante *beatus,* then her work could not be completed until after his death, when he could experience the beatific vision.[121] Consequently, it would be fitting that she should be replaced at the end of Dante-*personaggio*'s pilgrimage by another guide, one whose expertise in contemplation made him the appropriate escort to the ecstatic union that the Pilgrim could attain this life.[122]

These conclusions were in large part anticipated by Étienne Gilson. He was convinced that what the Pilgrim experienced was not the beatific vision but only an "image" of it, namely, "the unitive ecstasy of the Christian mystic."[123] Moreover, he insisted that the experience was not cognitive but affective, and thus pertained to the will rather than the intellect. In 1924, Gilson had identified Bonaventure as Dante's immediate source for his finale, and to a lesser extent, Richard of St. Victor.[124] But when he returned to the subject in 1939, five years after his study of Bernard's mystical theology, he declared that Dante's climactic vision was "born of Cistercian charity" and was based on

[121] On the function of Beatrice, see Richard Kay, "Il giorno della nascita di Dante e la dipartita di Beatrice," in *Studi Americani su Dante,* ed. Gian Carlo Alessio and Robert Hollander (Milan, 1989), 243–65.

[122] Peter Dronke takes Bernard's presence to be the poet's symbolic indication that in the finale he has shifted to "a gnosis that was ecstatic, not Aristotelian" ("The Conclusion of Dante's *Commedia,*" *Italian Studies* 49 [1994]: 21–39 at 23).

[123] Gilson, *Dante and Philosophy* (n. 7 above), 48–49.

[124] Gilson, "La conclusion de la Divine Comédie" (n. 10 above).

"notions of Cistercian, Victorine, or Franciscan origin."[125] Evidently by then he had enlarged his view of the sources for the poem's conclusion, but he did not elaborate, because for the purpose of his polemic against Mandonnet, he needed only to establish the difference between his opponent's narrowly Thomistic view of the experience and his own position, that it was affective. Thus, since the source of Dante's affectivism was irrelevant to the dispute with Mandonnet, Gilson left the question open. He did, however, insist that Bernard must be considered as the Pilgrim's last guide, and specifically as his guide to contemplation.[126] My own contribution has been to take Bernard's *doctrines* concerning ecstatic union as the interpreter's guide to the episode; and even though this is based on an interpretation of Bernard's mystical theology that follows closely in Gilson's footsteps, one cannot be sure whether Gilson in his own reading of the poem's conclusion would have privileged Bernard over Bonaventure and Richard of St. Victor, as I have done.

We have now accomplished our set task, but it was a limited one and consequently more work remains to be done. If, as I have assumed, Bernard's role as guide constitutes an intertextual reference to his works, then my thesis may perhaps be confirmed by showing that the rest of the Bernard episode is likewise based on his doctrines. Here it is enough to point out the need for such an investigation, which, as it promises to be a long and arduous undertaking, demands treatment separately and at length. Even without such confirmation, however, it should be clear from this study that Bernard's mystical theology does provide a coherent explanation of the Pilgrim's final problem and its resolution, and moreover one that is privileged above all others in heaven by Bernard's status as "the living charity of him who, in this world, in contemplation tasted of that peace" (*Par.* 31.109–11).

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[125] Gilson, *Dante and Philosophy,* 48–49.
[126] Ibid., 235–37.

PASSION DEVOTION, PENITENTIAL READING, AND THE MANUSCRIPT PAGE: "THE HOURS OF THE CROSS" IN LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY ADDITIONAL 37049*

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BY the late Middle Ages, there was a remarkable amount of interest in the details of the torture, suffering, and violence of the Crucifixion, as well as in all of the events leading up to Christ's death on the Cross. Passion imagery was virtually everywhere in England—in prayers, sermons, lyrics, devotional treatises, mystery plays, stained glass, sculpture, and manuscript illumination.[1] Innovations in literature and art—even new genres—grew out of this focus, and new ideas and iconography flourished.[2] One of the most significant by-products of this emphasis was the proliferation of Latin and vernacular Passion meditations that encouraged readers to visualize scenes from Christ's life and death as if they were eyewitnesses.

This meditational technique was often referred to as "active remembering"[3]

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[1] See Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968); Douglas Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval Religious Lyric* (London and Boston, 1972); J. A. W. Bennett, *Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twelve Centuries of English Verse* (Oxford, 1982); Thomas H. Bestul, *Texts of the Passion: Latin Devotional Literature and Medieval Society* (Philadelphia, 1996); and Vincent Gillespie, "Strange Images of Death: The Passion in Later Medieval English Devotional and Mystical Writing," *Analecta Cartusiana* 117.3 (1987): 111–59.

[2] For the European context, see James H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance* (Kortrijk, 1979); and Anne Derbes, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy: Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant* (Cambridge, 1996).

[3] Ellen M. Ross, *The Grief of God: Images of the Suffering Jesus in Late Medieval England* (New York and Oxford, 1997), 36.

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or "composition of place"[4] and had its roots in antiquity and the rhetorical tradition.[5] In the Middle Ages, this method was put to pious Christian use and became a mainstay of a meditative tradition that is represented in a rich and diverse array of texts. Much of this literature was influenced by books such as the *Meditationes vitae Christi,* now believed to have been written between 1346 and 1364 by the Franciscan Johannes de Caulibus.[6] The *Meditationes* was a composite of the accounts of the life and death of Christ as told in the four gospels transformed into one continuous narrative. It made Christ's human life more vivid and introduced a certain amount of fictive, non-biblical material. This widely read text was rendered into Middle English as the *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* by the Carthusian prior of Mount Grace, Nicholas Love, whose translation proved equally influential.[7] The *Meditationes* and its derivatives popularized this highly affective form of meditation, which had its roots in monastic praxis and Anselmian meditation, and extended it to women religious and the laity.[8]

An important aspect of this method of vividly imagining the Passion was its visual acuity. Readers were encouraged to visualize themselves as part of the original cloud of witnesses at the Crucifixion. This meditative technique has

[4] Bestul, *Texts of the Passion,* 37. Also see Rita Copeland, "The Middle English 'Candet nudatum pectus' and Norms of Early Vernacular Translation Practice," *Leeds Studies in English,* n.s., 15 (1984): 73–76.

[5] Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966), 2; cf. Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 71.

[6] Johannes de Caulibus, *Meditaciones vitae Christi,* ed. M. Stallings-Taney, CCCM 153 (Turnhout, 1997). A translation of a late medieval Italian version of the text appeared as Ps.-Bonaventure, *Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. ital. 115,* ed. and trans. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green (Princeton, 1961). The *Meditationes* is a biography of Christ told in chronological order, from his infancy and public life through his Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension; it narrates his life in evocative, dramatic, and experiential terms. See the interesting discussion of this text in Hans Belting, *The Image and Its Public in the Middle Ages,* trans. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer (New York, 1990), 165.

[7] Michael G. Sargent, ed., *Nicholas Love's "Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ": A Critical Edition Based on Cambridge University Library Additional MSS 6578 and 6686* (New York and London, 1992). See also the pioneering study by Elizabeth Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ,"* Analecta Cartusiana 10 (Salzburg, 1974). A recent discussion of the publication of Love's *Mirror* appears in Nicholas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," *Speculum* 70 (1995): 852–56.

[8] For an excellent history of women as readers and writers of Passion texts, see Alexandra Barratt, "*Stabant matres dolorosae:* Women as Readers and Writers of Passion Prayers, Meditations and Visions," in *The Broken Body: Passion Devotion in Late-Medieval Culture,* ed. A. A. MacDonald et al. (Groningen, 1998), 55–71. See also Thomas H. Bestul, "Antecedents: The Anselmian and Cistercian Contributions," in *Mysticism and Spirituality in Medieval England,* ed. William F. Pollard and Robert Boenig (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997), 1–20.

been called "the practice of the devotional present,"[9] and it involved a kind of highly focused "biblical day-dreaming."[10] For example, some texts instruct readers to imagine that they were physically present at the Last Supper, seated alongside Christ and his disciples.[11] Other texts ask readers to take their place alongside Jesus on the road to Calvary or with him as nails fasten him to the Cross.[12] Many suggest standing with Mary and John while he is crucified. Some urge the reader to kneel beside Christ on Mount Olivet, to lie prostrate beside him on the ground, to kiss his hands and feet, to take Christ's blows, to exchange places with him, or even "to remain with him all night as he stands bound to the pillar."[13]

These Passion meditations appealed to people's need to be led into scriptural events in a personalized, individual way. Texts such as this sought an amazingly direct contact with their audience. They were designed to arouse compassion in their readers and also to make the biblical past fresh, immediate, and alive. They gave readers a graphic, vigorous sense of the literal, his-

[9] See J. T. Rhodes, "Syon Abbey and its Religious Publications in the Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44 (1993): 23; and Bestul, *Texts of the Passion,* 40–43.

[10] The phrase is from Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "A *Liber Precum* in Sélestat and the Development of the Illustrated Prayerbook in Germany," *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991): 232. On mentally picturing the Passion, see also idem, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), 101–36; and Chiara Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions, and Icongraphy," trans. Margery J. Schneider, in *Women and Religion in Medieval and Renaissance Italy,* ed. Daniel Bornstein and Roberto Rusconi (Chicago, 1996), 130–64.

[11] A typical directive appears in *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum: Two English Versions,* ed. John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, EETS, OS 287 (London, 1984), 19–20: "Wilt thou se moor? Go forthe in-to the pharisees hous and se hou thy lorde is sette atte mete. . . . Herkne now, herkne, herist thow not what oure Lorde saith to his Fader for his disciples? . . . Bowe down thyn heed, that thou be oon of thoo." For the full original Latin text, see Aelred de Rievaulx, *La Vie de Recluse, La Prière Pastorale,* ed. and trans. Charles Dumont, Sources Chrétiennes 76 (Paris, 1961), 42–166.

[12] Ps.-Bonaventure, *Meditations,* ed. Green and Ragusa, 333: "With your mind's eye, see some thrusting the cross into the earth, others equipped with nails and hammers, others with the ladder and other instruments, others giving orders about what should be done, and others stripping him." Marrow, *Passion Iconography,* 12, also discusses some of the earliest Latin texts to advocate these practices.

[13] Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour,"* 156; and Bestul, *Texts of the Passion,* 55. Several of these performative, experiential directives appear in a Middle English text edited by Francis Wormald, "The Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters: A Fifteenth-Century Meditation," *Laudate* 14 (1936): 165–82, esp. 174–77. *The Book of Margery Kempe* contains numerous examples of this type of mental imaging. See the vivid essay by Denis Renevey, who contextualizes Kempe's devotional performances, especially the highly dramatic reenactments of the life of Christ that earned her the hostility of an uncomprehending public: "Margery's Performing Body: The Translation of Late Medieval Discursive Religious Practices," in *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England,* ed. Denis Renevey and Christiania Whitehead (Toronto, 2000), 197–216.

torical reality of Christ's Passion—and the potential to experience these events as if in their full effulgence. By encouraging this kind of pilgrimage of the mind and spirit, these Passion meditations allowed readers to add a high degree of imaginative fervor to their devotions, compelling a startling amount of mimesis, enactment, and visualization.[14]

This article will focus on a Passion meditation that adapts and extends this tradition of mental imaging. It appears in one of the major manuscript sources for Middle English Passion lyrics: London, British Library Additional 37049, a devotional miscellany produced by Carthusian monks in northern England (probably at Axholme or Beauvale charterhouse), ca. 1460–1470.[15] This image-saturated manuscript is known for its unusual combinations of text and image; it provides a wealth of examples of some of the intimate and complex relationships between private reading, visual culture, and spirituality that were dominant during the period.[16]

[14] For example, see Wormald, "The Revelation of the Hundred Pater Nosters," 165–82. One of the best discussions of this meditative process is Andrew Taylor, "Into His Secret Chamber: Reading and Privacy in Late Medieval England," in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England,* ed. James Raven et al. (Cambridge, 1996), 46: "Readers who followed such injunctions would meticulously visualize familiar places, people them with those they knew, and then return to these places again and again as participants in what might now be thought of as an almost cinematographic mental drama." On other "visualizing memory techniques," see Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London, 1984), 120.

[15] The bibliography on this manuscript is extensive. For a description of the manuscript and its contents, see *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1900–1905,* ed. Falconer Madan et al. (London, 1907), 324–32. The texts are profusely illustrated with 145 color drawings that strikingly parallel the texts they accompany. The illustrations have been reproduced in *An Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Miscellany: London, British Library Additional MS. 37049,* vol. 3: *The Illustrations,* ed. James Hogg, Analecta Cartusiana 95 (Salzburg, 1981). On provenance, see A. I. Doyle, "English Carthusian Books Not Yet Linked with a Charterhouse," in *"A Miracle of Learning": Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan,* ed. Toby Barnard et al. (Aldershot, 1998), 122–36; and Kathleen L. Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490,* 2 vols., Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles 6 (London, 1996), 2:193. For information on the Carthusian order in England, see E. Margaret Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London, 1930). Many of this manuscript's Passion texts and images are discussed in Woolf, *English Religious Lyric;* Gray, *Themes and Images,* passim; and Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, "Morbid Devotions: Reading the Passion of Christ in a Late-Medieval Miscellany, London, British Library, MS Additional 37049" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2001).

[16] See, for example, Thomas W. Ross, "Five Fifteenth-Century 'Emblem' Verses from Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 37049," *Speculum* 32 (1957): 274–82; Francis Wormald, "Some Popular Miniatures and Their Rich Relations," in *Miscellanea Pro Arte. Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres am 13. Januar 1965,* ed. Francesco Ehrle (Düsseldorf, 1965), 279–85; Karl Josef Höltgen, "*Arbor, Scala,* und *Fons vitae:* Vorformen devotionaler Embleme in einer mittelenglischen Handschrift (B. M. Add. 37049)," in *Chaucer und Seine Zeit: Sym-*

Additional 37049 demonstrates a marked emphasis on the practice of the "devotional present" and contains several drawings in which Carthusian monks are depicted as first-hand witnesses to the Passion, kneeling beside Mary and John (see plate 1a, fol. 36v; plate 1b, fol. 45r).[17] The monks in these illustrations are the same figures who copied, illustrated, compiled, and read this manuscript. In these images, they encountered portraits of themselves as spectators of the Passion. In this way, they removed the barriers of place and time that separated them from the historical reality of the Crucifixion.

The text I focus on is a rhyming lyric known in the *Index of Middle English Verse* as "The Hours of the Cross" (see Appendix).[18] This type of Middle English poem was not uncommon, and several other "Hours of the Cross" lyrics survive, with at least two separate versions from the fourteenth century and two from the fifteenth.[19] These poems are related to the Latin liturgical text of the Hours of the Cross, a paraliturgical office of seven hours found in books of hours; often these poems are translations of the Latin hymn in the Hours of the Cross, and at others they are independent versions that merely share the hymn's liturgical patterning.[20] Yet, neither the liturgical texts, their

posion für Walter F. Schirmer, ed. Arno Esch (Tübingen, 1968), 355–91; Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists*, 109, 123; and Marlene Villalobos Hennessy, "The Remains of the Royal Dead in an English Carthusian Manuscript, London, British Library MS Additional 37049," *Viator* 33 (2002): 310–54.

[17] Other illustrations that depict Carthusian monks in the presence of Christ appear on fols. 24r (with Christ showing his wounds); 29v (with Virgin and child); 43v (with Christ in his glory); 62v (with Man of Sorrows); 67v and 91r (with Christ crucified).

[18] Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* [*IMEV*] (New York, 1943), nos. 2075 and 3251.

[19] The other lyrics, however, do not contain the text discussed here. The fifteenth-century lyrics are printed in Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1939), 136–38 (Cambridge University Library Ee.1.12) and 138–40 (London, British Library Arundel 285). Those from the fourteenth century are in idem, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1952), 50–51 (Oxford, Bodleian Library Misc. Liturg. 104) and 69–70 (Edinburgh, National Library Advocates 18.7.21), with discussion and further references on 257. John Audelay (fl. 1426) also wrote a macaronic "Hours of the Cross" poem; see *The Poems of John Audelay*, ed. E. K. Whiting, EETS, OS 184 (Oxford, 1931), 101–4.

[20] The text of the Latin *Horae de sancta cruce* is in *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons, EETS, OS 71 (London, 1879; rpt. 1968), 83, 85, 87 with commentary on 346–52. See also Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York, 1988), 162, with discussion on 89–93. There is also an English version of the liturgical Hours of the Cross printed in *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. Simmons, 82, 84, 86. I use quotation marks ("Hours of the Cross") to distinguish the various Middle English lyrics that use the liturgical hours as a framework from the Hours of the Cross found in books of hours. Many of the "Hours of the Cross" lyrics are translations of an anonymous, fourteenth-century Latin hymn known as the "Patris sapientia" with individual stanzas assigned to the canonical hours; this hymn was part of the liturgical Hours of the Cross. Translations of this hymn often

translations, nor the other "Hours of the Cross" poems in the *IMEV* matches that of Additional 37049, whose text is particularly interesting, not least because it appears to have been the only Middle English poem of this type that was also illustrated with an abbreviated Passion pictorial cycle (see plate 2, fol. 68v). Moreover, this is the only "Hours of the Cross" poem to incorporate affective and penitential strategies that appeal to the reader's five senses.

This text-image combination is a consummate example of the technique of serial meditation: methodical, daily meditative devotion according to the canonical hours.[21] This paraliturgical practice can be traced back to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, was actively promoted by the Franciscans in the thirteenth century, and became popular among all the religious orders, and eventually among laypersons.[22] Serial meditation was an outgrowth of the increasing need for religious instruction and the "desire for a more structured and elaborate prayer-life" felt by women religious and the laity.[23] The spread of private, semi-liturgical devotions was stimulated by new developments in extra-monastic religious life, especially anchoritic life.[24] Serial meditations

became part of English prymers, which were a huge best-seller. See Alexandra Barratt, "The Prymer and its Influence on Fifteenth-Century Passion Lyrics," *Medium Ævum* 44 (1975): 264–79, esp. 272–75. See also Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 235.

[21] See Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, 9–12. One of the first texts to encourage serial meditation upon Christ's life and Passion is an anonymous twelfth-century text known as Meditatio XII of the *Liber meditationum et orationum*. Yet an earlier text written in 1080 conveys the same idea: the *Liber confortatorius* by Goscelin of Canterbury, a Flemish monk who emigrated to England. See André Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du moyen âge latin* (Paris, 1932), 195; the text is in PL 158:709–820. Another important early text that advocates serial meditation is the anonymous *De meditatione passionis Christi per septem diei horas libellus* in PL 94:561–65. See also Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour,"* 156; and Bestul, *Texts of the Passion*, passim.

[22] Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour,"* 138 ff. See also Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, 191.

[23] The phrase is from Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–1580* (New Haven, 1992), 62; cf. Marion Glasscoe, "Time of Passion: Latent Relationships between Liturgy and Meditation in two Middle English Mystics," in *Langland, the Mystics, and the Medieval Religious Tradition: Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey*, ed. Helen Phillips (Cambridge, 1990), 142–43. Observing the canonical hours or tailoring one's meditative reading to this pattern allowed the spiritually ambitious to actively pursue a mixed life outside of the cloister. There is evidence that many laypersons observed the liturgical hours in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England. See Hilary M. Carey, "Devout Literate Laypeople and the Pursuit of the Mixed Life in Later Medieval England," *The Journal of Religious History* 14 (1986–87): 361–81; and William Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 398–422.

[24] See Bella Millett, "*Ancrene Wisse* and the Book of Hours," in *Writing Religious Women*, ed. Renevey and Whitehead, 21–40. Millett offers a persuasive account of the influence of the female anchoritic audience on the history and development of the book of hours. It has often been thought that the book of hours made its way into the hands of the laity via the secular

grew in number as the Middle Ages progressed and were used both inside and outside the monastery, eventually making their way into the vernacular, as this one did here.

Dozens of Middle English devotional texts and poems used the liturgy as an organizing principle and were meant to be read serially, including the *Mirror of St. Edmund,*[25] the *Speculum devotorum,*[26] and Richard Rolle's *Meditations on the Passion.*[27] Nicholas Love's *Mirror* followed the organization of the Latin *Meditationes,* according to the primer pattern of the liturgical hours.[28] The *Privité of the Passion,* which was a free translation of the Passion section of the *Meditationes vitae Christi,* similarly advocated this practice.[29]

One of the aims of serial meditation was for the reader to grasp the full temporal space of the Crucifixion. For example, *Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei,* which contains textual borrowings from a wide range of Latin and vernacular devotional texts, repeatedly exhorts the reader to "thynke" on the individual events of the Passion experientially and systematically: "Now opone þi hert with sighynge sore to thynk of þose paynes þat Criste tholed, and sett þaim in þi saule be ordire als he þaim feled."[30] This tradition of liturgical patterning

clergy, but Millett shows how women religious played an important, intermediary role in this trajectory.

[25] See Carl Horstmann, ed., *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole,* 2 vols. (London, 1895–96), 1:254–58; reprinted with a new introduction by Anne Clark Bartlett (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999). This thirteenth-century text was originally written in Latin and Anglo-French and later translated into Middle English. For a study of this text, see Mary Philomena, "St. Edmund of Abingdon's Meditations before the Canonical Hours," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 78 (1964): 33–57; see also Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour,"* 146.

[26] *The Speculum Devotorum of an Anonymous Carthusian of Sheen, edited from the Manuscripts Cambridge University Library Gg.I.6 and Foyle,* part 2, ed. James Hogg, Analecta Cartusiana 12–13 (Salzburg, 1973–74).

[27] Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* 1:83–103; *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole,* ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford, 1931), 19–36; and *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse,* ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thomson, EETS, OS 293 (Oxford, 1988), 64–83.

[28] Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 85–98. Also see idem, "Bonaventura English: A Survey of the Middle English Prose Translations of Early Franciscan Literature," *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache,* vol. 2, Analecta Cartusiana 106.2 (Salzburg, 1984), 156.

[29] The text is edited in Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers* 1:198–218. This is one of seven Middle English adaptations of the Latin *Meditationes.* See the introduction to this text by Denise N. Baker in *Cultures of Piety: Medieval English Devotional Literature in Translation,* ed. Anne Clark Bartlett and Thomas Bestul (Ithaca, 1999), 85–90. Other works organized according to the canonical hours include the *Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord, and the Hours of the Passion, Translated into English by Robert Manning of Brunne,* ed. J. Meadows Cowper, EETS, OS 60 (London, 1875), 1–24; and Julian of Norwich's *Showings.* On these and related texts, see Glasscoe, "Time of Passion," 150, 158–60.

[30] Cited in Mary Luke Arntz, *Richard Rolle and Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei: An Edition with Commentary,* Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 92.2 (Salzburg, 1981), 85.

extended well into the sixteenth century and can be seen in works such as William Bonde's *Pilgrymage of Perfeccyon* (1526) and in the *Seven Shedynges of the Blode of Jhesu Cryste* (1500), among others.[31]

In this folio from Additional 37049, the technique of serial meditation is visually and schematically represented to great effect. The entire story of the Passion, the cornerstone of the Christian faith, appears distilled here on a single page. At first glance, this page seems crudely drawn, poorly executed, and cartoon-like; one would assign it to the category of a utility-grade production.[32] The temptation is to view an illustrated text like this one as purposefully simple, perhaps designed for a semi-literate audience or one newly entered into the monastic life. Several scholars, in fact, have stated their view that the manuscript containing this page (Additional 37049) was made for the use of Carthusian novices or laybrothers.[33] I will argue that what we have here is deceptively rudimentary—and is, moreover, the product of a learned and highly complex habit of reading.

Although this folio is remarkable for the economy of its idea and form, the several components that make up its devotional architecture are quite elaborate. As it guides and structures the reader's devotional experience, it moves him or her through a set of responses to the Passion, which are by turns liturgical, sensory, emotive, and penitential. The meditation alternates between different registers of vision and sound, lyric and narrative, the corporeal and the immaterial. In this intersection of manuscript art and religious lyric, we can see several different aspects of Passion devotion in late medieval England: on the one hand, the dynamism of the liturgy, and on the other, a soma-

[31] See Rhodes, "Syon Abbey," 22–23.

[32] For an excellent example of a utility-grade manuscript, see Derek Pearsall and Kathleen Scott, eds., *Piers Plowman: A Facsimile of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 104* (Cambridge, 1992); and now the suggestive new study, Kathryn Kerby-Fulton and Denise L. Despres, *Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman* (Minneapolis, 1999). For roughly contemporary visual evidence of a similar kind (German vernacular Passion prayers illustrated in a "comic-strip progression"), see the important essay by R. N. Swanson, "Passion and Practice: The Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Late Middle Ages," in *Broken Body,* ed. MacDonald et al., 3–4.

[33] This is suggested in Derek Pearsall, *Old and Middle English Poetry* (London, 1977), 138–39; John W. Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry: A Critical Anthology* (East Lansing, 1991); and Anne McGovern-Mouron, "An Edition of the *Desert of Religion* and Its Theological Background" (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford 1996), 29–36. Ian Doyle, however, has documented the large number of vernacular works owned by English charterhouses and warns against the assumption that because a Carthusian manuscript was written in the vernacular, it must have been intended for laybrothers: "In some continental houses texts in the vernaculars were provided specifically for the lay brothers, but there is no evidence of that in England" (from Vincent Gillespie and A. I. Doyle, eds., *Syon Abbey, with the Libraries of the Carthusians,* Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 9 [London, 2001], 610).

tic and penitential emphasis on the five senses; and also habits of reading that employ the faculties of the imagination, memory, and will. After describing the various elements of the reading process depicted here, I will argue that two of the dominant forces at work here are educated memory and ethical reading. Thus my purpose is twofold: I hope to illustrate how a late medieval English (Carthusian) reader might have approached such a page and to suggest why this folio might have been produced in the first place.

The circumstances of this page's production are an important facet of my investigation. Late medieval books made largely by their own users are a significant category, especially in devotional contexts. Because this folio was originally a composition for the personal use of the scribe-artist, a reader-produced page, we have a more intimate and concrete record of the reading process than if it were produced by a professional scribe.[34]

THE *SPECULUM THEOLOGIE* AND THE ART OF MEMORY

This folio is actually what is known as a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion. These tables are typically a part of the *Speculum theologie,*[35] a collection of Latin diagrams and texts that is thought to have been compiled by a Franciscan disciple of St. Bonaventure known as Johannes Metensis (John of Metz), who preached in Paris in the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[36] Perhaps because there are no published studies on this folio or because these tables are usually found in Latin manuscripts, this specific identification has not been noted by previous scholars.[37] Of the thirty-nine known

[34] The most extensive analysis along these lines is Eric H. Reiter, "The Reader as Author of the User-Produced Manuscript: Reading and Rewriting Popular Latin Theology in the Late Middle Ages," *Viator* 27 (1996): 153.

[35] The best study to date of this textual tradition is Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Psalter of Robert de Lisle at the British Library* (London, 1983; revised ed. 2000); an important earlier study is F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5 (1942): 82–139.

[36] See Sandler, *Psalter of Robert de Lisle* (1983), 103 n. 52; and see the recent discussion (with translation of text and bibliography): idem, "John of Metz, *The Tower of Wisdom,*" in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures,* ed. Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia, 2002), 215–25. Sandler's designation of Metz as sole author of the whole group of diagrams has been challenged in Carol Lynn Ransom, "Cultivating the Orchard: A Franciscan Program of Devotion and Penance in the Verger de Soulas (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale fr. 9220)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 2001), 99–104: "A closer examination of the manuscripts reveals contrary evidence to suggest that, rather than being the product of directing mind, each copy of the *Speculum theologie* was an independent production, designed for the needs of specific readers," 70. I would like to thank Dr. Ransom for sharing her work with me.

[37] Rosemary Woolf, however, was the first to allude to this connection: "It is presented as

manuscripts of the *Speculum theologie,* twenty-seven contain a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion like the one found in Additional 37049; examples date from ca. 1300 through the end of the fifteenth century.[38] Yet the number of *Speculum theologie* manuscripts seems to be growing steadily, as new manuscript catalogue entries are updated.[39]

In the diagram-like page of Additional 37049, the seven Acts of the Passion (the Betrayal, the Flagellation, Christ bearing the Cross, the Crucifixion, Christ giving up the spirit, the Deposition, and the Entombment) are matched with the seven hours (Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Evensong [Vespers], and Compline—labeled in the left column) and the seven gifts of remembrance (the five senses—hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch—plus consent and free will, which are ethical qualities—labeled in the right side of each unit).[40] Each Act of the Passion is aligned with the canonical hour at which it was thought to have occurred in Christ's own life. Drawings of the Passion appear in the central column of the page, subdividing each outlined unit of text into two related parts.

As noted, the page contains a column for what are known as the gifts of remembrance. Discussing the Latin tradition of these diagrams, Lucy Freeman Sandler observes that each gift "describes a state of feeling associated with that particular stage of the Passion."[41] The senses are "organs with which to perceive" the events of the Passion—vehicles to engage the reader's emotions that animate their experience and memory of the Passion.[42] Like the liturgical

part of a tree. . . . The whole design is a late version of a form of tree that was much copied in the late thirteenth century and appended with other trees and tables to Bonaventura's *Lignum vitae.* . . . It is to be found in quite a number of learned English manuscripts, including the De Lisle Psalter"; from Woolf, *English Religious Lyric,* 223 and n. 4. The full implications of Woolf's observation have never been explored and she does not specifically identify this page as a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion.

[38] Sandler, *Psalter of Robert de Lisle* (1983), 103 n. 51 and Appendix III, "Handlist of Manuscripts Containing the *Speculum theologie*" (2000), 107–15.

[39] I recently discovered an unrecorded manuscript of this type in the microfilm archives of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 12465, a fifteenth-century German manuscript (see plate 3, fol. 78r, for its Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion); Hill Monastic Manuscript Library Microfilm no. 19,968. Fols. 73r–78r contain a total of eleven *Speculum theologie* diagrams including the Tree of Paradise, the Tree of Wisdom, the Tree of Virtues, and the Tree of Vices, Conflicts between the Virtues and Vices, two six-winged cherubs, a diagram of the Apostles and their authorities, a Table of the Ten Commandments, and one of the eight Beatitudes. See *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum,* ed. Academia Caesarea Vindobonensis (rpt. Graz, 1965), 7–8:100.

[40] The designation "gifts of remembrance" reflects its original appearance in related Latin manuscripts as the Latin words "dona recordationis."

[41] Sandler, *Psalter of Robert de Lisle* (2000), 26.

[42] Saxl, "Spiritual Encyclopaedia," 108–9.

hours, the senses are an organizing principle for the meditation, but as noted above, they do not appear elsewhere in "Hours of the Cross" poems or in related liturgical texts. As an integral component of this "meditation machine," the senses serve as penitential foci and as agents for *imitatio Christi.* The ethical qualities of consent and free will that follow are the gifts that assist the reader's own moral formation and conduct. The implication is that the reader will use consent and then free will to make the decision to follow Christ. As Christ says in a related Latin poem, "Man, make a judgement on my behalf as I have made on yours."[43] Thus in a devotional exercise such as this, reading the Passion of Christ has a prominent ethical value and was intended to shape human behavior in an active, dynamic way.

The Psalter of Robert de Lisle contains a similar table on fol. 131r,[44] one of a series of thirteen moral, devotional, and theological diagrams in a book widely considered one of the great monuments of fourteenth-century English illumination.[45] While the text here appears to be finished, it lacks the color or gilding of the other pages and was probably intended to be illustrated.[46] Most of the *Speculum theologie* manuscripts do not illustrate Passion events in the central column of the pages; although sometimes the diagram takes the form of a tree.[47] These didactic diagrams provide condensed summaries of moral and theological doctrine—the visual equivalent of *distinctiones*—that tend to demonstrate connections between Christ's life and our own.

[43] "Arbitrium pro me velut egi fac homo pro te." This is the last line of the Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion usually given in Latin texts of the *Speculum theologie.*

[44] London, British Library Arundel 83 II, a manuscript that contains a calendar and miniatures for a Psalter, written in England, ca. 1308–1339. See Sandler, *Psalter of Robert de Lisle* (1983), 62–63, plate 15; for the Latin text that appears in the De Lisle Psalter's Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion (a good representative of the tradition), see ibid., "Appendix II: Transcription of Inscriptions on Diagrammatic Miniatures," 131.

[45] Ibid., 11–13. The De Lisle Psalter's diagram was executed by the first of several artists who worked on the manuscript; he is known as the "Madonna Master."

[46] Ibid., 13 and see also 64.

[47] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France fr. 9220, an early fourteenth-century French manuscript often referred to as the *Verger de Soulas,* is, to the best of my knowledge, the only other *Speculum theologie* manuscript that contains a fully illustrated Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion (on fol. 15v). On this manuscript, see Lynn Ransom, "Innovation and Identity: A Franciscan Program of Illumination in the *Verger de soulas* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France Ms. fr. 9220)," in *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art,* ed. Colum Hourihane (Princeton, 2002), 85–105, and "The *Speculum theologie* and its Readership," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 93.4 (1999): 461–83. Several of the *Speculum theologie* manuscripts of French provenance (including this one) are discussed in Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Les Images Classificatrices," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres* 147 (1989): 311–41.

Other tables and diagrams took the form of trees, wheels, circles, human figures, columnar tables, and architectural structures. These usually included Trees of Vices and Virtues, the Wings of the Cherub, the Tower of Wisdom, and the Tree of Life. When compared to the elegantly produced Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion in the De Lisle Psalter, fol. 68v of Additional 37049 appears to be utility-grade in the extreme. Nevertheless, it was no less important for its readers as an *aide mémoire*. The rather crude or "workmanlike" appearance of this folio can be linked to the practices of *memoria*.[48]

The rubric at the top of the page reads "a deuowte meditacion of þe passione of Ihesu Criste after þe seuen howres of þe day ordand in hoy kyrke, how a man sal remebyr þaim." This heading signals that the text's function is largely mnemonic. In fact, the layout and design very strongly accord with the broader tradition of medieval mnemotechnique so richly detailed by Mary Carruthers.[49]

This folio has a "memorial layout"; the *ordinatio* of the page, its "visual grammar," demonstrates that the Passion is being treated here as an art of memory—in several different ways.[50] First, the text-block outlines form a clarifying frame for each textual and pictorial unit. Second, the story of the Passion is divided up into small, manageable units that can be strung together in bits, memorially digested, and then gradually built into a larger sequence of texts in the reader's mind.[51] Third, the biblical materials are presented in a brief, condensed form, both verbally and visually, a format which would have eased and facilitated memorization (aided here by the text's rhyming format).

Another aspect of the layout that reveals its mnemonic use and its origin is the chain-like quality of the central images. Carruthers uses the Latin term *catena* to describe similar images of interlocking chains of flowers, shells, or pearls woven around the borders of late medieval texts to symbolize their roots in *memoria*.[52] The general appearance of this page suggests that the scribe-artist may have drawn this chain of images from his own memory; furthermore, the utility-grade quality of the drawings and the lack of ruling

[48] For a concise description of the form and content of these diagrams, see Sandler, "John of Metz," 215 and 221, where she notes, "Consequently the collection [the *Speculum theologie*] is usually bound with other material, sometimes itself miscellaneous or composite, and often 'workmanlike' in form, devoid of decoration and showing evidence of heavy use."

[49] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge, 1998).

[50] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 224; the terms "*ordinatio*" and "visual grammar" are from the seminal essay by M. B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature*, ed. Alexander and Gibson, 115–41.

[51] Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 79.

[52] Ibid., 255–56.

indicate that he probably did not have a model in front of him and was making this for his private use. The scribe-artist's own recollective process is reflected in this chain or cluster of images; he would have been following standard advice from ancient and medieval arts of memory that stressed the importance of making and depicting one's own memorial images.[53]

In his methods of production the scribe-artist has conformed to what I would call *the ethics of the manuscript page.* In other words, the scribe-artist's procedures here mirror the devotional and ethical behavior advocated by the "Hours of the Cross." Making the page is a spiritual exercise and a necessary corollary to the moral thought and action the text is trying to stimulate. If we expand the definition of ethics given by John Dagenais that "'Ethics' means simply 'what people do'"[54] to include what they do when they read and what they do with what they read, then what the scribe-artist did here links ethics to both memory and behavior.

This page is probably the memorial reconstruction of a *Speculum theologie* diagram that the scribe-artist read, viewed, or had access to at some point. Although it remains unclear at what specific remove this table remains from a Latin ancestor, there is a strong possibility that both text and image are a kind of vernacular *compositio* based on a Latin model. The scribe-artist may have been quite liberal with his exemplar. Rewriting was a relatively common occurrence with popular Latin theological writings, especially works of penance and pastoral care, and Lynn Ransom has shown that the texts of the *Speculum theologie* diagrams sometimes demonstrate considerable versatility and variation.[55] Eric Reiter has proposed that: "a different model of textuality was at work in the later Middle Ages, at least among certain groups of readers."[56] Many texts circulated as "scribal semi-translation," which often ensured their transmission.[57] Because the poetic text of the "Hours of the Cross" does not match that found in the *Speculum theologie* tradition, this should be considered an independent version that expands and opens up the text. Furthermore, identification of this page as a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion provides historical evidence for the continuity of a particular kind of devotional exercise and a tradition of diagrammatic meditation that began in the late thirteenth century, spread across Europe, and was rendered into Middle English two centuries later in a Carthusian miscellany.

[53] Yates, *Art of Memory,* 108–109.

[54] John Dagenais, *The Ethics of Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the "Libro de buen amor"* (Princeton, 1994), 29.

[55] Reiter, "Reader as Author," 163; Ransom, "Cultivating the Orchard," 65–70.

[56] Reiter, "Reader as Author," 164.

[57] See *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory, 1280–1520,* ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (University Park, Md., 1999), 11 n.7.

In their pioneering works on the English religious lyric, Rosemary Woolf and Douglas Gray emphasized the influence of the Latin poetic tradition on Middle English lyric,[58] but here we are able to see the movement from Latin to vernacular in a particularly vivid way, blurring distinctions along "the Latin-vernacular divide."[59] Moreover, the rough, unpolished quality of this page actually has a great deal in common with the often-disparaged vernacular. To some extent, this is one of the main reasons that previous scholars have associated this manuscript with (presumably unlettered) laybrothers, who might have been a natural audience for a manuscript like this, but there is no reason for us to make that assumption. Scholars such as Vincent Gillespie have shown that the vernacular was used quite liberally in monastic contexts, and the Carthusian order in England possessed large numbers of pastoral and catechetic materials;[60] they also played a prominent role in the copying and dissemination of vernacular religious literature—a textual tradition that has been recently called "literary monasticism for the lay reader."[61] From this vantage point, the "Hours of the Cross" can be seen as an example of vernacular textual production in late medieval England that is both monastic and extra-monastic. On the one hand, it is part of the larger upsurge of translations of learned, Latin material (a project the English Carthusians were intimately involved in), and on the other, it is a vivid example of the kind of theologizing in the vernacular that could lead to a more widespread "democratizing of the spiritual life."[62]

Liturgical Resonances and Sensory Devotion

Liturgical contexts are especially relevant for understanding the production of this manuscript page. Although the central space of the page is crowded with seven small scenes that tend to touch one another very closely, the

[58] Woolf, *English Religious Lyric;* Gray, *Themes and Images.*

[59] *Idea of the Vernacular,* ed. Wogan-Browne et al., 3. See also Christopher Baswell, "Latinitas," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature,* ed. David Wallace (Cambridge, 1999), 122–51.

[60] Vincent Gillespie, "*Lukynge in haly bukes: Lectio* in Some Late Medieval Spiritual Miscellanies," in *Spätmittelalterliche geistliche Literatur in der Nationalsprache* 2:23, and "*Cura Pastoralis in Deserto,*" in *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England,* ed. Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge, 1989), 161–82. Cf. the remarks of Christopher Cannon, who documents "the multilinguality inherent in the structures of British monasteries," from "Monastic Productions," in *Cambridge History,* ed. Wallace, 328.

[61] The phrase has been coined by Nicole R. Rice, and it will be the subject of her forthcoming study, *Book to a Mother: Imitatio Christi, Imitatio Clerici.*

[62] Nicholas Watson, "The Middle English Mystics," in *Cambridge History,* ed. Wallace, 550.

reader's eye moves slowly through the space, pausing after the fifth tableau of Christ giving up the spirit, taking even more time at the Deposition, and pausing further at the Entombment (a process which is mirrored in the even lengthier companion text). Each individual composition commands a certain degree of attention, even the crowded early ones.

Clearly these were texts and images that were meant to be read slowly, over and over again, so that one could fully absorb the text and the experience it intends to affect. One is reminded of the characteristic slowness of the Carthusian liturgy; their office reportedly was sung more slowly, loudly, and with greater fervor than those of other orders.[63] The layout and internal structure of this page implies that one builds a Passion meditation slowly, brick by brick, or image by image, so that, as Jerome instructs, "by careful reading and daily meditation his heart should construct a library for Christ."[64]

The opening directive in the first stanza for the hour of Matins to "take hede on þe day or on þe nyght" suggests that this type of Passion meditation could be performed at any time of day; it was intended to be both paraliturgical and extraliturgical; in other words, any single text or image from this page could be "loosed from the liturgical round."[65] Hence, the "Hours of the Cross" is an extremely flexible devotional aid in which the reader sets the tempo. The canonical hours are there as a framework; they also show that the shape and movement of the liturgy had a counterpoint in the Passion. Even Nicholas Love, who gave his *Mirror* several layers of liturgical patterning, dividing his text into sixty-four chapters that were the equivalent of seven days' worth of readings, acknowledged that his schema did not have to be strictly enforced, and the reader could "read as he feels moved, or follow the order of the liturgical year in his reading," as Michael Sargent has explained.[66]

[63] Prior John Houghton († 1534) reportedly once stormed out of the night office because the monks seemed to be rushing the chant. See also Joseph A. Gribbin, *Aspects of Carthusian Liturgical Practice in Later Medieval England.* Analecta Cartusiana 99.33 (Salzburg, 1995), 55; and T. J. A. Nissen, "*Signum Contemplationis:* History and Revision of the Carthusian Liturgy," in *Die Kartäuser und das Heilige Römische Reiche,* Analecta Cartusiana 140.2 (Salzburg, 1999), 89–104.

[64] Carruthers, *Book of Memory,* 33, translating Jerome's letter to Meliodorus, Ep. 60.10 (PL 22:595): "Lectioneque assiduo, et meditatione diuturna, pectus suum bibliothecam fecerat Christi." For a sensitive and complementary discussion of the slow, gradual dynamic of devotional reading (as applied to another Middle English text closely related to the liturgy), see Ann M. Hutchison, "*The Myroure of oure Ladye:* A Medieval Guide for Contemplatives," *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order,* vol. 2, Analecta Cartusiana 35.19 (Salzburg, 1993), 215–27, esp. 216–17, 222–25.

[65] The quotation is from Hamburger, "A *Liber Precum,*" 226, where it is used in a different context.

[66] Sargent, "Bonaventura English," 156.

A serial meditation such as this could be divided into seven days of meditational material—or seven hours, depending upon the reader's needs. The temporal pattern of the Passion could structure the reader's devotional life from day to day, or from hour to hour. Although the whole of the liturgy is crystallized here in a single-page, there is openness as to how it can resonate. Most likely, this page was an aid for the monk in the performance of his liturgy, which helped him visualize and remember the events of the Passion and their meaning for his own salvation. Throughout the period, monks and laypersons were encouraged to meditate on the Passion during Mass "using the stages of the liturgy as triggers or points of departure."[67] This could be one of the ways this page was used. Carthusian monks said Vespers, Matins, and Lauds in choir, and the other hours were read privately in each monk's cell.[68] This page could also have been used as a miniature place of devotion—the equivalent of a portable altar or chapel—when alone, or as part of a monk's memorial library.

Matching the liturgical hours to the events of the Passion was traditional. But how does one connect these to the five senses and the ethical qualities? The poem asks readers to heighten their sense of Christ's suffering, and in turn to use their own senses as pathways to the sacred. The first context for understanding this pairing of the senses with the canonical hours might be the Mass itself, which was suffused with sensory encounter, especially at the moment of elevation when bells were rung, incense perfumed the air, and congregants knelt in prayer; the tasting of the Eucharist would heighten this synaesthesia. Bob Scribner has recently observed that

> popular piety involved seeing, hearing, speaking, touching and tasting, albeit at different moments of pious action and with differing emphases. Take the example of liturgical celebrations: there was singing, praying and listening; there was the smell of incense, flowers and herbs (preeminently on the feasts of the Assumption of the Virgin); there was the touching of holy objects, such as a cross, a relic or a Pax-board. The pious believer was also touched by anointing, by asperging with blessed water, by signing a cross on the forehead with holy water or ashes, or by touching the lips or ears with ablution wine. The senses were also brought into play in the bodily comportment of those participating in liturgical celebrations—by devout gestures, by standing, kneeling or going in processions.[69]

[67] Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* 119.

[68] Richard W. Pfaff, "*De Cella in Seculum:* The Liturgical Aspects," in *De Cella in Seculum,* ed. Sargent, 19; see also Guigo I, *Consuetudines,* Sources Chrétiennes 313, 230.

[69] Bob Scribner, "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late-Medieval and Reformation Germany," *The Journal of Religious History* 15 (1988–89): 458.

From this perspective, the serial meditation in Additional 37049 can be seen as a condensed version of the whole of the Mass and liturgy that aims to engage all of the reader's senses and ultimately to transform them.

This serial meditation was more than an aid to memory or to the performance of the liturgy; it was also a penitential guide to the systematic contemplation of the Passion, stressing mortification of the five senses as part of its reading programme. The treatment of the senses found here can be related to late medieval penitential theory and practice, especially to the "custody of the senses" tradition found in monastic and anchoritic texts. In addition, this representation of the senses is connected to some texts within the literature of pastoral care, which were by-products of the laicization of religious instruction and the popularization of Latin theology that followed Lateran IV in 1215.

The use of the five senses as agents of serial meditation can be connected to treatments of the senses in classical and theological writings.[70] For Fathers of the Church such as Augustine and Gregory, the senses were gateways for sin.[71] The Fall created a state of sensory pollution; the carnal senses now dominated the spiritual ones, and "Sensory existence is symptomatic of the imperfection of earthly life."[72] Mistrust of the senses became a persistent theme, which Carl Nordenfalk summarizes: "The tone was first struck by the Fathers of the Church in their allegorical interpretations of the parables in the Gospels; it continued to sound all through the Middle Ages. Typical examples are the *Versus de quinque sensibus* by Notker of St. Gall in which the Senses are referred to as instruments of carnal love, and the *Lauda* by Jacopone da Todi entitled 'How to keep watch over the Senses', in which every stanza ends with the exhortation: *Guarda*!"[73]

[70] Aristotle, *De sensibus* 2 (438a26), in Aristotle, *On the Soul; Parva naturalia; On breath*, trans. W. S Hett (Cambridge, 1986). See Harry Austryn Wolfson, "The Internal Senses in Latin, Arabic, and Hebrew Philosophic Texts," *Harvard Theological Review* 28 (1935): 69–133, esp. 72–73. Related discussions appear in L. Gougaud, *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1925), translated as *Devotional and Ascetic Practices of the Middle Ages* (London, 1927), 80; and Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 218–20, 224–28. Many of theological texts on the senses reflect and comment upon Jeremiah 9:21: "For death has come through our windows, has entered our palaces. . . ."

[71] See Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 28/1 (Vienna, 1894), 417–18; trans. John Hammond Taylor, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 2 vols., Ancient Christian Writers 42 (New York, 1982), 2:215–16. Augustine's writings are filled with references to the senses as problematic and dangerous. He does, however, concede their value for memory and vivid recollection: "I come to the fields and spacious palaces of memory, where are the treasures of innumerable images, brought into it from things of all sorts perceived by the senses" (Augustine, *Confessions* 10.8 and 10.30–34).

[72] Carole Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection* (Berkeley, 1988), 129.

[73] Carl Nordenfalk, "The Five Senses in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 48 (1985), 3.

In the anchoritic tradition, the windows of the anchorhold are depicted as entryways for sin, and like their counterparts, the "bodily or sensory apertures," they need vigilant guarding and protection.[74]

In other theological texts, analogies were often drawn between the five senses and the five wounds Christ received on the Cross. One of the earliest texts to make this connection was Peter Damian's *De laude flagellorum,* a text that places the monastic practice of self-flagellation, often referred to as "taking the discipline," in the context of Christ's own voluntary suffering and sacrifice; in Damian's formulation, the discipline is yet another means of aspiration towards *imitatio Christi,*[75] and Christ's wounds are medicine (*medicamenta*) for our own fallen bodily senses.[76] Mortification of the senses became yet another way to achieve empathy and likeness with Christ.[77]

[74] Eric Jager, *The Tempter's Voice: Language and the Fall in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca, 1993), 202. On the custody of the senses tradition in general, especially the custody of the eyes, see the suggestive new study by Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2004), 111–32.

[75] Peter Damian, *De laude flagellorum* (PL 145:679–86, esp. col. 683). Another early text is by Alexander of Bath, who also connects Christ's fivefold suffering to the five senses: *Moralia* 3.92. Both texts are cited in Alexandra Barratt, "The Five Wits and Their Structural Significance in Part II of *Ancrene Wisse,*" *Medium Ævum* 56 (1987): 22 n. 2. For a discussion of other late medieval texts that use this formulation, including John Bromyard's *Summa praedicantium,* see Woolf, *English Religious Lyric,* 222–24, who notes, "Unfortunately, however, only one independent lyric of this theme survives, an unprinted poem from B. M. Add. MS 37049" (223). In *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works* (New York, 1991), 357–58 n. 77, Anne Savage and Nicholas Watson also cite Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 3.46.5 and Richard Rolle, *Passion Meditation B,* 409–26.

[76] "Quod Christi vulnera sunt sensuum nostrorum medicamenta. . . . Ille nudatur, caeditur, nectitur vinculis, oblinitur sputis, quinquepartito vulnere illius caro perfoditur, ut nos a vitiorum, quae in nos per quinque sensus ingrediuntur, irruptione curemur; et tu lascivus, tu unctus, tu petulculus ac tenellus, non vis thesaurum carnis tuae hominibus detegi, ne mortalis vel terrena, quod absit!" (PL 145:683). See the discussion in Gougaud, *Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques,* 78–80. The Passion section in the *Golden Legend* develops the idea that Christ's suffering in his Passion was "fivefold": "The first pain consisted in the shame of the Passion. . . . The second pain of the Passion consisted in its injustice. . . . The third pain consists in that Our Lord suffered at the hands of His friends. . . . The fourth pain of the Passion was due to the tenderness of his body. . . . The fifth pain of the Passion consisted in that it affected every part of His being and all His senses" (Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend,* trans. Granger Ryan and Helmut Ripperger [New York, 1969], 208–11; on 210–11 he goes on to discuss Christ's suffering in the senses (and the organs of sense, such as the eyes).

[77] On the idea of Christ suffering in the five senses, see also Barratt, "Five Wits," 15–19, who discusses other writers on the subject, including Bernard of Clairvaux. Pairing the five senses and the five wounds of Christ became traditional and can also be seen, from a different perspective, in vernacular literary texts such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight.* Gawain's pentangle shield is a complex symbol of his fivefold devotion and perfection: "Fyrst he watz funden fautlez in his fyue wyttez. / And efte fayled neuer þe freke in his fyue fyngres. / And

The use of the senses in the "Hours of the Cross" can also be connected to the practice of confession. As Alexandra Barratt has shown, "It was common practice in the Middle Ages to conduct one's self-examination and subsequent confession not just according to the schema . . . of the Seven Deadly Sins, but also by that of the sins of the Five Wits [or senses]."[78] The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 (canon XXI) made annual confession to a parish priest obligatory for all persons, an institution that "stimulated a spectacular rise in literature about sin."[79] Handbooks of pastoral care and instruction such as William of Pagula's *Oculus sacerdotis* proliferated, and by the second half of the fourteenth century, the five senses became part of catechetical topics that laypeople were expected to know. Hence, the *Speculum theologie* diagrams arose from the same context.

The senses appear in penitential formularies such as William de Montibus's *Speculum penitentis*[80] and Robert Grosseteste's *Notus in Judea Deus,* in which the five senses are likened to cities that need to be vanquished.[81] Some of these texts were used as confession manuals whose purpose was to guide the penitent through the interrogation of his or her conscience to confession. The five "wits" or senses were often combined with the seven deadly sins in these formularies.[82] Elsewhere in Additional 37049, a unique poem describes how one goes about this process:

> Fyrst thou sal make knawledge to God of heuen,
> How þu has synned dedly in þe synnes seuen,

alle his afyaunce vpon folde watz in þe fyue woundez / Þat Cryst kaȝt on þe croys, as þe Crede tellez . . ." (*The Complete Works of the Pearl Poet,* ed. Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron [Berkeley, 1993], 238.640–43).

[78] Barratt, "Five Wits," 16.

[79] Concilium Lateranense IV, const. 1, in Norman P. Tanner, ed. and trans., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils,* original text established by G. Alberigo et al., 2 vols. (London and Washington, D.C., 1990), 1:230; quotation from Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries,* trans. Eric Nicholson (New York, 1990), 198.

[80] See his "De Custodia Sensuum": "Cauendum est etiam diligenter quia mors ingreditur per fenestras [cf. Ier 9:21], idest mortale peccatum per quinque sensus corporis ad animam habet ingressum. Patet in Eua que suasioni serpentis aurem feliciter accomodauit. Contra quod dicitur [Eccli 28:28]: 'Sepi aures tuas spinis, et noli audire linguam nequam.' Spinas uocat acúleos timoris Dei uel uerba Dei comminatoria, ut hec [Gen 2:17]: 'Quacumque die commederitis ex eo morte moriemini'" (Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140–1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care,* Studies and Texts 108 [Toronto, 1992], 196; cf. the mnemonic poem on 462. I would like to thank Dr. Goering for these references).

[81] Joseph Goering and F. A. C. Mantello, "Notus in Iudea Deus: Robert Grosseteste's Confessional Formula in Lambeth Palace MS 499," *Viator* 18 (1987): 254. See also Carla Casagrande, "Sistema dei sensi e classificazione dei peccati (secoli XII–XIII)," in *I cinque sensi, The Five Senses,* ed. Nathalie Blancardi et al., Micrologus 10 (Florence, 2002), 33–54.

[82] Woolf, *English Religious Lyric,* 224.

And to preste, God's vicar, þou sal þe schryfe,
And take þi penaunce here in þi lyfe . . .
(the page is damaged from this section on)
[ ] þe fyfe inwyttes þu awe to kepe & lere,
[ ] ee syght & heryng of ere,
mowthe, taste, speche, & nose smellynge.[83]

One searches one's conscience in respect to the seven deadly sins, moving on to the senses to determine if they have been used in an errant manner. Another lyric on fol. 30r in Additional 37049 similarly uses Passion meditation as a remedy for the seven deadly sins.[84] The "Hours of the Cross" was a product of this confessional context.

Dozens of Middle English confessional formulae and penitential tracts on the five wits or senses were written in the late medieval period.[85] John Audelay wrote a Middle English poem on the topic that opens with the injunction "Thy v wittis loke that thou wele spende," and texts such as *The Cleansing of Man's Soul* concerned themselves with the "myspendyng of her v wittis."[86] Parts II and III of the *Ancrene Wisse* were excerpted and circulated separately as the treatise, "optimus tractatus de v. sensibus."[87] A separate treatise on "þe v. bodely wyttis" exists in at least six manuscripts.[88] Richard Rolle

[83] Fol. 87v. This poem has been inserted into a prose tract; see the edition and commentary in P.S. Jolliffe, "Two Middle English Tracts on the Contemplative Life," *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975): 85–121. This treatise is a compilation of writings by Walter Hilton, Hugh of Balma, Richard Rolle, and the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing*. None of these texts, however, contains the poem just cited.

[84] The lyric is *IMEV* 4200 and is edited in Carleton Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1952), 227–28. This poem is the only item in the manuscript that was written in a southern dialect; it was also the only text copied by Scribe D. Versions of this poem appear in London, British Library Harley 2339; Sloane 2275, fol. 245v; Cambridge, University Library Ff.2.38, fol. 33r; Madgadele College Pepys 1584, Art. 15; and Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 61, fol. 150v; see ibid., 285. The poem is discussed in Woolf, *English Religious Lyric*, 224–25, 227–28. Unfortunately, a full treatment of this very interesting poem lies outside the scope of this article. On the idea of Passion reading as "remedy" in a specifically Carthusian context, see Laveice Cox Ward, "The E Museo 160 Manuscript: Writing and Reading as Remedy," in *The Mystical Tradition and the Carthusians*, vol. 4, ed. James Hogg, Analecta Cartusiana 130.4 (Salzburg, 1995), 68–86.

[85] See R. H. Bremmer, *The Fyve Wyttes: A Late Middle English Devotional Treatise edited from BL MS Harley 2398* (Amsterdam, 1987) and literature cited there, as well as P. S. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English Prose Writings of Spiritual Guidance* (Toronto, 1974), 67–74. There are numerous manuscripts containing Latin treatises on the five wits from the same period.

[86] See *The Early English Carols*, ed. R. L. Greene (Oxford, 1935), 225; and Barratt, "Five Wits," 6; the poem is in Cambridge, University Library Ii.1.2, fol. 53r–v.

[87] Barratt, "Five Wits," 16 (London, British Library Royal 8.C.i).

[88] Oxford, Trinity College 86, fol. 33r; London, British Library Royal 8.C.i, fol. 122v; Harley 2398, fol. 106v; Glasgow, University Library Hunter 520, pp. 337–42; Princeton, Uni-

(ca. 1340) includes an explicit treatment of the five senses in a prose meditation on the Passion, and numerous Latin texts survive that isolate the senses as a penitential topic, including one from the early sixteenth century, called "De mortificatione quinque sensuum," which shows the tradition had quite a life span.[89]

Additional 37049 contains two related texts and diagrams from a text known as the *Desert of Religion* (see plate 4, fols. 57r and 60r). The first tree-diagram represents the five "wytts" as leaves of a tree. This tree also seems to have been used for meditative, mnemonic, and penitential reading, and places an emphasis on "vnleful" hearing, seeing, smelling, and so on. The second is a "tree of chastity" that includes "kepyng of þe wittes fyfe."[90]

Concepts of sensory mortification were particularly meaningful for Carthusian monks and other religious who often embraced penitential practices that were physical in the extreme. Monastic texts had traditionally advocated a "cloistering" of the senses, as Suzannah Biernoff describes: "the life of the cloister represented a means of literally enclosing the senses. If sin—the life of the flesh—was above all about permeability and the intercourse between inside and outside, self and world, then salvation proceeded by withdrawal and enclosure."[91] There are also references to the deprivation of the senses elsewhere in Additional 37049,[92] and these depictions, which were influenced by a widespread penitential tradition, suggest that this manuscript is perhaps a very important source for a history of the senses in late medieval England.

versity Library Garrett 143, fol. 26v–29v; New York, Columbia University, Plimpton 258, fol. 3v. The entire list appears in *Index of Middle English Prose. Handlist VII: Manuscripts Containing Prose in Oxford College Libraries,* ed. S. J. Ogilvie-Thompson (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1991), 98 (the entry for Oxford, Trinity College 86). See also John Edwin Wells et al., *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English: 1050–1500* (New Haven, 1916–), vol. 7, 2536, 156. Jolliffe, *A Check-List of Middle English,* 74 also cites Oxford, Bodleian Library Lyell 29, fol. 102v–104r: "Friste kepe well þin herte & it is esy to kepe alle þi wittis aftirwarde," which is followed by a treatise on "þe fyue wittis." These texts are unedited, as far as I am aware.

[89] *Richard Rolle: Prose and Verse,* ed. Ogilvie-Thompson, 79; the five wits are also mentioned on 13, 40, 69, and 75. The sixteenth-century manuscript containing the Latin text is Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 1612, fols. 16r ff.

[90] A text on the facing page (fol. 59v) elaborates upon this idea, presenting the "kepyng of þe fyfe wittes" as the third degree of the "tree" of chastity: "þe fyrst degre is to begyn / Clyne consciens of hert within / þe secund aght to be full couthe / þat is honest speche of mouthe / þe thyrd is kepyng of þe wittes fyfe. . . ." Other degrees or branches are straightness of life, fleeing ill company, good occupation, and prayer with devotion.

[91] Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment,* 114.

[92] On fol. 37v, an illustrated poem entitled "Of þe state of religion" shows three Benedictine and two Carthusian monks kneeling beneath a ladder labeled from bottom to top with the words "meknes," "pouerte," "obediens," "chastite," and "charite." These are the monastic virtues that enable the monks in the illustration (and other devout readers) to ascend the ladder

MATINS—HEARING

For the remainder of this article, I would like to illustrate how these text-image units work.[93] The first segment has "the howre of mateynes" written inside its left corner, and "þe heryng" written at the far right, suggesting that the reader focus attention on hearing the scene pictured here: the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ.[94] So for the hour of Matins the reader has two mnemonic hooks: the concrete visual image provided by the illustration, and an experiential pathway for memory: the sense of hearing. The central image shows Christ, clothed and wearing a nimbus, receiving the Kiss of Judas. On the left stand two helmeted soldiers with weaponry; to the right we see the apostle

towards "þe mounte of perfecion," represented here as the bosom of Christ, pictured above. The poem that follows (*IMEV* 3478) alludes to the senses or "bodely wittes" and to physical pain as a means of sensory transcendence:

As says saynt paule in a stede,
For als a man þat is dede
Bodyly þorow deds dynt,
Has al bodely wittes tynt,
þat is to say sight & smellyng,
Heryng, speche, & felynge,
Right so suld þe religious man
As to þe warld be ded þan,
þat he fele no-þinge with-in.

This passage juxtaposes references to the monastic life ("dying to the world") with allusions to losing the senses. The author may be referring to self-flagellation, the practice of "taking the discipline" seen earlier in the text by Peter Damian. From this perspective, the discipline was a means of "speryng" the bodily wits, even as it spurred the penitent to greater and greater heights of transcendence and union. The full text of the poem runs from fols. 37v–38r and is edited by Höltgen, "*Arbor, Scala* und *Fons vitae,*" 374–75, who also discusses this poem's ladder imagery and connects it to other devotional works of the period (some of Carthusian authorship) and to later traditions of early modern emblem poetry.

Another reference is on fol. 44r in a text from Henry Suso's *Horologium Sapientiae:* "Alle tymes it longes to be principally to stody for to hafe clennes of hert, þat is to say, þat speryng þi fleschly wittes þu be turned into þiself: and þat þu hafe in als mykill as is possibill þe dores of þi hert besily closed fro þe formes of outeward þinges & ymagynacion of erthly þinges. For sothly emang al oþer gostly exercyses, clennes of hert has þe souerayntе as a fynal intencion & reward of al þe trauels þat a chosyn knyght of Criste is wounte to recyfe"; on this work, see Wiltrud Wichgraf, "Susos Horologium Sapientiae in England nach Handschriften des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Anglia* 53 (1929): 123–33, 269–87; 54 (1930): 351–52.

[93] An edition of the complete text analyzed below is presented in the Appendix. For the images, see fig. 3.

[94] The Gospel narrative of the Betrayal is in Matthew 26:46–56; the Mocking which follows is in Matthew 26:67. Cf. John 18:10–11. Passion scenes such as those illustrated here often appear in books of hours, although the arrangement, iconography, and choice of texts vary; see Wieck, *Time Sanctified,* 89–93 and 162; and Janet Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985), 36–42.

Simon Peter holding a sword and the ear of the High Priest's servant, which he cut off. The image of the severed ear highlights the sense of hearing pictorially. One has the impression that all of these other figures menace and crowd in upon Christ.

This visual image and the effect it achieves have many literary counterparts. For example, Nicholas Love's *Mirror* uses language to create a similar impression as he describes the events that follow the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ: "A noþer criynge putteþ vpon him blasfeme. A noþere spitteþ in his face. . . . A noþer buffeteþ & scorneþ him . . . & so forþ now one & now anoþer & diuerse & many . . . now hiderwarde & now þiderewarde, nowe inne & nowe oute."[95] Rhetorically, the use of repetition and parallelism heighten the pathos of the scene.[96] As each successive character is added to the scene, the reader's imagination crowds up with figures which endanger and threaten Christ—and the whole scene comes to life. The first image in the "Hours of the Cross" captures this same sense of crowding and menace.

The text accompanying this first tableau contains certain features that recur throughout the meditation. Each textual unit is internally and graphically divided into two parts. The first half is a highly compressed lyric narrative recounting the acts of the Passion that are the subject of the meditation for that canonical hour; the second half of each lyric is voiced by Christ himself, who directly addresses the reader. For the first scene, the left column of text reads

> Man, take hede on þe day or on þe nyght,
> How Criste was taken with grete myght,
> And broght þen unto Pylate,
> With Iewes þat Criste dyd hate.

Words such as "taken," "broght," and "hate" encapsulate the action and sequence of events. The text, like the illustration, is remarkably economical, and the Arrest, Christ before Pilate, and the Mocking of the Jews appear within the space of three short lines. The brevity and compression of text and image here create a kind of quick synopsis of the Betrayal and can be likened to a small scene from a medieval dramatic performance. Plays were sometimes thought of as "quick" books that especially appealed to the senses, and each text-image functions here much as a cycle-play in miniature.[97]

[95] Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 174–75.

[96] On the use of an antithetical style in the *Planctus Mariae* tradition, see George R. Keiser, "The Middle English *Planctus Mariae* and the Rhetoric of Pathos," in *The Popular Literature of Medieval England,* ed. Thomas J. Heffernan (Knoxville, 1985), 167–69.

[97] For example, see the anti-theatrical tract known as *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge,* ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, 1993), 98.185. I would like to thank Ann Hutchison for this reference. Further links between the text of the "Hours of the Cross" and the language of

Moving across the page and beyond the first image, we come to the right-hand column of text, voiced by Christ himself:

> Take hede, man, how þe Iewes dyd cry:
> To put me to deth in hye,
> And fyld my heryng wykkydly.
> Fro heryng of yl kepe þe forþi.

The hortatory command to "take hede" echoes throughout the meditation sometimes as "take gode hede," "deuowtely thynke" or "behald and se," language of exhortation that was conventional in this type of literature. The reader is directed to imagine these Passion events with a particular emphasis upon sound: hearing the cries of the Jews who mocked and tormented Christ.

Although there is no matching of senses to canonical hours, the *Meditationes vitae Christi* does highlight the sense of hearing in its account of the Arrest: "Look at Him again while He is led hither and thither with downcast gaze and shamefaced walk, *hearing* all the shouts insults and mockeries, perchance struck by a stone or enduring indecencies and filth."[98] In Love's *Mirror,* the Jews and the Pharisees cry "alle with one voice þat he be crucifiede."[99] These texts create "aural-visual synaesthesia,"[100] appealing to both the eyes and the ears of the reader, who is to visualize an image made vivid or colored by the sense of hearing, a kind of "hearing with the eyes." We should note how closely the text-image combination in Additional 37049 echoes this process: when Christ instructs the reader, "Take hede, man, how þe Iewes dyd cry / To put me to deth in hye," he is asking them to see an aural image.

There is yet another layer to this fusion of sense-perceptions: in the text Christ speaks from the Cross to a reader who is supposed to hear him; the actual reader of the manuscript folio reads, sees, and hears the contents of the page. Thus the reading process here is also synaesthetic.[101] Seeing, hearing, and reading conflate and are inextricably tied to one another. The author of this brief lyric has thus created his own vigorous image (*imagines agentes*)

medieval drama are briefly discussed below at n. 108. A forthcoming study by Jessica Brantley of Yale University will explore some of the broader links between Additional 37049, liturgical performance, and late medieval drama.

[98] *Meditations,* ed. Ragusa and Green, 328 (my emphasis).

[99] Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 175.

[100] The phrase (used in a different context) is from Carruthers, *Book of Memory,* 230.

[101] Cf. the habits of perception that Love's *Mirror* seeks to generate: "þou must with all þi þought & alle þin entent, in þat manere make þe in þi soule present to þoo þinges þat bene here writen seyd or done of oure lord Jesu, & þat bisily, likyngly & abydyngly, as þei þou herdest hem with þe bodily eres, or sey þaim with þin eyen don" (Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 12–13).

whose synaesthetic properties would have strengthened its ability to be memorable.[102]

In order for a text to be fully effective mnemonically, it had to be fully synaesthetic. As Carruthers details, "Memory images must 'speak,' they must not be 'silent.' They sing, they play music, they lament, they groan in pain. They also give off odor, whether sweet or rotten. And they can also have taste or tactile qualities."[103] Synaesthesia is one of the governing aesthetics of the "Hours of the Cross"; it presents a succession of sensations, emotions, sounds, and images—and a string of scenic moments of the Passion—that gradually are woven together in the reader's mind. This small section of the text under discussion is merely a repetition in miniature of the broader devotional architecture at work here.

Reading the first small scene from left to right, one moves from the narrative to the central image, and then to Christ speaking to the reader. The effect this creates is dramatic, experiential, and mimetic. The perspective shifts from a third-person narrator in the first half to a speech voiced by Christ himself in the second—a pattern that recurs throughout the meditation and is also consistent with the Latin text found in Tables of the Seven Acts of the Passion.[104] This type of voice switching was a rhetorical device that appears throughout texts such as the Latin *Meditationes vitae Christi,* where the author sometimes addresses the reader, sometimes Christ himself, and sometimes other characters such as Mary—or even Pilate.[105] One can see how the reader is led into the drama of the Passion first as spectator, then as participant. A concrete narrative event is described and then brought to life by Christ himself: "To put *me* to deth in hye." Christ's speech gives the scene an immediacy and visceral quality. The switching of voices also facilitates the reader's movement or dynamism across space-time and into the scene. First we get a description of the event (it is outside), and then we move right into it through the central image; then we are made to imagine it from Christ's perspective, to hear it with his ears; in this way, our ears become his.

This process is repeated in each of the text-image tableaux and is critical for understanding the meditational dynamism of this chart. For throughout it

[102] See Carruthers, *Book of Memory,* 78; and Wolfson, "Internal Senses," 74. For a suggestive discussion of the relationship between the senses, memory, and mental pictures, see Alastair J. Minnis, "Langland's Ymaginatif and Late-Medieval Theories of Imagination," *Comparative Criticism* 3 (1981): 71–103.

[103] Carruthers, *Book of Memory,* 78 and 245.

[104] The only exception is the meditation for the hour of Terce, which focuses on Christ bearing the Cross and the sense of smell.

[105] For example, see *Aelred of Rievaulx's Rule for the Life of a Recluse,* ed. Ayto and Barratt, 47.870–74: "Gode Ihesu, fowche saaf. . . . Bote now, suster, forpermore. . . ."

is Christ crucified who is the conduit for the reader's progression through the events of the Passion; the reader moves by identifying with Christ. This absorption and empathy move the reader through the landscape of the Passion—its physical, temporal locations—and through a set of devotional responses to its events. The text is replete with detailed instructions and cross-referencing, guiding and structuring the performance of the reader's spiritual exercise at every turn.

The lyric also has a strong penitential component. In the text for Matins, the word "heryng" is given a negative resonance through the use of the words "wykkydly" and "yl." The reader is to use the visual and aural image of the Betrayal and Arrest as a penitential instrument for the virtuous use of his or her own sense of hearing; hence "Fro heryng of yl kepe þe forþi." The reader immerses him or herself in an imaginative scene of the verbal abuse of Christ, one that conjures the taunts of the crowd, and the image functions as a type of mortification of the senses that protects the reader's own sense of hearing—and his or her potential to abuse that sense through sin.

Just as Christ suffered in his own sense of hearing during his Passion, the reader is to do likewise and refrain from "hearing ill." Thus a contrast is set up between Christ's senses and the reader's. At the end of the text the reader is goaded towards a more virtuous life. Thus the reader has moved through the first part of this meditation for the hour of Matins by several stages.

PRIME—SIGHT

Moving down the page, we can see that the hour of Prime is linked to sight and the Flagellation.[106] The illustration shows a full-length figure of a wound-covered Christ, flanked here by two men who scourge him, instruments of torture high above their heads. Christ, bound to the pole and wearing only a loincloth, gazes straight ahead at the viewer, in a gesture that signals the importance of looking. The scribe-artist has paid careful attention to this scene. The vulnerable, wounded body of Christ is emphasized in what is the largest tableau of the page. It is as if the artist had wanted to emphasize the sense of sight in as many ways as possible.[107]

[106] The Gospel account of the Flagellation appears in John 19:1–2.

[107] This visual representation is consistent with literary depictions of the Flagellation that were popular during the period. Nicholas Love's *Mirror* attributes the large number of Christ's wounds to the excessive duration of his scourging: "And so longe beten & scourgete with wonde vpon wonde & brisoure upon brisour til boþe þe lokeres & þe smyters were werye, & þen was he bidene to be unbonden" (Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 171; cf. *Meditations,* ed. Ragusa and Green, 171). The added detail that both the spectators and the scourgers became

The text reproaches the reader—who has also in some sense become a viewer—and suggests his or her own guilt and complicity in Christ's torture. The second part of this tableau reads

> Behald, man, & se
> What payn I sufferd for þe.
> Þerfore fro ylle þi sight þu kepe
> Þat þu be safe fro syn & schenschepe.

The injunction to "behald and se" occurs in more than a dozen other texts in Additional 37049; it also appears in dozens of lyrics and poems that were popular during the period, and throughout medieval drama.[108] The *IMEV* lists eighteen lyrics that begin with the opening command "Beholde."[109] These poems had biblical models, as Rosemary Woolf explains: "These origins were various sentences in the Old Testament, which by established tradition in gloss and liturgy were interpreted as the speech of Christ: 'O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus' (Lamentations i. 12)."[110]

The phrase "behald and se" advocates a very specific type of visual piety (*Schaufrömmigkeit*) and demonstrates how the act of looking was perceived by many late medieval people to contribute actively to religious formation and self-modeling.[111] This phrase is widely represented in the textual tradition of serial meditation and vivid imaging epitomized by the *Meditationes vitae Christi.* For example, the Middle English translation of Aelred's *De institutione inclusarum* instructs its readers, "Beholde now and se hou he stondeth as

"werye" suggests the extraordinary conflation of identities that lies at the heart of this kind of Passion literature. Through viewing the spectacle of Christ's torture, it is implied that the "lokeres" become equally tired—and equally guilty.

[108] Gray, *Themes and Images,* 127, notes that many lyrics use this type of language: "The effect of making the reader 'really there' is achieved by the selection of visual and evocative details, sometimes strikingly vivid." On the use of this phrase in medieval English drama, see the article by David Mills, "'Look at Me When I'm Speaking to You': The 'Beholde and See' Convention in Medieval Drama," *Medieval English Theatre* 7.1 (1985): 4–12. This type of language also reflects the *improperia,* or reproaches of the Good Friday service. Bestul, *Texts on the Passion,* 28–29, discusses the influence of the liturgy on Passion narratives.

[109] See *IMEV* 486–504, and 488.5, 489, 490.5, 493.5, 498, 502.5 in the *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse,* ed. Rossell Hope Robbins and John L. Cutler (Lexington, Ky., 1965), 55–57.

[110] Woolf, *English Religious Lyric,* 36; and see 37–42 on English lyrics that begin with this injunction.

[111] In this way we can see how "the act of looking itself contributes to religious formation and, indeed, constitutes a powerful practice of belief" (David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* [Berkeley, 1998], 3); Morgan uses the term "Schaufrömmigkeit" to describe "the piety of looking or seeing" (59). On the role of images in ascesis and mystical encounter, see Frugoni, "Female Mystics, Visions, and Iconography," 132.

a meke lombe before the iuge. . . ."[112] Later vernacular devotional literature for meditation reverberates with this command.[113] In *Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei,* Christ says to the reader, "Behald my side, my fete, and handes," adding "How wofull I am mad for þe!"[114]

This cluster of evidence affirms the overtly visual nature of the texts in question, their straightforward "pictorial piety," but it also points to the likelihood that these texts were thought to be connected with either real, actual images (such as here, in the manuscript) or imaginative, mental images. The distinction is not always clear. As Julia Boffey notes, "Opening commands from the speaker of a lyric to 'look' or 'see' (sometimes to 'think on') may suggest the existence of an accompanying image, but the poems more often than not proceed to supply descriptive details in words rather than in pictures or plastic forms."[115]

The lyric for Prime thematizes the act of looking in several ways, suggesting a vigorous interest in the relationship between personal devotion, text, and religious image. Both the text and the image here are about looking. When the text says "Behald, man, and se," it refers to an image of Christ's wounds that is both on the page and in the reader's mind. Physical vision and *aspectus* (concentrated inner seeing) are thus depicted as ways of entering into the text and engaging with it—both initiate dialogue with Christ; the image in the center marks the entry into this new subjectivity.

In the second part of this lyric, Christ asks the reader-viewer to gaze upon his wounds as evidence of "What payn I sufferd for þe." But then it is precisely the same sense of sight that is foregrounded in a potentially negative way. The reader is instructed to keep "ylle" from "þi sight," in order to remain free of sin and "schenschepe," disgrace or shame. Thus the sense of sight, which previously was presented as an avenue for communication with Christ is now revealed to be a vehicle for sin—the devout reader is warned, it is implied, to remain on guard to avoid the sight of tempting or forbidden persons,

[112] *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum,* ed. Ayto and Barratt, 21.

[113] For a discussion of a related development, see Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Roger Chartier, transl. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1987), esp. 147: "References to the eyes and vision become more frequent in the rubrics of fifteenth-century prayers."

[114] Arntz, *Richard Rolle,* 94. Cf. Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fourteenth Century,* 60, no. 46: "Behald my heued, bi-hald my fete, / And of m[a] mysdedes luke þou lete; / Behald my grysely face / And of þi syns ask aleggance."

[115] Julia Boffey, "'Loke on þis wrytyng, man, for þi devocion!': Focal Texts in Some Later Middle English Religious Lyrics," in *Individuality and Achievement in Middle English Poetry,* ed. O. S. Pickering (Cambridge, 1997), 136–37.

body parts, or objects. The text of the *Ancrene Wisse,* which warns over and over of the dangers in looking at other people's hands, is instructive here:

> He suffered being blindfolded quite patiently, when his eyes were so shamefully covered in order to give anchoresses the bright sight of heaven. If you blindfold your eyes on earth for his love and in memory of this, to keep fellowship with him, it is no matter for amazement.[116]

This advocates an unusual form of *imitatio Christi,* not unlike that found in the "Hours of the Cross," and suggests that Christ's painful sufferings purified our own senses. This idea is repeated in a fifteenth-century lyric that describes how Jesus "clensed vs of oure synnes sevene— / With þi blude þi luffe was sene."[117]

TERCE—SMELL

For Terce, Christ bearing the Cross and the sense of smell are the focus.[118] The central image shows a robed Christ carrying a large cross over his right shoulder and across the front of his body. He is tilted to one side, suggesting the heavy weight and bulk of the object and his difficulty carrying it. The reader is told how "Criste bare þe cros with gret woo" and is instructed to "Thynke deuowtly on þis / To purches þe mercy of þi mys."[119]

Curiously, an unusual direction follows:

> Þe payne of Criste be to þe sweete,
> In smellyng þi bale to bete.
> Agayns smellyng of wykkydnes
> Þat puts þi saule in gret distres.

[116] *Anchoritic Spirituality,* ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 87. The tradition of sight as a vehicle for sin was especially prominent in twelfth-century writings by Bernard of Clairvaux. Cf. the following passage from his text, *On Conversion:* "It becomes clear that the roving eyes, the itching ears, the pleasures of smelling, tasting, and touching, have let in many of them" (Bernard of Clairvaux, *Selected Works,* trans. G. R. Evans [New York, 1987], 72). Bernard's treatment of the senses is carefully explored in Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment,* 54–55, 114–20.

[117] Brown, *Religious Lyrics of the Fifteenth Century,* 93, no. 60, lines 11–12; from Oxford, Corpus Christi College 274, fols. 1v–3r. Brown (312 n. 60) notes that this lyric is a translation of a Latin hymn by Berengar of Tours (999–1088).

[118] The Gospel account of Christ bearing the Cross is in John 19:17.

[119] The command "Thynke deuowtly," a verbal repetition from the lyric for Prime which precedes this one, was so common as to be ubiquitous in Middle English devotional literature, as here in the *Speculum devotorum:* "The deuout thynkynge of oure lordys passyon & manhede ys the ground and the weye to all trewe devocyon" (*Speculum devotorum,* ed. Hogg, 5; also cited in Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour,"* 167).

The reader is to make Christ's pain "sweete," which here means sweet smelling. The directive is to purge the sense of smell by thinking about and conjuring up the malodorous smells of the Passion: the rotting corpses of Calvary and the stench of death. The Latin *Meditationes* refers to Calvary as "a most ugly and evil-smelling place,"[120] while Love refers to it as "þat foule stinkyng place of Caluarie,"[121] where Christ suffered in his own sense of smell.[122] In the text for Terce, the sense of smell is to be purified through an imagined humiliation in which the reader smells these corpses, but the smell becomes sweet.[123]

It was often believed that debasement of the senses had an eschatological value that would be rewarded in the afterlife. The *Ancrene Wisse* warns its readers that those who indulge in "fleshly smells" here on earth will be rewarded with the foul odor of hell, and "Conversely, they will have heavenly smells who sweat from wearing iron or hair shirts here—or suffer from sweaty attire, or from stale air in their house, or from rotting things, or sometimes from stench and foul breath in their noses."[124]

The text for Terce also suggests that contemplating the myriad pains of Christ's Passion makes your own misfortunes ("þi bale") "sweete": "In smellyng þi bale to bete." This line captures the penitential thrust of the entire poem. The human senses are transformed into vehicles for identification with Christ—channels for transcending the afflictions and tribulations that plague humanity. The reference to the "smellyng of wykkydnes, / Þat puts þi saule in

[120] *Meditations,* ed. Ragusa and Green, 319.

[121] Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 175.

[122] As the *Ancrene Wisse* relates, "On the mount of Calvary, where our Lord hung, was the killing-place, where often rotting bodies lay above the earth and stank very strongly. As he hung there he could smell their reek, in the middle of all his other suffering, full in his nose" (*Anchoritic Spirituality,* ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 87).

[123] This combination of abjection and sensory transcendence can be compared to the self-inflicted mortifications of earlier figures such as Catherine of Siena († 1380), described here by Caroline Walker Bynum: "Several of her hagiographers report that she twice forced herself to overcome nausea by thrusting her mouth into the putrefying breast of a dying woman or by drinking pus, and the reports stress these incidents as turning points in her developing inedia, her eucharistic craving, and her growing compulsion to serve others by suffering. She told Raymond: 'Never in my life have I tasted any food and drink sweeter or more exquisite [than this pus]'" (*Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* [Berkeley, 1987], 171–72; see also 144–45). While Catherine's purgation of the senses is literal and physical in the extreme, what the "Hours of the Cross" calls for is supposed to occur in the reader's mind, or inwardly.

[124] *Anchoritic Spirituality,* ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 87. For an interesting point of comparison that explores some connections between smell and "somatic anxiety," see Jeremy J. Citrome, "Bodies That Splatter: Surgery, Chivalry, and the Body in the *Practica* of John Arderne," *Exemplaria* 13 (2001): 137–72.

gret distres" may be interpreted literally and figuratively. Hell was traditionally described as foul smelling,[125] demons were said to emit a noxious stench, and sin was alleged to stink.[126] Again the *Ancrene Wisse* provides an instructive model. Sin is a filthy pit that lets out a smell once it is uncovered.[127] The text adds a further nuance and describes "the fleshly lusts which stink like goats before our Lord."[128] Thus the phrase "Agayns smellyng of wykkydnes" could also be referring to the actual state of sin; in other words, contemplation of Christ's pains keeps one from sinning, and therefore from stinking.

The meditation for Terce reveals the subjectivity of the whole process of reading that is being advocated here—how Christ's sufferings could be applied to oneself in order to edify and engender virtuous conduct. The reader is repeatedly implicated in the building drama of the Passion, and as sinner he or she is made accountable in the scheme of salvation. A passage from *Þe Holy Boke Gratia Dei* makes this connection clearer: "Thynk þat when þou oght agaynes hym dose, als an vn-kynde wrech, þou dose als Iewes did—birles hym gall to drynke."[129] According to this logic, when one sins, one sins against Christ; in sinning through the senses one becomes the "Jews" who tormented him on the cross—suggesting just how self-reflexive this kind of reading was, and how mobile and fluid all of these intersecting subjectivities were. Committing sin (especially sins of the senses) is like crucifying the body of Christ all over again.

SEXT—TOUCH

The hour of Sext focuses upon the Crucifixion and the sense of touch. The central image is a spare, freestanding image of Christ on the Cross; the Cross is tilted slightly to the right. This is one of the smallest images on the entire page and has been laterally compressed and crowded into its space. It is also

[125] Additional 37049 contains a description of damned souls that depicts hell as a fetid place that horrifies the senses: "Þer is ay smoke & stynke ymange, / And myrknes more þan euer was here, / Þer is hongyr & thyrst & thrange / And ugly fendes of gret powere." The text appears on fol. 74r; to the best of my knowledge, this text is unique to this manuscript.

[126] Dyan Elliott, "True Presence/False Christ: The Antinomies of Embodiment in Medieval Spirituality," *Mediaeval Studies* 64 (2002): 255. Many late medieval saints such as St. Birgitta of Sweden were reportedly endowed with the power to smell sin. Conversely, the burned bodies of heretics were sometimes thought to carry an offensive smell. See Elliott's groundbreaking new study, *Proving Woman: Female Spirituality and Inquisitional Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 2004), 62.

[127] *Anchoritic Spirituality*, ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 80–81.

[128] Ibid., 85.

[129] Arntz, *Richard Rolle*, 86.

noticeably attached in a chain-like manner to the images that precede and follow it. We can illuminate the connection between the Crucifixion and the sense of touch by looking at other literary depictions of this event. The Crucifixion was believed to be the most painful and the most physical part of the Passion, during which Christ suffered most in his sense of touch or feeling and more than anyone ever had before or has since: "Therefore the pain in his flesh was stronger than anyone ever suffered in the flesh."[130] The *Ancrene Wisse* explains that this was because "his flesh was as alive as is the eye in its tenderness."[131] It was also believed that Christ suffered most from Sext to None.[132] Devotional literature tends to highlight the compelling horror of the Crucifixion, with its grisly business of nails piercing Christ's flesh and the violent raising of the Cross.[133]

Additional 37049's lyric plays upon similar themes but moves towards a different end:

> At þe howre of sext in hye
> Was Crist crucyfyed with vylany.
> Take hede of his paynes smert
> Þat it pytefully perche þi hert.
>
> Take hede how I was towchyd with paynes smert,
> And with a spere towched was my hert.
> Þerfore fro vnclene towchyng
> Þou kepe þe in al thynge.[134]

The "vylany" and the "paynes smert" of the Crucifixion are evoked to move the reader towards *compunctio cordis,* indicated by the directive to "perche þi hert." The second part of the text, voiced by Christ, uses the very same language but contrasts Christ's pains and side-wound with the sinner's potential for "vnclene towchyng," which may be a thematic connection to the Doubting Thomas or the *Noli me tangere* tradition. The author uses repetition and parallelism to make this point, in his doubling of both "take hede" and "paynes smerte," and the juxtaposition of "þi hert/my hert" and "towchyd/ towchyng." In this way the second part of the lyric recapitulates much of the first part.

[130] *Anchoritic Spirituality,* ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 90, 259 n. 87; cf. Alexander of Bath, *Moralia* I, 69, and Aquinas *Summa theologiae* 3.46.6, as cited in Savage and Watson.

[131] *Anchoritic Spirituality,* ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 91.

[132] Salter, *Nicholas Love's "Myrrour,"* 136.

[133] *Meditations,* ed. Ragusa and Green, 334. We are told how Christ's body fell once the ladder was removed from beneath the Cross, and how he was "supported only by the nails transfixing His hands."

[134] The Gospel accounts describing how Christ's side was opened are John 19:34 and Luke 23:47.

The devotional movement of this text is significant: the reader moves from a position of witnessing Christ's pain to the image of the literal piercing of Christ's heart (by Longinus), which is used as grounds for the reader's own moral behavior. The reader is advised to abstain from "vnclene towchyng," a reference that is implicitly sexual, reminding one of the anxious ending of the *Ancrene Wisse* that exhorts, "hold your hands within your windows."[135]

NONE—TASTE

For the hour of None, the reader is to focus on the act of Christ giving up the spirit and the sense of taste. The illustration shows Christ hanging from the Cross, blood streaming from his wounds, with Mary and John standing at his side. Meditational techniques such as "composition of place," discussed at the beginning of this article, enabled devout readers to imagine that they were present at the Crucifixion. The reader could have used this particular tableau to create his own *compositio* based upon such a model. This drawing may have served as a mnemonic to remind readers to be present in their minds to the scene in precisely this way.

The second part of the text reads

> My tastyng was fylde with aysel & gall,
> And with oþer fylthe bot gret & smalle.
> Þerfore fro al vnlefull taste,
> To kepe þe wele þow haste.

The Gospel harmonies likewise thematize the sense of taste and the mouth as its organ of sense.[136] They recount how Christ, dehydrated through loss of blood, tells his tormentors that he is thirsty and asks for water. He is punished further with a blow to the mouth and is given vinegar mixed with gall to drink. As Love narrates, "And þen þoo wikked deuels . . . token aisele & galle & proferede him vp to drinke."[137] Shortly afterwards, Christ's mouth speaks its last words as he yields up his spirit.[138]

Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* contains a common exegetical reading that was often applied to this scene. Bonaventure sees this scene as a defining moment in the total scheme of Christian salvation:

[135] *Anchoritic Spirituality,* ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 91.

[136] *Meditations,* ed. Ragusa and Green, 336. The Gospel account is in Matthew 27:48, Mark 15:36, and John 19:28–30.

[137] Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 180.

[138] See John 19:28.

> It was as if in the taste of vinegar and gall his bitter passion reached its fullness and completion. For since it was by tasting the sweetness of the forbidden tree that the prevaricator Adam became the cause of all our perdition, it was appropriate and fitting that a remedy for our salvation should be found in the opposite direction.[139]

But just as Adam fell through his own sense of taste (as he bit the apple), Christ's suffering in this same sense becomes a remedy for our salvation. The degradation of Christ's senses heals and cleanses our own fallen senses; his humiliation becomes our redemption, and taste now carries paradisiacal overtones. These twin tastings mediate between our sin and our salvation.

The meditation for the hour of None is part of this continuum of ideas and writings. The content of its text can be read against the *Ancrene Wisse,* which makes similar connections: "Now all this has been said so that you, like Jesus Christ, struck in the mouth and given gall to drink, may guard yourselves against sinning with the mouth, and endure some suffering through the same sense in which he was tormented."[140] This is essentially the same message of Additional 37049's text: "Þerfore fro al vnlefull taste, / To kepe þe wele þow haste." No mention is made of the potential for sinful speech, but instead its focus is on unlawful tasting, which is the literal or figurative eating of forbidden foods—sin itself.

EVENSONG—CONSENT

The next tableau contains an image of the Deposition,[141] showing Christ taken off the cross with Mary and John in attendance. The second part of the text instructs the reader to give his consent, that is, to make the decision to follow Christ:

> Þow sal in al þi hert consent,
> Kepe þe fro syn with trewe intent
> And hafe me in þi luf fre
> At al tymes wherso þu be.

This movement towards the ethical qualities intimates that the reader is supposed to recognize his or her own sinfulness, and then strengthen the will and

[139] Saint Bonaventure, *Selected Works: The Soul's Journey into God; The Tree of Life; The Life of St. Francis,* trans. Ewert H. Cousins (New York, 1978), 151; his reading may derive from Augustine's *Literal Commentary on Genesis.*

[140] *Anchoritic Spirituality,* ed. and trans. Savage and Watson, 89.

[141] A Gospel account of the Deposition appears in Matthew 27:55–59.

the senses beyond what the poem says.[142] In other words, the goal of the text-image here is not only didactic and penitential, as a devotional aid for restraining the senses, but is also to create a broader sense of moral and virtuous conduct in the reader.[143] There is a shift of appeal from the physical senses to the reason or intellect, faculties of the mind and not of the body—a movement from the outer, corporeal bodily wits to the inner, spiritual and intellectual wits. The senses have been transformed and made to conform to Christ's; they are no longer sinful, "unclene" openings, but purified reflectors and mirrors of Christ's Passion. The next step is to use Jesus as a model for ethical behavior. In a similar vein, images of virtues and vices were often used "as 'memorial notes' to aid us in reaching Heaven or avoiding Hell."[144]

The text-image for Evensong was thus a prophylactic against sin ("Kepe þe fro syn with trewe intent") that could also provide consolation in the face of one's own trials and tribulations. By inserting a strong penitential component into the meditation, the author forces an examination of conscience, an acknowledgement of one's own sinfulness (and abuse of the senses). The instruction "Take gode hede and hafe pyte" in the first part of the text for this hour seeks to create compunction in the reader, or "self-recognition as a sin-

[142] Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1404 has a Table of the Seven Acts of the Passion (fol. 21r), which, as Saxl describes, "shows the relation between the seven moments of the Passion, the seven canonic hours, and the five senses as organs with which to perceive the passion, to which are added 'Feeling with the pain of Christ' and man's decision to follow Christ, in order to make up the necessary seven" ("Spiritual Encyclopaedia," 108–9). Saxl explains: "This kind of tree correlates elements which are neither historically nor systematically related but equal in number (or made to be so). Their correspondence is sometimes instructive, e.g. the last labour of the Passion (fol. 21r), the Entombment, corresponds on the one side to compline, the canonical hour of repose, and on the other to *liberum arbitrium.* Christ says: 'The choice which I have made for thee, thou man shouldst make for me'" (109).

[143] Love's *Mirror* makes clear that there is a strong ethical dimension to meditating on Christ's life: "For soþely þou shalt neuer finde, where man may so perfitely be taght, first for to stable his herte aȝeynus vanitees.& deceyuable likynges of þe worlde, also to strengh him amongis tribulacions & aduersitees & forþermore to be kept fro vices & to getyng of vertues. as in þe blissede life of oure Lorde Jesu, þe which was euere withoute defaut most perfite" (Sargent, *Nicholas Love's "Mirror,"* 11). Judson Boyce Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum and Convenient Distinction* (Toronto, 1982), 12, discusses the broader relationship between literature and ethics from the twelfth century onwards. He notes that poetry was classified by many medieval people as ethics, especially in the medieval commentary tradition: "to define ethics in medieval terms is to define poetry, and to define poetry is to define ethics, because medieval ethics was so much under the influence of a literary *paideia* as to be enacted poetry, and poetry was so practically received as to be quite directly the extended examples for real behavior."

[144] Yates, *Art of Memory,* 61. The ethical use of artificial memory may have had its roots in antiquity, particularly among the Stoics, as Yates has shown (ibid., 21).

ner,"[145] and in a literalization of the concept of the "devotional present," the identification with Christ prescribed in the second part of the text makes Christ present to the reader: "And hafe me in þi luf fre / At al tymes wherso þu be."

COMPLINE—FREE WILL

The meditation for Compline is on the Entombment,[146] and the ethical use of the will to model oneself after Christ. The drawing shows Christ lying dead in a coffin wedged between the two parts of the text, which are longer than the two parts for each of the other hours. The text focuses on the pain of Mary and Christ's "frendes . . . / When þai his paynes had sene." The reader is likewise to "take hede" and to visualize this painful scene. The text also seeks to engage the reader's psychology, judgment, and reason, arguing that Christ, without sin, used his free will when he sacrificed himself on behalf of sinful humanity: "Forsake þi syn & turne to hyme, / If þow to heuen wyll clyme."[147] The reader is instructed to turn towards Christ, to remain free from sin or "wykkdnes," and to use his or her free will for virtuous conduct, with the eschatological goal of entering a "heuenly halle" of "blis" in the afterlife.

The idea of ascent suggested by the phrase "If þow to heuen wyll clyme" contrasts with the layout and structure of the page. If readers follow the Passion narrative set out on the page, they read the page from top to bottom. The text here calls for movement in the opposite direction, perhaps reflecting another form of *imitatio Christi.* Just as the body of Christ is sealed up in a tomb, only to rise and become resurrected the following day, the reader too rises upwards to the top of the chart in order to begin anew—and perhaps to make the page again memorially.[148] The senses have been sealed or entombed and transformed, and individual desire and will have been patterned on the life of Christ. Thus in the meditation for Compline the reader recapitulates the

[145] Delumeau, *Sin and Fear,* 197.

[146] John 19:38–42.

[147] "Then, in the twelfth century, Abelard, Saint Anselm, and Hugh of St. Victor laid stress on conscience, intention, needful shame, and the tears of Peter after he had denied John. These theologians of 'contritionism' who highlighted the penitent's responsibility were also, quite logically, philosophers of human liberty" (Delumeau, *Sin and Fear,* 197).

[148] The Middle English *Myroure of oure Ladye* explains the importance of re-reading: "Third, it is important to 'laboure to vnderstande the same thynge that ye rede' (p. 67), and thus it is necessary not to read too quickly or too much at once, but to 'rede a thynge ageyne twyes. or thryes. or oftener tyl ye vnderstnde yt clerly" (p. 67; from Hutchison, "*The Myroure of oure Ladye,*" 224).

very process that the text describes, which is also the kind of transformation that Christ undertook when he became man. This level of mimesis also ties back to what I have called *the ethics of the manuscript page,* because it shows how *imitatio Christi* is a broader governing literary aesthetic for the meditation as a whole.

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* *

The "Hours of the Cross" requires a highly somatic mode of reading, one that is also promoted in the *Meditationes* and in Love's *Mirror,* the tradition of vivid imaging discussed at the beginning of this article. This distinctly physical mode of reading has been discussed by Sarah Beckwith, who observes, "It is the systematic function of Nicholas Love's *Mirror* literally to map the hours of Christ's Passion onto the body of the individual worshipper."[149] Far from denying the human body, the "Hours of the Cross" amplifies the senses, extends them, and sets them astir as sites of transformation. The body of the reader is a mirror whose senses reflect first sin and then salvation; the text's verbal and visual modes of address are very much an injunction to live the text, or to become what one reads: a physiology of reading in which the reader forms a succession of senses, sounds, images, emotions, and associations that gradually build, intensify, are woven together and light up, as it were, and animate.[150] Each text-image tableau can be likened to a photograph of scenes from the Passion taken out of the pages of the *Meditationes,* which the reader can focus in on, even isolating and magnifying precise moments from Christ's life, and then setting them in motion.[151] Each scene, like each sense meditation, enhances the effect of the previous one(s).

Furthermore, this text-image combination has been viewed here as both a machine for memory and an engine for prayer—and for a highly affective habit of reading. The penitential component of a text like this allowed readers to draw new comparisons between Christ's life and their own, providing forms for self-modeling and *imitatio.* The goal of reading here would have been threefold: for affective experience and religious devotion; for memorial storage and retrieval; and for moral and spiritual formation.

[149] Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture, and Society in Late Medieval Writings* (New York, 1993), 66.

[150] See Carruthers, *Book of Memory,* 282–83, and *Craft of Thought,* 147, which describe this process as a function of *memoria.*

[151] See Gillespie, "Strange Images of Death," 123–25, on the directive to isolate specific Passion events for ruminative meditation.

One sees what seems to be a scholastic passion for unity and synthesis in this manuscript page. Part road map, part chart, this diagram consolidates, summarizes, and organizes the Passion for a fully orchestrated and disciplined recollective meditation. This particular text-image combination would have been particularly appealing to a fifteenth-century reading audience, both inside and outside the cloister, especially because of the startling economy of idea and form that it contains. To judge from the rate of manuscript survival, short, highly condensed prayer-texts were attractive to monks, other religious, and laypersons—both male and female. Here, the abbreviated format made accessible, in brief form, the central event of salvation history. Rita Copeland remarks that late medieval English reading tastes "reflect a movement away from large and rhetorically imposing compositions to small, compressed, verbal nuggets which can be taken in at a single glance or hearing, and which, as reduced meditations, are eminently suitable as private devotional exercises."[152] The "Hours of the Cross" is precisely this type of reduced meditation.[153]

Finally, it must be remarked that each verbal and visual tableau on this page could also function as the seed for a much larger meditation. This type of short text could provide the reader with visual and devotional aids and parameters ("hooks" and "cues"), without cluttering up his or her mind with a dense or lengthy text. With this same goal in mind, the author of the *Cloud of Unknowing* advised the meditator to use small words, simple language—even monosyllables.[154] This was the type of reader-produced page that could be returned to again and again for memorization—and for a *compositio* that grew beyond the limits of these texts or their illustrations. It also could have been used as a general model or template for remembering other events in the life of Christ or salvation history more generally; what we see here are the cues that could start the recollective process—prompts for the reader to make his or her own images and texts with the materials at hand,[155] which the scribe-artist here has so clearly done. A page such as this asks to be returned to over and over again, both physically in the hands of its readers, and in the "libraries for Christ" that they have built in their own hearts.

[152] Copeland, "The Middle English '*Candet nudatum pectus,*'" 72–73.

[153] Economy is one of the governing aesthetics of the manuscript as a whole, which includes a preponderance of brief devotional lyrics and short prose extracts.

[154] See Wolfgang Riehle, *The Middle English Mystics* (London, 1981), 9. Cf. *The Chastising of God's Children, and The Treatise of the Perfection of the Sons of God,* ed. J. Bazire and Edmund Colledge (Oxford, 1957), 37.

[155] Carruthers, *Book of Memory,* 255–56.

APPENDIX

An Edition of "The Hours of the Cross" in London, British Library Additional 37049, fol. 68v (*IMEV* 2075 and 3251)

Here begynnes a devowte meditacion of þe passione of Ihesu Criste after þe seuen howres of þe day ordand in holy kyrke how a man sal remembyr þaim.

þe howre of mateynes — *þe heryng*

Man, take hede on þe day or on þe nyght,
How Criste was taken with grete myght,
And broght þen unto Pylate,
With Iewes þat Criste dyd hate.

Take hede, man, how þe Iewes dyd cry:
To put me to deth in hye,
And fyld my heryng wykkydly.
Fro heryng of yl kepe þe forþi.

þe howre of prime — *þe sight*

At þe howre of prime sal þow deuowtely thynke,
How Criste was scowrged with grete swynke.

Behald, man, & se
What payn I sufferd for þe.
Þerfore fro ylle þi sight þu kepe
Þat þu be safe fro syn & schenschepe.

þe howre of terce — *þe smellyng*

At þe thyrd howre also
Criste bare þe cros with gret woo.
Thynke deuowtly on þis
To purches þe mercy of þi mys.

Þe payne of Criste be to þe sweete
In smellyng þi bale to bete.
Agayns smellyng of wykkydnes,
Þat puts þi saule in gret distres.

þe howre of sext — *þe towchyng*

At þe howre of sext in hye
Was Crist crucyfyed with vylany.
Take hede of his paynes smert
Þat it pytefully perche þi hert.

Take hede how I was towchyd with paynes smert.
And with a spere towched was my hert.
Þerfore fro vnclene towchyng
Þou kepe þe in al thynge.

þe howre of none *þe tastynge*

At þe howre of none Cryste did dye
And ȝelde his spyrit in hye,
With gret sorow & strange payne
To by our saules agayne.

My tastyng was fylde with aysel & gall,
And with oþer fylthe bot gret & smalle.
Þerfore fro al vnlefull taste,
To kepe þe wele þow haste.

þe howre of evensange *consentynge*

At þe howre of euensange Cryste was taken of þe cros,
Sore wounded to safe mans saule fro losse.
Take gode hede & hafe pyte
Of hym þat dyede for þe.

Þow sal in al þi hert consent,
Kepe þe fro syn with trewe intent
And hafe me in þi luf fre
At al tymes wherso þu be.

þe howre of complyn *þe fre wylle*

At þe houre of complyn þe sothe to say,
Criste was beryd withouten delay.
O gret dole it is to consyder wele
What sorow his moder & his frendes dyd fele
When þai his paynes had sene & woo
And þan fro hym suld goo.
Take hede, man, & sorowful be
And thanke hym hertly þat þis sufferd for þe.
Forsake þi syn & turne to hyme
If þow to heuen wyll clyme.

My fre wylle was euer to do gode,
Þerfore rewfully I hange on þe rode,
To safe fro los mans saule,
And bryng hym to þe heuenly halle.
Þerfore euer fro wykkydnes þi fre will þow sette,
If þu blis wil gett.
An put it euer to godenes
Euermore in al distress.

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THE TITLE "GRAND PRINCE" IN KIEVAN RUS'*

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THE *Povest' vremennykh let,* the oldest chronicle compilations, and other written documents of the Kievan Rus' period from the eleventh to the middle of the thirteenth century, ascribe the title "grand prince" to various princes. Most sources consistently attribute it to the prince of Kiev. A large number also give it to the one ruling Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma in Suzdalia. And some attribute it to princes of still other dynasties. Why is there such a discrepancy in the information of the sources? Did the medieval authors apply the title haphazardly or did they follow clearly defined criteria?

Historians have been unable to provide a convincing answer to the last question because they have failed to ascertain the chroniclers' criteria for using the title.[1] Such uncertainty is expressed by one investigator who suggests that all the applications of the title in the *Povest' vremennykh let* were either later interpolations, had a panegyric character, or were used in the sense of "former, old, elder, chief, famous, or glorious." He also observes that the title grand prince signifying supreme power did not come into systematic use until towards the end of the twelfth century in Suzdalia.[2] We hope to show that a number of these observations are not in accord with the testimony of the available sources.

Given the chroniclers' seemingly inconsistent attribution of the title, and in the light of the investigators' failure to determine the rationale for its applica-

* I am grateful to John E. Morby for drawing my attention to the topic. I also wish to thank K. Dinsdale, S. Franklin, and J. Shepard for their insightful recommendations, many of which I have incorporated.

[1] See L. K. Goetz, "Der Titel 'Grossfürst' in den ältesten russischen Chroniken," *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte* 1.1 (1910): 23–66, and 1.2 (1911): 177–213; A. Poppe, "On the Title of Grand Prince in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign,*" *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (*Eucharisterion*) 3/4, pt. 2 (1979–80): 684, and his "Words that Serve the Authority: On the Title of 'Grand Prince' in Kievan Rus'," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 60 (1989): 159–84; *Povest' vremennykh let,* ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts, translation and commentary by D. S. Likhachev (St. Petersburg, 2d and enlarged edition, 1996), 422, 603–4; S. N. Kisterev, "'Velikiy knyaz' vseya Rusi' v XI–XV vekakh," *Ocherki feodal'noy Rossii,* vypusk 6 (Moscow, 2002): 47–85; and A. P. Tolochko, *Knyaz' v Drevney Rusi: Vlast', Sobstvennost', Ideologiya* (Kiev, 1992), 127–35.

[2] Poppe, "Words that Serve the Authority," 171–77; see also nn. 160, 220, and 245 below.

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tion, it is not surprising that historians are not agreed to whom the appellation rightfully belonged. A random sampling of their writings illustrates the confusion. Some apply it to every prince of Kiev beginning with those in the tenth century.[3] A number give it to the princes of Kiev beginning with Vladimir the Christianizer of Rus' or with his son Yaroslav the Wise.[4] Others associate it solely with the princes of Vladimir in Suzdalia.[5] It would seem, however, that the majority designates both the prince of Kiev and the prince of Vladimir a grand prince.[6] But among these a number attribute the designation, arbitrarily it would appear, to only selected princes of Kiev and Vladimir.[7] In a unique case, a historian used the title "prince" for all the princes of Rus' including Kiev, but called Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo of Suzdalia a "grand duke."[8] According to a small number of investigators, the senior princes of a number of dynasties were grand princes. Thus, one calls Roman Mstislavich and his son Daniil grand princes of Galicia and Volyn'.[9] Another names Vladimir Glebovich grand prince of Ryazan'.[10] Still others claim that in the twelfth century the princes of Chernigov, Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma, and other dynasties assumed the title of grand prince.[11] Finally, some do not use the title at all.[12]

[3] See, e.g., "Moskovskiy letopisniy svod kontsa XV veka," ed. M. N. Tikhomirov, in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey* [PSRL] 25 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1949), 401–29; *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov,* ed. A. N. Nasonov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), 567–95; O. M. Rapov, *Knyazheskie vladeniya na Rusi v X–pervoy polovine XIII v.* (Moscow, 1977), 244–52; P. P. Tolochko, *Drevnyaya Rus', Ocherki sotsial'no-politicheskoy istorii* (Kiev, 1987), 37 and elsewhere; Yu. A. Limonov, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skaya Rus'* (Leningrad, 1987), 203–8; and *Troitskaya letopis', rekonstruktsiya teksta,* ed. M. D. Priselkov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950), 475–98.

[4] See, e.g., J. Martin, *Medieval Russia 980–1584* (Cambridge, 1995), 424–50.

[5] See, e.g., J. Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200–1304* (London and New York, 1983), 195–206; and V. A. Kuchkin, *Formirovanie gosudarstvennoy territorii Severo-Vostochnoy Rusi v XI–XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1984), 319–31.

[6] See, e.g., *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis',* ed. Nasonov, 567–95; Rapov, *Knyazheskie vladeniya na Rusi,* 244–52; Limonov, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skaya Rus',* 203–8; and *Litopys rus'kyi (za Ipats'kym spyskom),* trans. L. Ie. Makhnovets' and ed. S. A. Zakharova (Kiev, 1989), 467–520.

[7] See, e.g., *Troitskaya letopis',* ed. Priselkov, 475–98; "Moskovskiy letopisniy svod," ed. Tikhomirov, 401–29; and V. T. Pashuto, *Ocherki po istorii Galitsko-Volynskoy Rusi* (Moscow, 1950), 315–23.

[8] G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven and London, 1948), 405.

[9] Rapov, *Knyazheskie vladeniya na Rusi,* 247, 250.

[10] *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis',* ed. Nasonov, 579 (see under Izyaslav Vladimirovich). For Vladimir Glebovich, see N. de Baumgarten, *Généalogies des branches régnantes des Rurikides du XIIIe au XVIe siècle,* Orientalia Christiana 35, no. 94 (Rome, 1934) [hereafter Baumgarten 2] , Table XIV, 16.

[11] B. A. Rybakov, *Kievskaya Rus' i russkie knyazhestva XII–XIII vv.* (Moscow, 1982), 476, 498, and 508; V. L. Yanin, *Aktovye pechati Drevney Rusi X–XV vv.,* vol. 1, Pechati X–nachala XIII v. (Moscow, 1970), 22.

In the light of the disparate views, our task will be to determine, if possible, what criteria the chroniclers use in applying the title. In our attempt to find the answer we will address the following questions. What contemporaries, if any, acknowledged the title? What was its relationship to other titles? Could there be more than one grand prince at the same time? If so, what towns were ruled by grand princes? Did these men have to belong to particular dynasties? Did the title retain the same meaning throughout the entire period under investigation? Finally, was it merely honorific or was it an institutionalized designation manifesting political power?

The forms of "grand prince" that we will be investigating are the Slavic *velikiy knyaz', knyaz' velikiy,* or simply *velikiy,* and the Greek *megas archon.* Although the concept "grand prince" existed in Rus' it was not referred to as a "title." Indeed, there was no word in Rus' vocabulary for "title." To facilitate our discussion, however, we will refer to the concept "grand prince" as a "title." For us it will signify a special princely political status and authority. The word "appellation" will be used in the same sense as "title."

THE CHRONICLES

Before beginning our investigation proper, let us briefly identify the most important chronicles at our disposal. The earliest compilation (*svod*), "The Tale of Bygone Years" (*Povest' vremennykh let*) [PVL], was written at the beginning of the twelfth century. It has entries up to the 1110s.[13] Unfortunately, no contemporary text has survived. Its oldest versions are found in three later chronicle compilations.

"The Novgorod First Chronicle" (*Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*) [NPL] has the earliest version of PVL known as the *Nachal'nyy svod,* which contains information up to the early 1090s, when it

[12] See, e.g., D. S. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kul'turno-istoricheskoe znachenie* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1947), 480–91; G. A. Perfecky, trans., *The Hypatian Codex II: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle* (Munich, 1973), 149–59; L. L. Murav'eva and L. F. Kuz'mina, *Imennoy i geograficheskiy ukazateli k Ipat'evskoy letopisi* (Moscow, 1975), 5–72; I. Ya. Froyanov, *Kievskaya Rus'* (Leningrad, 1980), 244–51; S. Franklin and J. Shepard, *The Emergence of Rus 750–1200* (London and New York, 1996), 425–50; and J. Pelenski, *The Contest for the Legacy of Kievan Rus',* East European Monographs 377 (Boulder, 1998), 311–23.

[13] *Povest' vremennykh let,* ed. Adrianova-Peretts. Concerning the PVL, see O. V. Tvorogov, "Povest' vremennykh let," in *Literatura Drevney Rusi,* Biobibliograficheskiy slovar', ed. O. V. Tvorogov (Moscow, 1996) [hereafter *Literatura Drevney Rusi*], 139–41; O. V. Tvorogov, "Povest' vremennykh let," *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevney Rusi,* Vyp. 1 (XI–pervaya polovina XIV v.), ed. D. S. Likhachev (Leningrad, 1987) [hereafter *Slovar' knizhnikov 1*], 337–43.

was compiled.[14] NPL, the oldest surviving Novgorod chronicle, has come to us in two redactions. The older is the copy (*spisok*) known as the *Sinodal'nyy* from the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The later is the *Komissionnyy* from the fifteenth century. Since the town had no permanent dynastic affiliation up to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the chroniclers were seemingly unbiased towards princely dynasties. Their main objective was to record notable local events. NPL along with chronicles from Suzdalia, southern Rus', Tver, and Pskov was incorporated into the hypothetical "*svod* of 1448." This in turn became a source for the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle (*Novgorodskaya chetvertaya letopis'*) [N4] and the Sofia First Chronicle (*Sofiyskaya pervaya letopis'*) [S1] from the fifteenth century.[15] "The Novgorod Second Chronicle" (*Novgorodskaya vtoraya* [*Arkhivskaya*] *letopis'*) [N2] was compiled in Novgorod in the sixteenth century. It contains mainly Novgorod information taken from other Novgorod compilations but also some unique entries.[16]

"The Laurentian Chronicle" (*Lavrent'evskaya letopis'*) [Lav.] has the second oldest version of PVL which goes up to the year 1116.[17] Copied in 1377 Lav. is the main source for the history of Suzdalia and takes its events up to the year 1305. Before 1212 a number of its redactions were made at the princely court in Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma; after that they were compiled at Rostov. Consequently, Lav., which has information for the princes of Vladimir, Rostov, Suzdal', and Pereyaslavl' Zalesskiy for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is biased in favour of the princes of Suzdalia. "The Trinity Chronicle" (*Troitskaya letopis'*) [TL] from the beginning of the fifteenth century contains information similar to that in Lav. TL is also similar to "Simeon's Chronicle" (*Simeonovskaya letopis'*) [Sim.] from the end of the fifteenth century, and to "The Vladimir Chronicler" (*Vladimirskiy letopisets*) [Vlad.] from the sixteenth century.[18]

[14] *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, ed. Nasonov. See also B. M. Kloss, "Letopis' Novgorodskaya pervaya," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 1*, 245–47; and Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi*, 440–43.

[15] N4: "Novgorodskaya chetvertaya letopis'," in PSRL 4 (Petrograd, 1915); see Fennell, *Crisis of Medieval Russia*, 171; and Ya. S. Lur'e, *Obshcherusskie letopisi XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1976), 67–121. S1: "Sofiyskaya pervaya letopis' (vyp. pervyy)," PSRL 5, 2d ed. (Leningrad, 1925); see also Ya. S. Lur'e, "Letopis' Sofiyskaya I," *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevney Rusi*, Vyp. 2 (vtoraya polovina XIV–XVI v.), Chast' 2, ed. D. S. Likhachev (Leningrad, 1989) [hereafter *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2*], 57–60.

[16] "Novgorodskaya vtoraya (Arkhivskaya) letopis'," in PSRL 30 (Moscow, 1965), 147–205; V. K. Ziborov, "Letopis' Novgorodskaya II," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2*, 51.

[17] "Lavrent'evskaya letopis'," PSRL 1, 2d ed. (Leningrad, 1926). See also Ya. S. Lur'e, "Letopis' Lavrent'evskaya," in *Literatura Drevney Rusi*, 109–10; idem, "Letopis' Lavrent'evskaya," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 1*, 241–45; and Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi*, 427–31.

[18] *Troitskaya letopis'*, ed. Priselkov; "Simeonovskaya letopis'," in PSRL 18 (St. Petersburg, 1913); "Vladimirskiy letopisets," in PSRL 30 (Moscow, 1965).

"The Hypatian Chronicle" (*Ipat'evskaya letopis'*) [Ipat.] has the third oldest version of PVL.[19] Written at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century, Ipat. begins with the PVL which goes up to the year 1117. The second part of Ipat. consists of a southern Rus' *svod* for the years 1118 to 1199. It was written in Kiev and incorporates the chronicle commissioned by Ryurik Rostislavich. The third part, covering the years 1200 to 1292, is based on a chronicle from Galicia and Volyn'. Ipat. has, in the main, information for the domains of southern Rus' and favours the princes of the Kievan region. The compilations that incorporated information from Ipat. were "The Resurrection Chronicle" (*Voskresenskaya letopis'*) [Vosk.], a Moscow *svod* assembled in the middle of the sixteenth century, and S1.[20] "The Gustin Chronicle" (*Gustinskaya letopis'*) [Gust.], a seventeenth-century *svod,* incorporates a manuscript similar to Ipat.[21]

"The Moscow *svod* of 1479" (*Moskovskiy letopisniy svod kontsa XV veka*) [Mosk.] is a major *svod* which collates most of the previous chronicle information. Its main sources are either S1 directly or the hypothetical "*svod* of 1448," plus a second hypothetical compilation known as the "*svod* of 1472–79" which itself stems from the "*svod* of 1448" and TL. Mosk. served as the main source for Vosk.[22] The hypothetical "*svod* of 1472–79" is also the indirect source of "The Ermolin Chronicle" (*Ermolinskaya letopis'*) [Erm.], "The L'vov Chronicle" (*L'vovskaya letopis'*) [L'vov], and "The Nikon Chronicle" (*Patriarshaya ili Nikonovskaya letopis'*) [Nikon].[23] Although Nikon is a late compilation from the sixteenth century, it begins with the PVL and has unique entries.[24] It will be of special interest to us. Moscow chronicles from the mid-fifteenth century, especially the hypothetical "*svod* of 1472–79", are also reflected in "The Nikanorov Chronicle" (*Nikanorovskaya letopis'*) [Nika.].[25]

[19] "Ipat'evskaya letopis'," in PSRL 2, 2d ed. (St. Petersburg, 1908). See also O. P. Likhacheva, "Letopis' Ipat'evskaya," in *Literatura Drevney Rusi,* 108–9, and her "Letopis' Ipat'evskaya," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 1,* 235–41.

[20] "Voskresenskaya letopis'," in PSRL 7 (St. Petersburg, 1856). See also Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi,* 472–74; and S. A. Levina, "Letopis' Voskresenskaya," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2,* 39–42.

[21] "Gustinskaya letopis'," in PSRL 2 (St. Petersburg, 1843); and also "Gustinskaya letopis'," in PSRL 40 (St. Petersburg, 2003).

[22] "Moskovskiy letopisniy svod," ed. Tikhomirov; Ya. S. Lur'e, "Letopisnyy svod Moskovskoy velikoknyazheskiy 1479," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2,* 32–34.

[23] "Ermolinskaya letopis'," in PSRL 23 (St. Petersburg, 1910); "L'vovskaya letopis'," in PSRL 20 (St. Petersburg, 1910); "Patriarshaya ili Nikonovskaya letopis'," in PSRL 9 (St. Petersburg, 1862) [cited as Nikon 9]; "Patriarshaya ili Nikonovskaya letopis'," in PSRL 10 (St. Petersburg, 1885) [cited as Nikon 10]. See also Fennell, *Crisis of Medieval Russia,* 171.

[24] O. V. Tvorogov, "Letopis' Nikonovskaya," in *Literatura Drevney Rusi,* 110–11; and B. M. Kloss, "Letopis' Nikonovskaya," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2,* 49–50.

[25] "Nikanorovskaya letopis'," in PSRL 27 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1962); Ya. S. Lur'e,

"The Tver Chronicle" (*Tverskaya letopis'*) [Tver], written in the sixteenth century in Rostov, incorporated material from a *svod* close to TL from the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century. Tver is reflected in Sim. and "The Rogozh Chronicler" (*Rogozhskiy letopisets*) [Rog.] written around the middle of the fifteenth century.[26] "The Tipograf Chronicle" (*Tipografskaya letopis'*) [Tip.] was compiled towards the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of sixteenth century. Its primary source was the hypothetical "*svod* of 1484" probably compiled at the court of the archbishop of Rostov.[27] The sixteenth-century "Kholmogorsk Chronicle" (*Kholmogorskaya letopis'*) [Kholm.] is an all-Rus' *svod* with data on Kiev, Vladimir, and Moscow; to the middle of the twelfth century its information is similar to Tip.[28] "The Piskarev Chronicler" (*Piskarevskiy letopisets*) [Pisk.] was probably compiled in Moscow during the first half of the seventeenth century; it drew its information from various sources but its earliest material was taken from Vosk. or a source like it.[29]

"Avraamka's Chronicle" (*Letopis' Avraamki*) [Av.] was compiled around 1495 by the scribe Avraamka in Smolensk; it has Novgorod material and data similar to sources such as N4 and Rog.[30] "The Ustyug Chronicle" (*Ustyuzhskaya letopis'*) [Ust.] was compiled at the beginning of the sixteenth century in northern Russia but has an all-Rus' character; although its earliest material is unique its later information is similar to that in Erm. and Mosk.[31] "The Mazurin Chronicler" (*Mazurinskiy letopisets*) [Maz.] was collated during the last quarter of the seventeenth century; it records events from the earliest times and has unique information for the Kievan Rus' period.[32] "The Vologod Chronicle" (*Vologodskaya letopis'*) [VL] was compiled towards the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century; it is similar to other

"Letopis' Nikanorovskaya," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2,* 47–49.

[26] Tver: "Tverskaya letopis'," in PSRL 15 (St. Petersburg, 1863); see also Ya. S. Lur'e, "Letopis' Tverskaya," *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2,* 61–63. Rog.: "Rogozhskiy letopisets," in PSRL 15 (St. Petersburg, 1922); see also Ya. S. Lur'e "Letopisets Rogozhskiy," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2,* 22–23.

[27] "Tipografskaya letopis'," in PSRL 24 (Petrograd, 1921); Ya. S. Lur'e, "Letopis' Tipografskaya," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2,* 63–64.

[28] "Kholmogorskaya letopis'," in PSRL 33 (Leningrad, 1977); Ya. S. Lur'e, "Letopis' Kholmogorskaya," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2,* 68–69.

[29] "Piskarevskiy letopisets," in PSRL 34 (Moscow, 1978).

[30] "Letopis' Avraamki," in PSRL 16 (St. Petersburg, 1889); Ya. S. Lur'e, "Avraakma," *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevney Rusi,* Vyp. 2 (vtoraya polovina XIV–XVI v.), Chast' 1, ed. D. S. Likhachev (Leningrad, 1988), 5–6.

[31] "Ustyuzhskaya letopis', Spisok Matsievicha," in PSRL 37 (Leningrad, 1982), 17–55; *Ustyuzhskiy letopisniy svod,* ed. K. N. Serbina (Moscow and Leningrad, 1950); Ya. S. Lur'e, "Letopis' Ustyuzhskaya," in *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2,* 67–68.

[32] "Mazurinskiy letopisets," in PSRL 31 (Moscow, 1968), 11–179.

regional all-Rus' compilations and in parts has information similar to Lav., Erm., and Ust.[33] Additional regional compilations have also been consulted but as they offered no new information they have not been cited.

In determining the reliability of chronicle information we will adopt the following guidelines. First, we will assume that the older the source the more dependable its data. Second we will presume that Lav. and the Muscovite compilations are biased in favour of the descendants of Vladimir Monomakh. Third, we will presuppose that Ipat. and compilations drawing material from it favour the dynasties of southern Rus'. In addition, we will consider the evidence of seals issued by princes and the testimony of statements made by contemporaries in non-chronicle sources. Most of the latter have survived only in late copies. As a result, investigators tend to discredit their application of the title grand prince to princes of the pre-Mongol period as the unreliable interpolation of later scribes. We will attempt to determine if the evidence of late copies of non-chronicle documents is truly untrustworthy or if it reflects conventions from the Kievan Rus' period.

PRINCES OF THE PAGAN PERIOD

The PVL, the main chronicle source for the period up to the beginning of the twelfth century, identifies Oleg as the first prince of Kiev. In 882, after he captured the town from the boyars Askold and Dir, he proclaimed Kiev to be "the mother of all Rus' towns."[34] That is, he declared it to be the capital of Rus' and the seat of the ruling prince in the land. He did not call Kiev the "grand principality" (*velikoe knyazhenie*) as, we shall see, later Muscovite chroniclers would refer to it.[35] In this instance, therefore, the author of the PVL appears to be reflecting Oleg's true statement, which implied that the terms grand principality and grand prince were not yet in vogue.

Nevertheless we should note that one copy of the NPL does contain a reference to a grand prince at this early date. Only an eighteenth-century copy, the *Tolstovskiy spisok,* contains an introduction to the *Nachal'nyy svod,* and in the introduction it states that "the town of the grand prince was named after Kiy" (*zvan byst' grad velikim knyazem vo imya Kiya*).[36] Although the copy calls Kiev "the town of the grand prince" in its introduction, it does not give the title grand prince to any of the princes of Kiev in its ensuing text of the *Nachaln'nyy svod.* This suggests that it was the late eighteenth-century com-

[33] "Vologodskaya letopis'," in PSRL 37 (Leningrad, 1982), 160–93.

[34] Lav., col. 23; Ipat., col. 17. For Oleg and the first princes of Rus', see Table 1 below.

[35] See p. 276 below.

[36] NPL, 103; see also p. 10.

piler who inserted the reference to "the town of the grand prince." The evidence that the introduction is absent in the other copies of the NPL as well as in the text of the PVL found in Lav. and Ipat supports the observation.

There is supporting data that the title grand prince was not used in Rus' during Oleg's reign. In 907 he led a successful campaign against the Greeks after which he concluded a trade treaty with them. He is called *velikiy knyaz'* (*megas archon* in Greek) in the translated version of the Greek text of the treaty in the Lav. and Ipat. versions of the PVL. In the translation we are told that delegates came "from Oleg the grand prince of Rus'" (*ot Olga velikogo knyazya Ruskago*). The three Greek emperors with whom he concluded the agreement are also described by the modifier "the Great" (*velikiy*) in the Slavic translation. Thus we have "Leo [the Wise] and Alexander and Constantine [Porphyrogenitus], the Great" (*Lvovi i Aleksandrovi i Kostyantinu veliki*).[37] It is noteworthy that Oleg is not given that appellation by the Slavic author of the PVL when he writes his own version of Oleg's treaty with the Greek emperors.[38] In doing so, he was probably reflecting contemporary practice in Rus'.

Igor' succeeded Oleg and also attacked Constantinople. As with Oleg, the PVL speaks of him as a *velikiy knyaz'* only in the context of the treaty of 945 that he concluded with Emperors Romanus I Lecapenus, Constantine, and Stephen. We are told that Romanus instructed his scribe to record the treaty. In the Slavic version of the translated Greek text, Igor' is referred to as "grand prince" (*velikiy knyaz'*) on some six occasions.[39] Once again, the adjective *velikiy* is also ascribed to the Greek emperors (*k velikim tsesarem Grech'skim*).[40]

Svyatoslav, Igor's son, also waged war against the Greeks. In 971 he concluded peace with Emperor John I Tzimisces who ordered his scribe to record the terms of their agreement. The writer refers to Svyatoslav as "Svyatoslav the grand prince of Rus'" (*Svyatoslave velitsem' knyazi Rustem'*).[41] As before, the only place in the PVL that Svyatoslav is called *velikiy knyaz'* is in the translated text of the peace treaty recorded by a Greek author.

In the *Nachal'nyy svod,* which is found only in NPL, Oleg, Igor', and Svyatoslav are never called grand princes. Significantly, its text does not contain the princes' treaties with the Greeks in which the title was recorded by

[37] Lav., col. 33; Ipat., cols. 23–24.

[38] Lav., cols. 29–32; Ipat., cols. 21–23. See also *Povest' vremennykh let,* ed. Adrianova-Peretts, 414–15, 601.

[39] Lav., cols. 46–48, 52; Ipat., cols. 35, 36, 40, 41.

[40] Lav., col. 48; Ipat., col. 36.

[41] Lav., col. 72; Ipat., col. 60.

Lav. and Ipat. in their texts of PVL. This evidence further buttresses the view presented by others in greater detail that the title was first given to Oleg, Igor', and Svyatoslav by the Greek scribes.[42] They probably applied the designation to the princes in order to show that the emperors were negotiating with the supreme rulers in the land of Rus'.

It is also noteworthy that the texts of all the trade agreements the princes concluded with the Greeks are almost identical in Lav. and Ipat. This shows that the two compilations incorporated texts of the PVL that had the same translations of the treaties. That is, the title grand prince was already in those translations when the PVL was compiled during the second decade of the twelfth century. It was not interpolated by later compilers of Lav. and Ipat. writing at different times and in different locations. In other words, Slavic translators in Rus' applied the title *velikiy knyaz'* to the first princes of Rus' before the second decade of the twelfth century.

We must remember, however, that the texts of the *Nachal'nyy svod* and the PVL were not incorporated into the NPL, Lav., and Ipat. for almost one hundred and fifty years after the last treaty was negotiated. Let us therefore attempt to ascertain if the princes adopted the title before the twelfth century. Since Vladimir the Christianizer of Rus' was the first prince who did not form a treaty with the Greeks, or rather, we have no document to attest to such an agreement, let us turn to his reign.

VLADIMIR AND YAROSLAV THE WISE

In keeping with its treatment of Oleg, Igor', and Svyatoslav, the PVL does not call Svyatoslav's successor, his eldest son Yaropolk, a *velikiy knyaz'*. Around 980 Yaropolk's half-brother Vladimir had him killed in a succession rivalry and occupied Kiev.[43] The copies of the *Nachal'nyy svod* in NPL and of PVL in Lav. also do not use the title for Vladimir. In reporting his death, however, Ipat. calls him "Vladimir the grand prince" (*Volodimir knyaz' velikii*).[44] Since NPL and Lav. do not use the appellation, it was most likely inserted into the Ipat. text by a later copyist.

[42] See Poppe, "Words that Serve the Authority," 159–70; and J. Malingoudi, *Die russisch-byzantinischen Verträge des 10. Jhdts. aus diplomatischer Sicht* (Thessalonica, 1994). [This work was not available to me.] For a reconstruction of the likely form of the Greek originals, see I. Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle (I)," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 2 (1961): 313–60, and her "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle (II)," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 2 (1961): 447–75.

[43] Lav., cols. 75–78. For Vladimir and his family, see Table 1 below.

[44] Ipat., col. 115.

A non-chronicle source, the *Paterik* of the Caves Monastery in Kiev, also speaks of Vladimir as a grand prince.[45] But his contemporaries did not write this document. It was the work of Simeon the bishop of Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma and Policarp a monk of the Caves Monastery living at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[46] It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the authors of the *Paterik* called Vladimir *velikiy knyaz'* because that is how he had become known in their day. Indeed, after the Kievan Rus' period, chroniclers almost universally refer to Vladimir as grand prince because that title had become generally attributed to him by the thirteenth century.[47] As has been suggested, the compiler of Ipat. was seemingly reflecting the same tradition. Unfortunately for the investigator, the use of the title in the *Paterik* does not tell us whether it had been applied to Vladimir during his lifetime.

There is, however, older evidence which suggests that Vladimir was not yet generally acknowledged as grand prince by the middle of the eleventh century. Metropolitan Ilarion implies this in his "Sermon on Law and Grace" (*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*), written in the late 1040s, in which he eulogizes Vladimir. He calls the prince *kagan,* the title that the Khazars gave to their supreme ruler.[48] It has been suggested that the prince of Kiev became known as *kagan* around the first third of the ninth century. The name signified his pretensions to independence from the Khazars. By the first half of the eleventh century, however, it symbolized his independence from Constantinople.[49] Thus, it would seem that, in Ilarion's view, *kagan* was the more traditional designation denoting princely supremacy in Rus'.

The statute (*ustav*) that Vladimir issued concerning the Church tithe, its courts, and its people is potentially the most valuable source. Since he was its author it could tell us what title he himself used. Unfortunately, the document is problematic because the original has not come down to us. The oldest surviving copy is in a fourteenth-century appendix to the thirteenth-century *Synod Kormchaya.* In it Vladimir begins the document with the words "Behold, I, Prince Vasiliy, named Vladimir" (*Se yaz, knyaz' Vasilii, naritsayemy*

[45] *Kievo-Pecher'skiy paterik,* ed. D. Abramovič (Kiev, 1930), re-edited in *Das Paterikon des Kiever Höhlenklosters,* ed. D. Tschižewskij (Munich, 1963), 16.

[46] L. A. Ol'shevskaya, "Paterik Kievo-Pecherskiy," in *Slovar' knizhnikov I,* 308–13.

[47] See, e.g., Erm., 81–82; Nika., 42–45; Sim., 61–64; and Mosk., 31.

[48] A. M. Moldovan, *Slovo o zakone i blagodati Ilariona* (Kiev, 1984), 91–92; and S. Franklin, *Sermons and Rhetoric of Kievan Rus'* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 17–18. See also pp. 269–70 and 272 below.

[49] See A. P. Novosel'tsev, "K voprosu ob odnom iz drevneyshikh titulov russkogo knyazya," *Istoriya SSSR* (1982/4): 159.

Volodimir)[50] In the remaining copies, however, he refers to himself both as prince and as *velikiy knyaz'*.[51] Given its late provenance and the conflicting testimony of later copies, the evidence of the *Synod* copy cannot be taken as conclusive. Nevertheless, it reflects the earliest tradition represented by PVL and Ilarion's sermon, which do not call Vladimir *velikiy knyaz'*. Moreover, as we have seen, since chroniclers writing after the Kievan Rus' period generally referred to Vladimir as grand prince, scribes making copies of the *ustav* would have had the same inclination to do so. Because some, like the author of the *Synod* copy, did not call him *velikiy knyaz'*, they were probably adhering faithfully to their original text, which referred to Vladimir simply as prince. Unfortunately for our investigation, this observation cannot be substantiated.

It is noteworthy that chroniclers most frequently refer to the prince simply as *Vladimir velikiy* or *velikiy Vladimir*.[52] In these cases the use of the modifier suggests that it should be translated as "the Great." This is implied in the encomium to Vladimir written under 1015, where the chronicler refers to him as "the blessed prince Vladimir, the new Constantine of great Rome" (*blazhenyi knyaz' Vladimir novyi Kostyantin velikago Rima*). The same text is found in NPL, Lav. and Ipat.[53] Since Constantine is generally called "the Great,"[54] a comparison of Vladimir with the emperor would require us to attribute Constantine's sobriquet "the Great" to Vladimir.

We should also note that the chroniclers apply the modifier *velikiy* to individuals other than princes. For example, they refer to St. Basil as *velikiy Vasiliy*,[55] to Antony of the Caves Monastery as *velikiy Antony*,[56] and to Feodosy the abbot of the Caves Monastery as *velikiy Feodosy*.[57] In these instances *velikiy* means "the Great." SS. Basil, Anthony, and Feodosy were granted that distinction because they were renowned as founders of monastic institutions. In similar manner, Emperor Constantine and Prince Vladimir were lauded for

[50] Ya. N. Shchapov, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy XI–XV vv.* (Moscow, 1976), 22; see also D. H. Kaiser, *The Growth of the Law in Medieval Russia* (Princeton, 1980), 50–53.

[51] Shchapov, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy*, 13–81; see also V. N. Beneshevich, *Sbornik pamyatnikov po istorii tserkovnago prava* (Petrograd, 1915), vyp. 1 (Petrograd, 1914), 59–68; and Ya. N. Shchapov, *Knyazheskie ustavy i tserkov' v drevney Rusi* XI–XIV vv. (Moscow, 1972), 12–135.

[52] See Ipat., col. 383; NPL, 21, 205; Nikon 9:85, 92, 99.

[53] NPL, 169; Lav., col. 130; Ipat., col. 115; see also Franklin, *Sermons and Rhetoric*, 22–23.

[54] See D. Nicol, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1991), 24–25.

[55] Tver, col. 292.

[56] Mosk., 378.

[57] Ipat., col. 258.

championing the Christian faith.[58] Thus, Vladimir was eulogized by the chroniclers, usually monks, for what in their eyes was his greatest service to Rus', its Christianization. In recognition of that achievement they called him *velikiy,* that is, "the Great."

Vladimir designated his eldest surviving son Svyatopolk as his successor in Kiev but no source dubs him grand prince. This may be because of the stigma that was attached to his name. He was called "the damned" (*okayannyy*) because, according to the chroniclers, after his father's death in 1015 he ordered the murder of his half-brothers Boris, Gleb, and Svyatoslav.[59] A second reason may have been because his rule was insecure. His authority was challenged by his brother Yaroslav of Novgorod. A third and perhaps the most likely reason was that the title had not yet come into common usage. In 1019 Yaroslav defeated Svyatopolk and he died soon after.[60]

Yaroslav's case was different. According to the statement of the chronicler Nestor preserved in the *Paterik,* in 1051 "blessed grand prince Yaroslav" appointed Ilarion metropolitan.[61] In his report of Yaroslav's death in the PVL he also calls him "Grand Prince Yaroslav."[62] Moreover, under the year 1054 the PVL, in the Lav. version, repeats that Grand Prince Yaroslav died.[63] Since Nestor, who lived until the beginning of the twelfth century, calls Yaroslav *velikiy knyaz',* this suggests that by that time the custom of giving him the title had become accepted practice.

The earlier *Nachal'nyy svod* seemingly corroborates Nestor's report. In announcing Yaroslav's death under 1054 it states that "the grand prince of Rus' Yaroslav died" (*Prestavisya velikyi knyaz' ruskyi Yaroslav*).[64] This is the first occasion on which the *Nachal'nyy svod,* written in the early 1090s, attributes this appellation to any prince.[65] Significantly, this information is found in the *Komissionnyy spisok* of the *Nachal'nyy svod;* the older *Sinodal'nyy spisok* reports simply that "Yaroslav died."[66] What is more, the entry in the *Komissionnyy spisok* is almost identical to the one in Lav. suggesting that the Novgorod chronicler may have obtained his information from a source that he

[58] Ipat., cols. 383–84.

[59] Lav., cols. 132–39; Ipat., cols. 118–26.

[60] Lav., cols. 144–46; Ipat., cols. 131–33.

[61] *Kievo-Pecher'skiy paterik,* ed. Abramovič, 17. See also O. V. Tvorogov, "Nestor," in *Literatura Drevney Rusi,* 117–18.

[62] Lav., col. 157; Ipat., col. 145.

[63] Lav., col. 161.

[64] NPL, 181.

[65] In the lists of princes under the year 989 the chronicler speaks of *Volodimir* [*Monomakh*] *Velikiy* and *syn Velikogo Vsevoloda* [*Bol'shoe Gnezdo*]. These lists, however, were interpolated by a later compiler (NPL, 160, 162).

[66] NPL, 17.

and the author of the PVL in Lav. had in common. Although the information from the *Nachal'nyy svod* is not definitive confirmation, it is nonetheless strong support for the observation that Yaroslav was called *velikiy knyaz'* in the second half of the eleventh century. As is to be expected, later compilations, especially those written in Muscovy, call Yaroslav *velikiy knyaz'* just as they attribute that designation to his father Vladimir.[67]

We have additional and what at first glance appears to be incontestable proof that Yaroslav used the title. He allegedly styled himself grand prince in a document he had a hand in composing, namely, the "Statute of Prince Yaroslav Concerning Church Courts" (*Ustav knyazya Yaroslava o tserkovnykh sudakh*). The oldest extant copy of the document begins with the words "Behold, I, Grand Prince Yaroslav, the son of Vladimir" (*Se yaz, knyaz' velikii Yaroslav, syn Vladimerov*).[68] In the text he explains that he wrote the statute with Metropolitan Ilarion. Since he appointed Ilarion metropolitan in 1051, they probably composed the *ustav* between 1051 and 1054, the year of Yaroslav's death.[69] The document therefore seemingly proves that Yaroslav was using the title by the middle of the eleventh century.

We must, however, be cautious because the credibility of the text is suspect.[70] To judge from its content, the statute was compiled in the eleventh century, but it continued to be reworked until the sixteenth century. Indeed, the surviving copies come from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[71] Nevertheless, in five redactions constituting almost all of the surviving copies, Yaroslav calls himself *velikiy knyaz'*. One redaction in copies from the sixteenth century throws doubt on this evidence because in it he refers to himself simply as prince.[72] Just the same, the testimony of the majority of the copies is persuasive when taken in conjunction with the data of the *Paterik* and the three chronicles cited above. These sources suggest that they are preserving the age-old tradition according to which Yaroslav assumed the title grand prince. It is noteworthy that in reconstructing the archetype of the statute, Ya. N. Shchapov introduced it with the words "Behold, I, Grand Prince Yaroslav, the son of Vladimir" (*Se yaz, knyaz' velikyi Yaroslav, syn Volodimer*).[73] He

[67] See, e.g., Mosk., 374–78; S1, 226–29; TL, 319–21; Nikon 9:84–85; Rog., col. 18; and Tver, col. 151.

[68] Shchapov, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy*, 91.

[69] NPL, 181; Lav., col. 155; Ipat., col. 143; see also N. N. Rozov, "Ilarion," *Slovar' knizhnikov 1*, 199; and Shchapov, *Knyazheskie ustavy i tserkov'*, 301–2.

[70] Kaiser, *Growth of the Law*, 54–58.

[71] Shchapov, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy*, 85–139. See also Beneshevich, *Sbornik pamyatnikov*, 78; and Shchapov, *Knyazheskie ustavy i tserkov'*, 178–306.

[72] Shchapov, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy*, 137.

[73] Shchapov, *Knyazheskie ustavy i tserkov'*, 293.

also believed that Yaroslav referred to himself as *velikiy knyaz'*. Finally, we should note that the chroniclers never tell us if the appellation was an official title. Since, however, Yaroslav identified himself as *velikiy knyaz'* in a formal document, he obviously treated the designation as an institutionalized title.

The chroniclers do not tell us when Yaroslav adopted the title, but circumstantial evidence may help us to establish an approximate date. According to the statute, he was using it in the early 1050s. The earliest possible date on which he could have adopted it was in 1016 after he expelled his elder brother Svyatopolk from Kiev.

Let us first examine the evidence of two lead seals. One that Yaroslav evidently issued around 1018 was found in Novgorod. On it he is depicted as a beardless young man surrounded by the Slavic inscription "Yaroslav, prince (*knyaz'*) of Rus'."[74] Thus, the legend seemingly suggests that on becoming prince of Kiev he did not yet identify himself as grand prince. The evidence, however, is misleading because not one of the seals attributed to Yaroslav identifies him as *velikiy knyaz'*. Indeed no seal from the pre-Mongol period found to date gives that title to any prince. The closest parallel is the Greek title *megas archon* which, as we shall see, was found on only one seal. Although Yaroslav's seal cannot be used as evidence to help us determine when he began using the title *velikiy knyaz'*, it is nevertheless a valuable witness. If, as has been suggested, he issued the seal after becoming prince of Kiev, it shows that one of his predecessors, perhaps his father Vladimir, had adopted the Slavic title *knyaz'* as the equivalent of the Greek title *archon* and the Khazar title *kagan*. Indeed, the seal is evidently the earliest known record of the title *knyaz'*.

A seal found in the Chernigov land has the image of St. George on the one side and on the other the Greek inscription "Lord, help your servant George, *archon*." According to one view the seal belonged to Yaroslav. Another view has it that it was issued in the twelfth century by Yury Dolgorukiy of Suzdalia.[75] Yet a third view contends, probably correctly, that the seal belonged to a prince with the baptismal name of George living in the third quarter of the eleventh century.[76] Although seals are contemporary artifacts and thus potentially valuable witnesses, identifying their owners and the date of issue can be, as in this instance, controversial and inconclusive. Given the problems of identification we must use the evidence of seals with great circumspection. Nevertheless, even though the seal under consideration cannot be attributed

[74] V. L. Yanin and P. G. Gaydukov, *Aktovye pechati Drevney Rusi X–XV vv.*, vol. 3, Pechati, zaregistrirovannye v 1970–1996 gg. (Moscow, 1998), 8, 13–18.

[75] Concerning Yury, see pp. 287–88 below.

[76] Yanin, *Aktovye pechati* 1:23–24.

definitively to Yaroslav, it does provide useful data. It reveals that in the third quarter of the eleventh century his descendants were still calling themselves *archon*.

In 1024 Yaroslav's younger brother Mstislav defeated him at Listven northwest of Chernigov.[77] After that, Mstislav occupied Chernigov and the east or left bank of the Dnepr but allowed Yaroslav to rule Kiev and the west or right bank. Thus, after failing to assert his authority as autocrat of all Rus', Yaroslav had to resign himself to being co-ruler with his younger brother.[78] Although no source calls Yaroslav grand prince for that period of rule, under the year 1033 a Muscovite *svod* speaks of "Grand Prince Mstislav the brother of Yaroslav" (*velikiy knyaz' Mstislav brat Yaroslav*).[79] This is the only hint we get from the chronicles that the two princes may have used the title during the period of the duumvirate.

In addition, we have non-chronicle evidence that is potentially useful. While conducting excavations at Belgorod west of Kiev, archaeologists unearthed a seal with the Greek inscription "Mstislav, grand *archon* (*megas archon*) of Rus'." This is the only seal from the pre-Mongol period discovered to date with the title "grand *archon*," that is, the Greek equivalent of the Slavic *velikiy knyaz'*. On the reverse is the corroded figure of a saint with long hair, a beard, carrying a cross on his right shoulder, and an incomplete legend of his name around his head. Because of the illegible name scholars cannot determine which saint was the patron of the Mstislav in question. This uncertainty, in turn, makes it difficult to identify the correct Mstislav. Consequently, several princes have been suggested as the possible owners of the seal. According to one view Mstislav Vladimirovich of Chernigov issued the seal.[80] Should this identification be correct we would have contemporary evidence corroborating the chronicle report that Mstislav called himself *velikiy knyaz'*. As his political equal Yaroslav would also have styled himself as grand prince. It has been pointed out, however, that the seal was not issued before the last third of the eleventh century, that is, it was issued after Mstislav's death.[81]

The title, if the brothers used it, represented their political status: Yaroslav was *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev and Mstislav was *velikiy knyaz'* of Chernigov. In Mstislav's eyes, however, Yaroslav had a distinction that superseded his

[77] Lav., cols. 147–49; Ipat., cols. 134–36.

[78] Lav., cols. 147–49; Ipat., col. 137.

[79] Mosk., 376.

[80] D. I. Blifel'd, "Vysla pechatka z Bilgorodky," *Arkheolohiia* 3 (Kiev, 1950): 102–10. Concerning other princes to whom this seal has been attributed, see Yanin, *Aktovye pechati* 1:20–23, and nn. 181 and 193 below.

[81] Yanin, *Aktovye pechati* 1:23.

military superiority: Yaroslav was the senior (*starshiy*) brother. Mstislav declared that he relinquished control of Kiev to Yaroslav because it belonged by right to the eldest member of the family.[82] Thus, as the prince of Kiev, Yaroslav was Mstislav's political equal, but as Mstislav's elder brother he was Mstislav's superior. It is important to note that the genealogical status in the family outranked the political one. The princes would abide by this canon, as we shall see, throughout the period under investigation.

In 1034 Mstislav died and Yaroslav became "the autocrat of the Rus' land."[83] Lav. calls him *samovlastets* but Ipat. calls him *edinovlastets* to signify his status as autocrat. In this case the compilers do not use the terms as titles but as epithets describing the nature of his political authority.

Secure in his supremacy Yaroslav initiated ambitious ecclesiastical, cultural, and building projects: he fortified the "great town" (*gorod velikiy*) of Kiev; he founded the metropolitan's Church of St. Sofia and adorned it with precious icons and vessels of gold and silver; he built the Church of the Annunciation over the Golden Gates; he constructed the monasteries of St. George and St. Irene; he founded churches in other towns and appointed priests to serve in them; he collected and wrote many books and also gathered scribes to translate Greek texts into the Slavic language.[84]

The last statement is most intriguing. Did Yaroslav's scribes translate into Slavic the Greek texts of the treaties that his predecessors had concluded with the Byzantine emperors?[85] If so, did they introduce the title *velikiy knyaz'* to his court? On seeing that the Greeks had applied it to the first princes, was

[82] There is ample evidence confirming that Kiev belonged to the eldest son. In 970 Svyatoslav gave the town to his eldest son Yaropolk (Erm., 8; Gust., 248). Boris acknowledged his elder brother Svyatopolk as the rightful successor to Kiev after the death of their father Vladimir (NPL, 170; Lav., col. 132; Ipat., col. 118). As we shall see, Yaroslav would designate his eldest son Izyaslav as his successor. See also M. Dimnik, "Succession and Inheritance in Rus' before 1054," *Mediaeval Studies* 58 (1996): 96, 109–14.

[83] Lav., col. 150; Ipat., col. 138; concerning the correct date, see M. Dimnik, "The 'Testament' of Iaroslav 'The Wise': A Re-examination," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 29 (1987): 371.

[84] Lav., cols. 151–53; Ipat., cols. 139–41. Concerning Yaroslav's building projects, see Franklin and Shepard, *Emergence of Rus*, 209–17.

[85] It has been pointed out that by the middle of the eleventh century local scribes had received sufficient education to translate Greek texts. They probably made the translations not long before their inclusion into the PVL (see S. Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950–1300* [Cambridge, 2002], 102–4, 164–65; and A. A. Alekseev, "Koe-chto o perevodakh v Drevney Rusi (po povodu stat'i Fr. Dzh. Tomsona 'Made in Russia')," in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoy literatury* [TODRL], vol. 49 [St. Petersburg, 1996], 278–96). According to another view, Yaroslav brought scribes from Byzantium as copyists and not as translators (H. G. Lunt, "On Interpreting the Russian Primary Chronicle: The Year 1037," *Slavonic and East European Journal* 32 [1988]: 251–64). For a summary of the controversy, see Franklin and Shepard, *Emergence of Rus*, 241–43.

Yaroslav persuaded to adopt it for himself? This would have been in keeping with his desire to sever the political and ecclesiastical dependence of Rus' on Constantinople. His building and cultural achievements added the trappings of splendour and prestige to the office of the prince of Kiev. In naming Ilarion the first native metropolitan of Kiev he sought to create an autocephalous Church in Rus'. As we shall see, he would change the system of succession to Kiev in an effort to implement a peaceful transition of power. Another political innovation he may have introduced was to adopt the title *velikiy knyaz'* to confirm formally the status of the prince of Kiev as the *samovlastets* or *edinovlastets*.

Circumstantial evidence supports the last point. As Yaroslav's sons came of age he allocated patrimonies to them.[86] In doing so he created a new relationship with each son, a political one, and probably thought it expedient to formalize it. Accordingly, on assuming control of his hereditary domain each son would be required to pledge allegiance to the prince of Kiev (as future generations of princes would be required to do), even though Yaroslav already held moral authority over him as his father. Yaroslav would have expressed his status as political overlord, to distinguish it from the genealogical one that was encapsulated in his position as father of the family, by adopting the title *velikiy knyaz'*. Although circumstantial evidence suggests that such a development may have occurred, the PVL never states so outright.

On an unspecified date before his death Yaroslav directed his sons to follow a revised order of succession to Kiev. He designated his "eldest son" (*stareyshiy syn*) Izyaslav to succeed him, and after him the next two brothers Svyatoslav and Vsevolod according to seniority in the family. Important for our investigation is Yaroslav's declaration to his sons that, in replacing him in Kiev, Izyaslav would be like a father to them in his place.[87] Yaroslav therewith decreed that the brother holding the genealogical status of "senior prince" (*starshiy knyaz'*) was to be obeyed for his seniority in the family and not for his political status as the *velikiy knyaz'* in Rus'. That is, the political rank was less important than the hereditary genealogical status. It is perhaps because of this reason that Yaroslav and his contemporaries did not emphasize the political title in their written accounts. There may, however, have been an additional reason.

A fifteenth-century manuscript has a colophon attributed to Ilarion. In it he reports that he was consecrated metropolitan in 1051 during the reign of the "pious *kagan* Yaroslav."[88] Thus, even though Yaroslav may have been the

[86] Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," 378–85.
[87] Ipat., col. 150; Lav., col. 161; NPL, 182; see also Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," 374–76.
[88] Franklin, *Sermons and Rhetoric*, xvii.

first to call himself *velikiy knyaz'*, the title was either not immediately recognized by all his contemporaries or Ilarion simply preferred the title *kagan.* As has been noted, he also gave Yaroslav's father Vladimir that appellation.[89] Consequently, our evidence, although meager, suggests that until the middle of the eleventh century the ruler of Kiev was also identified as *kagan.*

He was given yet a third title. An incomplete graffito in St. Sofia in Kiev reads as follows: "In (the year) 6562 [i.e., 1054] on 20 February the death of our tsar . . ." (*V* [*leto*] *6562 mesyatsa fevralya 20-go konchina tsarya nashego* . . .).[90] The reference is clearly to Yaroslav. It therefore reveals that his contemporaries also acknowledged him as tsar. An examination of the use of the title during the pre-Mongol period has revealed that a prince was usually referred to as a tsar in a moral, spiritual, or religious context. Thus, those princes of Kiev were called tsars who influenced the appointment of the metropolitan of Kiev. Moreover, the prince of Kiev or a local prince would be dubbed a tsar in an account of his saintly life, of his martyrdom, in a report of his death when his actions were found righteous on the scales of justice, in a eulogy, or in a panegyric. The verb "to reign" (*tsarstvovati*) was usually used to describe a prince's just administration of his domain in imitation of God's reign in his heavenly kingdom.[91]

To judge from the above information, three titles—*kagan,* tsar, and *velikiy knyaz'*—were used, albeit sparingly, during Yaroslav's reign. No designation was evidently preferred over the others. The title *kagan,* as we shall see, would fall out of use during the eleventh century but the title tsar remained in vogue throughout the entire Kievan Rus' period. Since, however, it was never looked upon as a political appellation and thus not consider as a rival to *velikiy knyaz',* we need not take it into account in our investigation.

THE SONS OF YAROSLAV THE WISE

The sons whom Yaroslav designated as his successors to the throne of Kiev were Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod. The threesome constituted the so-called inner circle. One or more sources identify each brother as grand prince. Thus, the authors of the *Paterik* of the Caves Monastery refer to Izyaslav as

[89] See p. 262 above; concerning Svyatoslav, see p. 272 below.

[90] S. A. Vysotskiy, *Drevnerusskie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoy XI–XIV vv.,* vyp. I (Kiev, 1966), 39–41.

[91] For a detailed examination of the title "tsar" in pre-Mongol Rus', see Wladimir Vodoff, "Remarques sur la valeur du terme 'tsar' appliqué aux princes russes avant le milieu du XVe siècle," *Oxford Slavonic Papers,* n.s., 11 (1978): 1–41; see also Tolochko, *Knyaz' v Drevney Rusi,* 135–38.

the "grand prince Izyaslav" (*velikyy knyaz' Izyaslavl*).[92] This evidence suggests that by the beginning of the thirteenth century the monks of the monastery acknowledged Izyaslav as *velikiy knyaz'*.

We have more reliable evidence for Svyatoslav who, in 1073, usurped Kiev from Izyaslav. Svyatoslav, like his brother, is not called grand prince by the PVL. An independent source, however, attests to his grand princely status. The document is Svyatoslav's so-called *Izbornik of 1073* written by a certain Deacon Ioann, a contemporary of the prince. Ioann prefaces the text of the *Izbornik* with a paean to the prince beginning with the words "Great among princes, Prince Svyatoslav" (*Velikiy v knyazekh knyaz' Svyatoslav*).[93] In the colophon he twice refers to his patron as grand prince: "In the year 1073 the deacon Ioann wrote this collection for Great [Grand] Prince Svyatoslav—Great among princes, Prince Svyatoslav." (*V leto 1073 napisa Ioann diakn zbornik s' velikoumou knyazyu Svyatoslavou: — Velikyi v knyazkh knyaz Svyatoslav*).[94] Taken at face value the evidence of the *Izbornik* corroborates our contention that the title was used by Yaroslav's sons during the third quarter of the eleventh century. There is, however, a dissenting voice.

It has been pointed out that in the *Izbornik* the term "great among princes" is a translation of the phrase "great among emperors" taken from the Greek dedication to Simeon of Bulgaria († 927) for whom the original Greek collection was compiled.[95] According to this view the Greek paean and colophon both addressed Simeon as "great among emperors." The Slavic term "great among princes" is therefore merely an adaptation of the term in the Greek eulogy and not an expression of Svyatoslav's true political title in Rus'.[96]

It should be noted, however, that Ioann digressed from his Greek text in the colophon by inserting the current date and his name. Could not his use of the title *velikiy knyaz'* also be a factual interpolation? That is, could it not be one of the titles that Svyatoslav's contemporaries used for him as prince of Kiev? Significantly, Ioann's text predates the PVL, which was written at the beginning of the twelfth century. Consequently, he could not have borrowed the title from translations of the tenth-century Greek treaties found in the PVL.

[92] *Kievo-Pecher'skiy paterik,* ed. Abramovič, 190; see also Mosk., 378. For Yaroslav's family, see Table 1 below.

[93] *Izbornik velikago knyazya Svyatoslava Yaroslavicha 1073 goda,* ed. T. S. Morozov, Pamyatniki Obshchestva Lyubiteley Drevney Pis'mennosti 55 (Peterburg, 1880), 3, reverse side; *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 goda:* Faksimil'noe izdanie, ed. B. A. Rybakov et al., 2 vols. (Text and Commentary) (Moscow, 1983), Text volume, p. 2 verso.

[94] *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 goda,* p. 263 verso.

[95] H. G. Lunt, "On the Izbornik of 1073," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* (*Okeanos*) 7 (1983): 360–61, 376.

[96] Poppe, "Words that Serve the Authority," 170–71.

There is no doubt that "great among princes" is a paraphrase of the Greek "great among emperors," but Ioann's use of the term *velikiy knyaz'* is a Slavic title that is not a verbatim translation of any Greek equivalent.[97] As we have seen, Svyatoslav's father Yaroslav used the Slavic form *knyaz'* on his seals.[98] Moreover, he evidently called himself *velikiy knyaz'* in his statute.[99] After that, Ioann's is one of the first Slavic texts in which we find that title. As we have seen, three documents attribute it to Svyatoslav's father Yaroslav. Later sources also give it to his elder brother Izyaslav and, as we shall see, to his younger brother Vsevolod. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Ioann called Svyatoslav *velikiy knyaz'* because the title was in vogue in his day.

There is, however, a caveat for attributing the title grand prince to Svyatoslav just as there was in the case of his father Yaroslav. A graffito found on the side of a window in the exterior northern gallery of the St. Sofia Cathedral in Kiev reads as follows: "Lord, save our *kagan*" (*Spasi, gospodi, kagana nashego*). Meticulous investigation has shown convincingly that the reference was made to Svyatoslav while he was still alive. The graffito was probably written in 1076 around the time when he had the operation after which he died.[100] This important witness is the third non-chronicle text that calls a prince of Kiev *kagan*.[101]

To judge from the available data, Svyatoslav is the last prince who was called both *kagan* and *velikiy knyaz'*. On the one hand, this suggests that his contemporaries were ambivalent concerning which title to give him so they used the two interchangeably. On the other hand, it shows that they used the title *kagan* up to the second half of the eleventh century. Since the title is never again found in the written sources it evidently fell into disuse. Significantly, even though the appellation was current up to Svyatoslav's generation, the authors of the PVL never applied it to a prince of Rus'.[102] They, however, also avoided using the designation *velikiy knyaz'*. It appears that the chroniclers considered neither distinction to be sufficiently important to use it systematically when writing their reports. Perhaps they believed that the identification "prince of Kiev" as the expression of the highest political office in Rus' was self evident and needed no elaboration.

[97] The closest terms to it in Greek were *megas archon* and *megas basileus* (Poppe, "Words that Serve the Authority," 161–64).

[98] See p. 266 above.

[99] See pp. 265–66 above.

[100] Vysotskiy, *Drevnerusskie nadpisi*, 49–52.

[101] Concerning *kagan*, see pp. 262 and 269–70 above.

[102] Novosel'tsev, "K voprosu ob odnom iz drevneyshikh titulov," 159. He suggests that Yaroslav's sons Izyaslav and Vsevolod were also identified as *kagans* (pp. 150–51). The PVL calls only the supreme ruler of the Khazars *kagan* (Lav., col. 65; Ipat., col. 53).

Svyatoslav, however, may have had a personal reason for advertising his grand princely status. Each of his predecessors in Kiev had conscientiously observed the tradition of family seniority by handing over control of Kiev to his eldest son.[103] Even in revising the system of succession Yaroslav the Wise had adhered to that tradition by designating Izyaslav to succeed him. Svyatoslav violated his father's system by evicting his elder brother from Kiev. Consequently, he could not claim the status of senior prince to be the fountainhead of his moral authority over his brothers like Izyaslav had done. He may, however, have had recourse to a sophism. After he forced Izyaslav to flee into exile he could argue that he was the "resident" senior prince in Rus'. Just the same, since Svyatoslav's seniority was disputed he may have found it necessary to assert that the office of grand prince was his highest status and the expression of his political supremacy.[104]

Svyatoslav may have had yet another reason for wishing to stress his grand princely status. Unlike his father Yaroslav, who after the death of his brother Mstislav of Chernigov had become a *samovlastets* or *edinovlastets,* Svyatoslav did not enjoy absolute political power. After Yaroslav divided up his realm into patrimonial domains among his sons and relinquished his own autocratic status, no prince of Kiev would ever again wield direct control over all the lands that Yaroslav had initially ruled. Being denied the opportunity of acting as an autocrat, Svyatoslav undoubtedly found it desirable to adopt a suitable expression to reflect not only his control of the capital of Rus', but more importantly, his supremacy over the princes of the other families of the inner circle. Since his father and brother Izyaslav had evidently used the title *velikiy knyaz'* in that capacity, Svyatoslav followed their example.

Vsevolod, the youngest brother of the inner circle, was the last to rule Kiev. He is the only one of the three whom the PVL, in the Lav. version, identifies as *velikiy knyaz'*. Under the year 1093 we read that "Grand Prince Vsevolod" died.[105] Since his two elder brothers were acknowledged as grand princes by two sources independently of the PVL, we may assume that like them, Vsevolod also used the title. Nevertheless, as has been suggested, its rare application by the scribes and, it would seem, by the princes themselves, suggests

[103] See n. 82 above. Concerning Vladimir's designation of Svyatopolk, see p. 264 above; concerning Yaroslav's designation of Izyaslav, see p. 269 above.

[104] He undoubtedly justified his usurpation by claiming to be following the precedents set by his grandfather Vladimir, who usurped Kiev from his elder brother Yaropolk (Lav., cols. 75–78), and by his father Yaroslav, who usurped Kiev from his elder brother Svyatopolk (Lav., cols. 141–42).

[105] Lav., col. 215. Later compilations also identify him as grand prince, see, e.g., Mosk., 15; Gust., 278; Nikon 9:119.

that it was not a commonly used designation and that the princes did not yet place great emphasis on it.

VLADIMIR MONOMAKH AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

After Vsevolod's death, princes from the next generation of the inner circle assumed control of Kiev. The first, according to seniority, was Izyaslav's eldest surviving son Svyatopolk. Two sources speak of him as grand prince. Between the years 1106 and 1108 Daniil the abbot of a monastery in the lands of Chernigov visited the Holy Land. He recorded his travels in a work entitled "The Life and Pilgrimage of Daniil, an Abbot from the Land of Rus'" (*Zhit'e i khozhenie Daniila, Rus'skyya zemli igumena*). In it he reported that he undertook his pilgrimage "during the rule of the Russian grand prince Svyatopolk Izyaslavich" (*vo knyazhenie Russkoe velikogo knyazya Svyatopolka Izyaslavicha*).[106] It is noteworthy that Daniil was a contemporary not only of the prince but also of the scribes who wrote the *Nachal'nyy svod* and the PVL. Unfortunately, Daniil's original manuscript has not survived and the oldest extant copy is from the fifteenth century.[107] Its late provenance therefore raises the possibility that a later copyist interpolated the title. Nevertheless, given that Svyatopolk's four predecessors were all styled grand princes, it is most likely that Daniil called Svyatopolk *velikiy knyaz'*. His identification was corroborated some hundred years later by the *Paterik* of the Caves Monastery which also speaks of "Grand Prince Svyatopolk" (*velikago knyazya Svyatopolka*).[108] Not surprisingly, later Muscovite and regional compilations also call him grand prince.[109]

Svyatopolk died in 1113 and was succeeded by Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh.[110] Around that time the PVL ends its accounts. From then onwards, therefore, our investigation becomes more complex. We must rely on the reports of regional chroniclers who incorporated news of interest to their

[106] *Puteshestvie igumena Daniila po svyatoy zemle v nachale 12-go veka (1113–1115)*, ed. A. S. Norov (St. Petersburg, 1864), 155. See also V. V. Danilov, "K kharakteristike 'Khozdeniya' igumena Daniila," in TODRL, vol. 10 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1954), 94; V. L. Yanin, "Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya v epokhu Monomakha i 'Khozhdenie igumena Daniila,'" in TODRL, vol. 16 (Moscow and Leningrad, 1960), 112–31; and M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1054–1146* [*Dynasty*], Studies and Texts 116 (Toronto, 1994), 249–50. For Svyatopolk, see Table 1 below.

[107] O. V. Tvorogov, "Daniil," *Slovar' knizhnikov 1*, 109–12.

[108] *Kievo-Pecher'skiy paterik*, ed. Abramovič, 82.

[109] See Erm., 29; L'vov, 103; Nikon 9:137–38; and Tver, col. 190.

[110] NPL, 20, 203–4. For Vladimir Monomakh, see Table 1 below.

local princely patrons and reflected their political biases. Once again, the oldest and the most reliable compilations are NPL, Lav., and Ipat.

Each of the three refers to Vladimir Monomakh as *velikiy knyaz'*. Under 1116 Ipat. reports that "Grand Prince Vladimir sent Ivan Voitishich who appointed mayors along the Danube" (*knyaz' velikyi Volodimer posla Ivana Voitishicha i posazha posadniki po Dunayu*).[111] When announcing his death under 1125 Lav. calls him "grand prince of Rus' Vladimir" (*velikyi knyaz' Russkyi Volodimer*) and Ipat. identifies him as "grand prince of all Rus' Vladimir Monomakh" (*velikyi knyaz' vseya Rusi Volodimer' Monomakh*).[112] The NPL describes him simply as *Volodimir velikyi*.[113] Although it consistently avoids employing the form *velikiy knyaz'*, on a number of occasions, as in this case, it applies the adjective *velikiy* without the noun "prince" (*knyaz'*).[114]

Scribes living at the time of Monomakh were not in the habit of calling him grand prince but later compilers regularly give him that title.[115] Moreover, under the year 1113 when he occupied Kiev many, for the first time, refer to the capital as the "grand principality of Kiev" (*na velikom knyazhen'i v Kieve*).[116] Their declaration confirms the observation made above that Kiev had the status of "grand principality" or, as Oleg had dubbed it, "the mother of all Rus' towns."[117] Consequently, we may assume that the prince who ruled a grand principality received the status of grand prince, at least in part, from the town.

The chronicles never tell us that a special ceremony existed for the conferral of the grand princely title. They do, however, describe the installation ritual of a new prince in Kiev that was usually presided over by the metropolitan. As the prince approached the town, we are told, the townspeople, abbots, monks, and priests dressed in their liturgical vestments went out to greet him. The parade entered Kiev through the Golden Gates and wended its way to St. Sofia. On entering the cathedral the prince venerated the icon of the Mother of God and ratified his promise to Kievans to defend the town and to abide by the terms that he had concluded with them. After that, he

[111] Ipat., cols. 283–84.

[112] Lav., col. 293; Ipat., col. 289.

[113] NPL, 21, 205, and also 160.

[114] Concerning the adjective *velikiy*, see pp. 293–94 below.

[115] See, e.g., Erm., 29; Kholm., 41; Maz., 56; Nikon 9:143; Pisk., 72; S1, 159; Tip., 74; TL, 208; and Tver, col. 190.

[116] See Av., col. 43; Erm., 29; Kholm., 41; L'vov, 103; Maz., 56; Nika., 29; Nikon 9:143; N4, 142; Pisk., 72; S1, 158; Tver, col. 190; Ust., 28; and Vosk., 23.

[117] See p. 259 above.

"sat on the throne of his grandfather and father."[118] The installation of the new resident prince of Kiev was, in effect, the ceremony that conferred on him the title *velikiy knyaz'*. No chronicle, however, states this outright.

As has been shown elsewhere, in 1097 at the Congress of Lyubech the princes of Rus' had designated Monomakh as Svyatopolk's successor even though he was not the rightful candidate according to genealogical seniority.[119] Consequently, he was not the senior prince of the dynasty when he occupied Kiev. Like his uncle Svyatoslav, who had usurped power from Izyaslav, Monomakh appropriated the title *velikiy knyaz'* from his cousins the Svyatoslavichi thanks to his political dexterity and military superiority. Significantly, he could not require allegiance from the Izyaslavichi of Turov and the Svyatoslavichi of Chernigov on the grounds of the moral authority that genealogical seniority would have given him. Therefore he, like Svyatoslav, may have wished to assert his rank of grand prince as his highest status and the expression of his supremacy over them.

When reporting Monomakh's accession to Kiev a number of Muscovite compilers also record the so-called "cap" (*shapka*) legend.[120] It recounts how Monomakh received from Emperor Konstantin Monomakh the princely cap with which he was crowned *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev. It was later used to crown the grand princes of Muscovy. The *shapka* story is relevant to our investigation because, as has been noted, the Muscovite compilations begin using the terms *velikoe knyazhenie* and *velikiy knyaz'* systematically with Monomakh's occupation of Kiev. Moreover, they apply the title grand prince mainly to Monomakh's descendants in Kiev and Suzdalia. With the legend the scribes wished to prove that Vladimir and his descendents, especially those in Muscovy, obtained their supreme authority from the emperor of Constantinople, the successor of Emperor Augustus of Rome.[121] Given the pro-Monomashichi reports of these compilers we must use their data with extra caution.

Vladimir Monomakh died in 1125 and was succeeded by his eldest son Mstislav. Lav. calls him *velikiy knyaz'* only under the year 1131 when it reports that "Grand Prince Mstislav campaigned against the Lithuanians" (*Knyaz' velikii Mstislav khodi na Litvu.*)[122] Later, under the year 1140, the

[118] The chronicler describes the ceremony under 1146 when Izyaslav Mstislavich was installed in Kiev (Ipat., col. 327; see also M. Dimnik, *The Dynasty of Chernigov 1146–1246* [*Dynasty II*], [Cambridge, 2003], 22).

[119] Dimnik, *Dynasty*, 216–18.

[120] See, for example, Kholm, 41; Maz., 56; Nikon 9:143; Pisk., 72; and Vosk., 23.

[121] See R. P. Dmitrieva, "Skazanie o knyaz'yakh vladimirskikh," in *Literatura Drevney Rusi*, 191–92, "Skazanie o knyaz'yakh vladimirskikh," *Slovar' knizhnikov 2.2*, 370–71, and her *Skazanie o knyaz'yakh vladimirskikh* (Moscow, 1955).

[122] Lav., col. 301.

compiler of Ipat. speaks of Mstislav's reign in a flashback. He states that two princelings of Polotsk, who had been imprisoned by "Mstislav, the grand prince of Kiev" (*Mstislavom velikym knyazem Kiev'skym*), returned from Constantinople.[123] He acknowledges Mstislav's grand princely status for the last time under the year 1178, when he announces the death of Mstislav Rostislavich the "grandson of Grand Prince Mstislav" (*vnuk velikago knyazya Mstislava*).[124] Although NPL, Lav., and Ipat., refrain from calling him *velikiy knyaz'* when recording his death in 1132, Muscovite and regional copyists identify him as grand prince.[125]

Mstislav was succeeded by his brother Yaropolk Vladimirovich, whom NPL, Lav., and Ipat. never call *velikiy knyaz'*. Not surprisingly, many later mainly pro-Monomashichi compilers credit him with that designation.[126] In 1139 his brother Vyacheslav occupied Kiev but he was immediately deposed by Vsevolod Ol'govich of Chernigov.[127] The three oldest chronicles also refrain from calling him grand prince. However, a number of later regional compilations either give him that title or say that he ruled "the grand principality" (*na velikom knyazhenii*).[128] Despite the reticence of the oldest compilations to use the title, we may assume that in keeping with tradition, Yaropolk, Vyacheslav, and Vsevolod were recognized as grand princes by their contemporaries. Let us also note that up until Vsevolod's reign all the grand princes identified by the chronicles sat on the throne of Kiev.

Non-Kievan Grand Princes

At this point let us examine briefly intriguing information given by Nikon, a sixteenth-century Muscovite *svod*. Historians have commented on its compiler's unusual fixation on the genealogies of princes. When mentioning Vladimir Monomakh, for example, he adds "the son of Vsevolod, grandson of Yaroslav, great grandson of Vladimir the Great."[129] Investigators, however,

[123] Ipat., col. 303.

[124] Ipat., col. 609; for Mstislav Rostislavich, see N. de Baumgarten, *Génealogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides Russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, Orientalia Christiana 9-1, no. 35 (Rome, 1927) [hereafter Baumgarten], Table IX, 8.

[125] Mosk., 32; Kholm., 42; Maz., 58; Nika., 30; Rog., col. 20; S1, 160; Tver, col. 196; Vlad., 59; Vosk., 29.

[126] Mosk., 34; Erm., 31; Kholm., 42; L'vov, 106; Maz., 59; Nikon 9:163; Tver, col. 201; Vlad., 61; Vosk., 32.

[127] Ipat., cols. 302–3. For Yaropolk and Vyacheslav, see Table 1 below; for Vsevolod, see Table 2 below.

[128] Tver, cols. 202–5; Maz., 59; Nikon 9:164 and elsewhere; Vlad., 62.

[129] *Volodimer Manamakh Vsevolozh, vnuk Yaroslavl', pravnuk velikogo Vladimera* (Nikon

have neglected to mention the scribe's other penchant. He identifies as grand princes many who did not rule Kiev but governed towns such as Chernigov, Smolensk, Galich, Vladimir in Volyn', Suzdal', Ryazan', Pereyaslavl', Kursk, Turov, Novgorod Severskiy, Vyshgorod, Novgorod, and Rostov.[130] Was this an anachronism? Was he applying to the Kievan Rus' period a practice prevalent in his own day for naming grand princes those ruling towns such as Vladimir, Tver, Suzdal', Ryazan', and Moscow? Although he may have been influenced by the sixteenth-century attribution of grand princely titles, the testimony of other chronicles reveals that the Nikon compiler was probably also echoing a practice from pre-Mongol Rus'.

By the first quarter of the twelfth century, it appears, the princes of Rus' had expanded the status of the grand prince to include others besides the prince of Kiev. This is suggested by evidence provided by princes who never ruled Kiev but who identified themselves as *velikiy knyaz'*. The earliest such testimony comes from Vsevolod, the eldest son of Mstislav and the grandson of Vladimir Monomakh.[131] Before his death in 1136 the eldest Mstislavich issued a Church charter in Novgorod which begins with the words "Behold, I, Grand Prince Gabriel, named Vsevolod, autocrat son of Mstislav, grandson of Vladimir" (*Se az knyaz' velikyi Gavriil, narechenyi Vsevolod, samoder'zhets' M'stislavets', vnouk Volodimerov*).[132] At first glance the evidence, given by the prince himself, appears to be conclusive, but it has come to us in late fifteenth- to nineteenth-century copies.[133] There is, however, a less known Novgorod chronicle that corroborates the identification of Vsevolod as *velikiy*

9:144); see also B. M. Kloss, *Nikonovskiy svod i russkie letopisi XVI–XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1980), 118–19.

[130] For Chernigov, see, e.g., Nikon 9:163 and 170–71; for Smolensk, see, e.g., Nikon 9:164 and 179; for Galich, see, e.g., Nikon 9:167–68 and 181; for Vladimir in Volyn', see, e.g., Nikon 9:164 and 166; for Suzdal', see, e.g., Nikon 9:164 and 176; for Ryazan', see, e.g., Nikon 9:172 and 195; for Pereyaslavl', see, e.g., Nikon 9:164 and 166; for Kursk, see Nikon 9:164; for Turov, see, e.g., Nikon 9:163 and 166; for Novgorod Severskiy, see Nikon 9:196 and 232; for Vyshgorod, see Nikon 9:204; for Novgorod, see, e.g., Nikon 9:209 and Nikon 10:125; and for Rostov, see, e.g., Nikon 10:66 and 67.

[131] For Vsevolod, see Baumgarten, Table V, 18; and Table 3 below.

[132] The charter is the so-called *Ustav novgorodskogo knyazya Vsevolod Mstislavicha kupecheskoy organizatsii tserkvi Ivana na Opokakh* (Shchapov, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy,* 160; see also Beneshevich, *Sbornik pamyatnikov,* 95). For Vsevolod (Gabriel was his baptismal name) and the other Mstislavichi, see Table 3 below.

[133] The *ustav* has come to us in two recensions, the *Troitskiy* in a single copy from third quarter of sixteenth century, and the *Arkhograficheskiy* in many copies from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. Scholars disagree on the origin of the document. Some date it to the 1130s, or specifically to 1135–36, acknowledging later additions to the text; some claim it originated towards the end of the fourteenth century; another dates it to the end of the thirteenth and beginning of fourteenth century (Shchapov, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy,* 158–59).

knyaz'. Under the year 1127 it reports that "Grand Prince Vsevolod Mstislavich founded [a church]" (*Zalozhi* [*tserkvu*] *knyaz' velikiy Vsevolod Mstislavich*).[134] Since Vsevolod identified himself as a grand prince in an official statute he obviously treated the designation *velikiy knyaz'* as an institutionalized title.[135]

Besides Vsevolod Mstislavich, the chronicles identify other Monomashichi who did not rule Kiev as grand princes. Under 1142 a number of them report the death of Vsevolod's uncle *velikiy knyaz'* Andrey in Pereyaslavl'.[136] He was the youngest of Monomakh's sons, but because of acrimonious political rivalries he was assigned to rule the Monomashichi dynastic capital.[137] According to the system of succession allegedly instituted by Yaroslav the Wise, Pereyaslavl' should have been occupied by the senior prince in the House of Monomakh. It was evidently because he ruled the dynastic capital, even though merely as an appointee, that the chroniclers dubbed Andrey a grand prince.

Monomashichi from later generations are also called grand princes. In the account of his pilgrimage to Constantinople at the end of the twelfth century, Archbishop Antony of Novgorod refers to his contemporary Roman Mstislavich of Galich as "grand prince" (*velikiy knyaz'*).[138] The so-called Galician-Volynian Chronicle, which is contained in Ipat., corroborates that Roman was a *velikiy knyaz'*. It begins its entries with the year 1205 in which Roman fell in battle. In referring to him the *svod* calls him "grand prince" (*velikiy knyaz'*).[139] It confirms his grand princely status by referring to his widow as "Roman's grand princess" (*velikaya knyaginya Romanovaya*).[140] Moreover, a number of later compilations attribute that title to him.[141] His eldest son, Daniil of Galich, who like Roman never sat on the throne of Kiev, was also called "grand prince" (*velikiy knyaz'*), albeit in later compilations.[142]

Monomashichi from the branch of Rostislavichi in Smolensk also carried that title. In the "Life" of Avraamiy of Smolensk, probably written by his disciple Efrem around the middle of the thirteenth century, we are told that

[134] N2, 166. NPL confirms that in 1127 Vsevolod founded the stone church of St. Ioann (pp. 21, 206).

[135] Concerning Vsevolod, see also p. 295 below.

[136] S1, 163; Nika., 31; Nikon 9:166. For Andrey, see Baumgarten, Table V, 17; and Table 1 below.

[137] Ipat., col. 297; see also Dimnik, *Dynasty*, 330.

[138] *Puteshestvie novgorodskago arkhiepiskopa Antoniya v Tsar'grad v kontse 12go stoletiya*, ed. P. Savvaitov (St. Petersburg, 1872), col. 89. For Roman, see Table 3 below.

[139] Ipat., cols. 715, 718.

[140] See s.a. 1208, 1209, 1213, 1215, Ipat., cols. 726–27, 733–35.

[141] Gust., 329; Maz., 67.

[142] Tver, cols. 374–75; Maz., 70–71.

Avraamiy was ordained during the reign of the "Christ-loving grand prince Mstislav [Romanovich] of Smolensk" (*velikogo i khristolyubivogo knyazya Mstislava Smolenskogo*).[143] Mstislav ruled the town from 1197 to 1212. After that he was *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev until 1223 when he fell in battle fighting the Tatars (Mongols).[144] Another Rostislavich, Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy († 1228), became the grand prince of Galich.[145] He is unique because earlier, as we shall see, he had been grand prince of Novgorod.[146] He is evidently the only ruler of Rus' who assumed the title *velikiy knyaz'* for two principalities neither one of which was either Kiev or his dynastic capital. Under the year 1230 we are told that another Rostislavich, "Grand Prince Mstislav Davidovich of Smolensk" died.[147] Finally, Nikon, and only it, identifies Vsevolod Mstislavich († 1239?) of Smolensk as grand prince.[148]

The branch of Monomashichi in Suzdalia descended from Yury Dolgorukiy are identified as grand princes of Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma. A number of them also became the grand prince of Novgorod. Since they are of special interest, we will examine their cases below in greater detail.[149]

Princes descended from Svyatoslav Yaroslavich, that is, the dynasties of Chernigov, Murom, and Ryazan', are also identified as grand princes. Let us begin with those ruling Murom and Ryazan'. One chronicle calls Vladimir Yur'evich of Murom († 1204) *velikiy knyaz'*.[150] Two compilations attribute that title to Gleb Vladimirovich of Ryazan' († 1219).[151] In 1237, when the Tatars devastated the town, they killed Yury Ingvarevich [Igorevich]. Although Nikon is one of the chronicles that identifies him as grand prince, it

[143] *Zhitiya propodobnago Avraamiya smolenskago i sluzhby emu,* ed. S. P. Rozanov (St. Petersburg, 1912), 6, republished in *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgischen Dichtungen über den heiligen Avraamij von Smolensk,* ed. D. Tschižewskij (Munich, 1970). The oldest copy of the "Life" is from the sixteenth century (see *The Hagiography of Kievan Rus',* trans. and intro. by P. Hollingsworth [Cambridge, Mass., 1992], lxix–lxxi, 141). For Mstislav, see Baumgarten, Table IX, 11; and Table 3 below.

[144] Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 292–96. Concerning his death at the river Kalka, see p. 304 below.

[145] Ipat., col. 752; Nika., 38; S1, 193; Nikon 10:88–93, 94–97. For Mstislav, see Baumgarten, Table IX, 24.

[146] See p. 296 below.

[147] Lav., col. 512; Mosk., 124–25; Erm., 73; S1, 209; and Vosk., 136–37. For Mstislav, see Baumgarten, Table IX, 16.

[148] Nikon 10:114–15. For Vsevolod, see Baumgarten, Table IX, 33.

[149] Concerning the Monomashichi of Suzdalia, see pp. 289–92, 297–302 below; concerning the Monomashichi in Novgorod, see pp. 294–97 below.

[150] Vosk., 112. For Vladimir, see Baumgarten 2, Table XVI, 3. For the princes of Chernigov, Murom, and Ryazan', see Table 2 below.

[151] TL, 302; Sim., 49; Baumgarten 2, Table XIV, 29. Concerning the murders, see Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 289.

has been pointed out that it copied its report from Sim.[152] This information shows that compilers of other chronicles were also familiar with the tradition that identified the senior princes of dynastic capitals as grand princes.

Our observation is buttressed by the military account "The Tale of Baty's Destruction of Ryazan'" (*Povest' o razorenii Ryazani Batyem*), which also refers to a number of Ryazan' grand princes. These are Yury Igorevich, Ingor Svyatoslavich (an unknown prince), and Ingvar Ingorevich [Ingvarevich] who succeeded Yury.[153] Although the original account describing the razing of Ryazan' was probably written in the thirteenth century as an entry in the chronicle of Ryazan', the oldest extant copy of the tale is from the sixteenth century.[154] Despite the late provenance of the copy, its testimony and the evidence of several chronicles corroborate Nikon's identification of the prince of Ryazan' as a *velikiy knyaz'*. If the compiler of Nikon was correct in the case of Ryazan', we may assume that he was not fabricating data when he attributed the title to rulers of other dynastic capitals.

Finally, let us turn to the princes of Chernigov. After Vsevolod Mstislavich of Novgorod, the next earliest testimony from a non-Kievan grand prince is that given by Vladimir Davidovich. The data of relevance to our investigation comes from a silver ceremonial cup (*chara*) that Vladimir commissioned. It has the inscription "This cup belongs to Prince Vladimir Davidovich. May he who drinks from it have good health and thank God and his lord the grand prince" (*A se chara knya*[*zhya*] *volodimirova davydov*[*i*]*cha kto iz nee p'*[*e*] *tomu na zdorov'e a khvalya boga* [*i*?] *svoego ospodarya velikogo knya*-[*zya*]).[155] Nikon, we should note, also calls Vladimir grand prince of Chernigov.[156] Since he died in 1151 the inscription was made before that date. We may also assume that it was made after either 1124, when Vladimir became

[152] Maz., 68–70; Sim., 54–59; Nikon 10:105–13. See Kloss, *Nikonovskiy svod,* 28, 102. For Yury, see Baumgarten 2, Table XIV, 23.

[153] For Ingvar Ingorevich, see Maz., 68–70; and Baumgarten 2, Table XIV, 34.

[154] For the text, see "Povest' o razorenii Ryazani Batyem," in *A Historical Russian Reader: A Selection of Texts from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries,* ed. J. Fennell and D. Obolensky (Oxford, 1969), 76–85, 186–88. For the history of the copies, see I. A. Lobakova, "Povest' o razorenii Ryazani Batyem," in *Literatura Drevney Rusi,* 160–62; and J. Fennell and A. Stokes, *Early Russian Literature* (London, 1974), 88–97.

[155] B. A. Rybakov, "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," *Arkheologiya SSSR,* Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov, E 1–44, ed. B. A. Rybakov (Moscow, 1964), 28; and A. A. Medyntseva, "Chara Vladimira Davydovicha," in *Problemy arkheologii Yuzhnoy Rusi,* ed. T. N. Telizhenko (Kiev, 1990), 128–35. The *chara* was discovered during excavations conducted in Saray, the capital of the Golden Horde. It has been suggested that the Tatars took it as booty in 1239 when they devastated the Chernigov lands (see Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 65–66). For Vladimir and the other princes of Chernigov, see Table 2 below.

[156] Nikon 9:173, 177.

the senior prince of the Davidovichi,[157] or 1139, when Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev appointed him to rule the dynastic capital of Chernigov.[158] Once again, as in the case of the official statute issued by Vsevolod Mstislavich of Novgorod, the consideration that Vladimir dubbed himself *velikiy knyaz'* on a ceremonial bowl used at feasts concluding political pacts means that the title was official in nature.

It has been suggested that the title *velikiy knyaz'* found on the *chara* indicates that the princes of Chernigov considered themselves to be political equals to the princes of Kiev during the twelfth century.[159] This was not so. Vladimir was prince of Chernigov through the good graces of his senior cousin Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev who found it expedient to appoint him to the dynastic capital. The only way Vladimir could retain Chernigov was by pledging allegiance to his cousin. Another view seeks to debunk the assertion that Vladimir was a grand prince. It questions the reliability of the inscription on the grounds that it is uncertain which noun, *ospodar* or *knyaz'*, the adjective *velikiy* modifies.[160] Given that *velikiy knyaz'* was the title normally used by the chroniclers, there can be little doubt that the inscription refers to Vladimir as grand prince.[161] If *velikiy* modified *ospodar* this would to be the only known instance in which the appellation *ospodar velikiy* is applied to a prince of Kievan Rus'.[162]

After the inscription was incised on Vladimir Davidovich's ceremonial bowl in the first half of the twelfth century, we have no written references to grand princes of Chernigov until some fifty years later. At that time a number of compilations speak of Grand Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovich († 1198) of Chernigov.[163] During the second quarter of the thirteenth century, many of the chronicles acknowledge Mikhail Vsevolodovich as *velikiy knyaz'* of Chernigov. In 1231, when his rival for Novgorod, Yaroslav Vsevolodovich of Suzdalia, raided his patrimonial town of Serensk, a number of compilations refer to Mikhail simply as grand prince.[164] On other occasions others called

[157] He succeeded his elder brother Vsevolod; for Vladimir, see Baumgarten, Table IV, 8.

[158] Dimnik, *Dynasty*, 354–55.

[159] Rybakov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 502.

[160] Poppe argues that in the phrase *svoego ospodarya velikogo knya[zya]* the modifier *velikiy* may refer either to *ospodar* (i.e., host or lord of the house) or to *knyaz'* which in this inscription is used in the sense of "famous" or "glorious" and not as "great" or "grand" (Poppe, "Words that Serve the Authority," 176–77).

[161] For this interpretation, see Franklin, *Writing, Society and Culture*, 59; and Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 65–66.

[162] The title *ospodar* (*hospodar*) was adopted in the middle of the fifteenth century (Vodoff, "Remarques sur la valeur du terme 'tsar'," 25).

[163] Mosk., 99; Vosk., 107; Nikon 10:32–33. For Yaroslav, see Baumgarten, Table IV, 24.

[164] Lav., col. 512; Nika., 42; S1, 209. For Mikhail, see Baumgarten, Table IV, 51.

him more precisely Grand Prince Mikhail of Chernigov.[165] Still others, in addition to calling him Grand Prince Mikhail or Grand Prince Mikhail of Chernigov, also identify Chernigov as a grand principality.[166]

Consequently, we see that other sources corroborate Nikon's information that, in addition to Kiev, grand princes also ruled Novgorod, Chernigov, Pereyaslavl', Smolensk, Galich, Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma, Murom, and Ryazan'. The testimony of seemingly reliable witnesses shows that the princes of these towns became recognized as grand princes at some unspecified date before 1127, when a Novgorod chronicler gave that title to Vsevolod Mstislavich. We are not told, however, why the rulers of these dynastic capitals were allowed to style themselves as grand princes. What were the criteria for holding that title? Since Vsevolod Mstislavich in Novgorod and Vladimir Davidovich in Chernigov were the earliest non-Kievan grand princes identified by the sources, let us determine the highest credentials that they had in common.

As we have seen, after 1124 Vladimir was the senior prince of the Davidovichi family in the Chernigov dynasty and, after 1139, he became the ruler of the dynastic capital of Chernigov. Vsevolod, for his part, was also a senior prince. He was the eldest son of Mstislav who was the eldest son of Vladimir Monomakh. Moreover, he ruled the capital town of the Novgorod lands. Thus, Vladimir and Vsevolod had two important credentials in common: each was the senior prince in his family and each ruled a capital town. But did these qualifications alone give them the right to style themselves grand princes? As has been noted, Kiev was recognized as a grand principality and this status gave its ruler the right to use the title grand prince. If a grand principality gave its prince the title, were both Novgorod and Chernigov, where Vsevolod and Vladimir ruled, raised to the level of grand principality before 1127?

Creation of the Dynastic Grand Principalities

In the light of the evidence suggesting that from the first quarter of the twelfth century senior princes ruling dynastic capitals were styled grand princes, when did the descendants of Yaroslav the Wise upgrade their capitals to grand principalities? Vsevolod, Yaroslav's last son to rule Kiev, died in 1093.[167] After that the capital of Rus' passed into the hands of Yaroslav's grandsons. In the order of genealogical seniority these were Izyaslav's son

[165] Av., col. 52; Erm., 81; Tip., 96.
[166] Pisk., 92–95; Nikon 10:98–102, 130–33.
[167] Lav., cols. 215–16.

Svyatopolk, Svyatoslav's sons Oleg, David, and Yaroslav, and Vsevolod's son Vladimir Monomakh. In 1113, after Svyatopolk died in Kiev, Vladimir Monomakh succeeded him.[168] As has been noted, in 1097 at the Congress of Lyubech Monomakh orchestrated this violation of Yaroslav's alleged system of succession that was based on seniority. Since the princes introduced such a fundamental change to their political structure at that time, did they also make other changes? More specifically, did they upgrade the status of dynastic capitals and of their princes?

In exchange for relinquishing their turn of succession to Monomakh, the three Svyatoslavichi were allowed to keep their patrimony. Moreover, at that time all the princes ratified the territorial allocations that Yaroslav the Wise had made to his three eldest sons: Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod. They also confirmed the grants of land that Vsevolod had later allotted to the son of Igor' (Yaroslav's son whom he had debarred from ruling Kiev),[169] and the sons of Rostislav (the son of Vladimir who had been given Novgorod by Yaroslav).[170] They all agreed that the only princes with a right of succession to their patrimonies were the descendants of a prince who had originally received his domain from either Yaroslav or Vsevolod. Thus Svyatopolk got Turov, which his father Izyaslav had inherited. Svyatoslav's sons Oleg and David got Chernigov, and their younger brother Yaroslav got Murom and Ryazan'. Vsevolod's son Monomakh got Pereyaslavl', Suzdalia, and Smolensk. Igor's son David got Vladimir in Volyn', and Rostislav's sons Volodar' and Vasil'ko got Peremyshl' and Terebovl' in Galicia. All the princes accepted this arrangement promising to honour the rights of the other princes to their patrimonies.[171]

Did the senior princes also promote themselves to grand princes when they confirmed the hereditary rights of their dynasties? That would have been the obvious occasion to do so. If they needed precedent for turning dynastic capitals into grand principalities they may have had an earlier example. As we have seen, Chernigov may have been a grand principality along with Kiev when Mstislav and Yaroslav were co-rulers in Rus'.[172]

The senior princes had, however, a more cogent reason for creating dynastic grand principalities. A dynastic capital was the common property of all the princes in the dynasty. Each son whose father had ruled the town had a right to sit on its throne as his turn came up according to genealogical seniority.

[168] Ipat., col. 276. For these princes and their families, see Table 1 below.
[169] Baumgarten, Table I, 30.
[170] Concerning Vladimir, see NPL, 161; Baumgarten, Table III, 1; and pp. 294–95 below.
[171] For a discussion of the terms of the congress, see Dimnik, *Dynasty,* 207–22.
[172] See p. 267 above.

This system of succession to dynastic capitals imitated the order of succession to Kiev that Yaroslav the Wise had devised for the three families of the inner circle.[173] Consequently, since the ruler of the capital of Rus' was recognized as the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev, the ruler of each dynastic capital, by analogy, would be acknowledged as the *velikiy knyaz'* of his capital whether it was Turov, Chernigov, Pereyaslavl', Vladimir, or some other. Accordingly, like the title held by the prince of Kiev, the titles of the grand princes of the dynastic capitals would be recognized as institutionalized titles.[174] Although the chroniclers do not tell us that senior princes styled themselves grand princes after the Congress of Lyubech, circumstantial evidence suggests that this was the case.

The innovation created two levels of grand princes: the ones in dynastic capitals and the one in Kiev. The former would have merited the appellation because they obtained it from their grand principalities and because they were the senior princes of their dynasties. The status of the senior prince of Kiev was analogous to theirs but on the all-Rus' level. He, like they, deserved the title because he was the ruler of a grand principality, namely, Kiev. He also merited the title because, according to Yaroslav's so-called testament, the senior prince of all Yaroslav's descendants within the inner circle would normally occupy that office. In addition he had a third status that raised him above the dynastic grand princes. In the light of his seniority in the entire dynasty, and given that he ruled the capital of Rus', all the other grand princes had to pledge allegiance to him as their supreme leader just as Yaroslav's sons had submitted to his political supremacy.[175] Thus, at Lyubech the status of the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev grew in prestige after all the dynastic grand princes acknowledged him to be their head. The title signified that he wore the mantle of political supremacy in the land.

It is important to note that all the grand princes who ruled dynastic capitals were the senior princes of their dynasties. It would appear, however, that the chronicles did not acknowledge all the senior princes as grand princes. The notable examples of such discrimination were Volodimerko Volodarevich and his son Yaroslav Osmomysl of Galich, who were descended from Rostislav Vladimirovich of Novgorod,[176] and the princes of Polotsk, who were de-

[173] Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," 384.

[174] This was attested to by Vsevolod Mstislavich who used the title in an official statute (see pp. 278–79 above), and by Mstislav Svyatopolkovich who used it on a seal (see pp. 286–87 below).

[175] See p. 266 above.

[176] For Volodimerko and Yaroslav, see Baumgarten, Table III, 7, 13. It should be noted, however, that Nikon is the exception and identifies the two as grand princes: concerning Volodimerko, see Nikon 9:167–68; concerning Yaroslav, see Nikon 9:232.

scended from Izyaslav († 1001), an older brother of Yaroslav the Wise.[177] This implies that only select senior princes were eligible to hold the title *velikiy knyaz'*. An examination of the sources suggests that a *velikiy knyaz'* had to belong to the inner circle. That is, he had to be descended from one of three Yaroslav's sons: Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, or Vsevolod. Thus, whereas Rostislav's heirs Volodimerko and Yaroslav Osmomysl were evidently not recognized as grand princes of Galich, we have seen that the usurpers Roman Mstislavich and Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy held that title. Significantly, they were both descended from Vsevolod's son Vladimir Monomakh.[178]

Accordingly, this meant that the capital towns of the dynasties of the inner circle were elevated to the status of grand principalities. Turov, Izyaslav's patrimonial capital, would have been promoted in that manner. Svyatoslav's sons Oleg and David ruled the grand principality of Chernigov; their brother Yaroslav got Murom. Later, his dynasty bifurcated and ruled the grand principalities of Murom and Ryazan'. Vsevolod's son Vladimir Monomakh would have styled himself grand prince of Pereyaslavl', his father's patrimonial capital. His sons Yaropolk, Vyacheslav, Yury, and Andrey later ruled the towns of Vladimir in Volyn', Suzdal', and Smolensk.[179] These became the capitals of new Monomashichi dynasties and assumed the rank of grand principalities. Novgorod was an anomaly. Even though it did not have a local dynasty, the evidence that Vsevolod Mstislavich styled himself *velikiy knyaz'* indicates that the princes at Lyubech recognized it to be a grand principality.[180]

As a coda to the discussion of the Congress of Lyubech, let us make a final observation. We have seen that a lead seal with the Greek inscription "Mstislav, grand *archon* (*megas archon*) of Rus'" was found in Belgorod west of Kiev. However, the identity of the Mstislav in question is disputed. Another of the several princes suggested was Mstislav Svyatopolkovich, the eldest son of Svyatopolk of Kiev who, in 1097, summoned the princes to the Congress of Lyubech.[181] This identification is supported by chronicle evidence. Soon after the congress, Svyatopolk gave Mstislav the dynastic capital of Vladimir

[177] Concerning Izyaslav, see Dimnik, "Succession and Inheritance," 106–7; and Baumgarten, Table 1, 2.

[178] Concerning Roman, see p. 279 above; concerning Mstislav, see p. 280 above.

[179] Three of Monomakh's sons predeceased him and disappeared from the political scene: Izyaslav died in 1096; Svyatoslav died in 1114; Roman died in 1119 (see Baumgarten, Table V, 8, 9, and 13). See also Table 1 below.

[180] See pp. 278–79 above.

[181] See Yanin, *Aktovye pechati* 1:22–23. Also, concerning Mstislav Vladimirovich, see p. 267 above; and concerning Mstislav Izyaslavich, see p. 288 below. For Mstislav Svyatopolkovich, see Baumgarten, Table II, 10; and Table 1 below.

in Volyn'.[182] Following the agreement that the princes evidently reached at their meeting, Mstislav's seniority and his control of a dynastic capital gave him the right to style himself *velikiy knyaz'*. He died in 1099, two years after the congress.[183] If this identification of the prince is correct, and our investigation suggests that it is, his seal is the oldest witness confirming the use of the title *velikiy knyaz'* (i.e., *megas archon*) by the ruler of a dynastic capital. It was issued within a year or two of the congress. Moreover, the news that Mstislav used the title on an official seal is further confirmation for our observation that the designation *velikiy knyaz'* was treated as an official title.

THE GRAND PRINCES OF KIEV AFTER 1146

To judge from the evidence of Muscovite and regional compilations, after the death of Vsevolod Ol'govich in 1146 the title *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev remained in vogue. Thus, even though Vsevolod's brother Igor' († 1147) ruled Kiev for only two weeks, he merited the title.[184] Many sources also attribute it to his successor Izyaslav Mstislavich († 1154).[185] In order to secure his hold over Kiev, which his uncle Yury Vladimirovich Dolgorukiy of Suzdal' demanded for the oldest generation of Monomashichi on the grounds of their genealogical seniority, Izyaslav invited his uncle Vyacheslav († 1154) to serve as his co-ruler. As senior prince of the Monomashichi and the senior co-ruler, Vyacheslav warranted the title grand prince.[186] This was a rare occasion in the history of Rus' when the senior prince of a dynasty was, in effect, the titular grand prince of Kiev while his junior partner, also a grand prince, wielded the power.

In 1155 a period of acrimonious rivalries for Kiev ceased when Yury Dolgorukiy captured the capital of Rus'.[187] His father Vladimir Monomakh had given him Rostov as his patrimony where he became the progenitor of the local dynasty.[188] To obtain greater independence from the boyars of that town he moved his capital to the smaller Suzdal' after which the region received its name of Suzdalia. In the light of our observation that the senior princes of various dynasties probably adopted the title *velikiy knyaz'* at Lyubech, Yury styled himself grand prince of Suzdal'. Two late chronicles corroborate this

[182] Lav., col. 270.
[183] Lav., col. 273.
[184] Tver, col. 206; VL, 163.
[185] Ipat., col. 469; Mosk., 58; Erm., 40; Kholm., 44; et al.
[186] Tver, cols. 216–17, 220; Nikon 9:182.
[187] Ipat., col. 383; see also Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 55–82.
[188] For Yury's descendants, see Table 4 below.

observation.[189] Most compilations, however, attribute the title to him under the year 1149 when he occupied Kiev for the first time and, after 1155, when he ruled Kiev for two years until his death.[190] Consequently, Yury was the first *velikiy knyaz'* of Suzdalia and also the first *velikiy knyaz'* of Suzdalia to become grand prince of Kiev. Nevertheless, available evidence suggests that, like his counterparts in other dynasties, he placed little importance on his dynastic title of grand prince.

Yury was succeeded by Izyaslav Davidovich (†1161) of Chernigov, the only Davidovich to become the *velikiy knyaz'* of the capital of Rus'.[191] After his death Rostislav Mstislavich (†1167) of Smolensk replaced him in the grand principality.[192] He was followed by Mstislav Izyaslavich (†1172) of Vladimir in Volyn'. In 1169, however, a coalition of princes assembled by Andrey Yur'evich Bogolyubskiy of Suzdalia deposed him and sacked Kiev.[193]

To judge from the chroniclers' infrequent application of the title *velikiy knyaz'* before the third quarter of the twelfth century, especially in NPL, Lav., and Ipat., princes did not place great emphasis on its use. Nevertheless, as we have seen, it evidently acquired a legal character at least for a number of them who used it as their official title in statutes, on a seal, and on a ceremonial cup. However, it would seem that, since their main political objective was to become the supreme ruler in the land by occupying Kiev, they were more interested in securing the more important underlying status of "seniority" (*stareshinstvo*) in the dynasty. The consideration that on obtaining Kiev one would also receive the title *velikiy knyaz'* was, apparently, of lesser relevance. Thus, it is noteworthy that up to the third quarter of the twelfth century it was the authors of later Muscovite compilations who most consistently attributed the title to the prince of Kiev. They did so, it would seem, to enhance the political credentials of the princes of Moscow descended from Vladimir Monomakh.

[189] Maz. calls Yury grand prince for the period that he ruled Suzdal' and Rostov, but it wrongly states that he ruled Moscow (Maz. 59; see also Nikon 9:165–66, 171–72). Concerning Suzdalia's status as a grand principality, see p. 289 below.

[190] Ipat., col. 383; S1, 166; Nika., 31; Nikon 9:202; Pisk., 75; Rog., col. 21; et al.

[191] Tver, col. 225.

[192] Erm., 46; Tver, col. 233; Kholm., 51; L'vov, 123; Maz., 63; Nikon 9:233; Tip., 80; Vlad., 70; and Vosk., 74.

[193] Maz., 63; Nikon 9:233–35; Tver, col. 237; and Vlad., 70. As we have seen, a seal found in Belgorod west of Kiev has the Greek inscription "Mstislav, grand *archon* [i.e., *velikiy knyaz'*] of Rus'." According to one view, the seal belonged to Mstislav Izyaslavich (B. O. Rybakov, "Pechatky chernihivs'kykh kniaziv," *Arkheolohiia* 3 [Kiev]: 111–18). It has been shown convincingly, in our view, that this is an incorrect identification (Yanin, *Aktovye pechati* 1:20–23). Concerning Mstislav Vladimirovich, see p. 267 above; concerning Mstislav Svyatopolkovich, see pp. 286–87 above.

ANDREY BOGOLYUBSKIY IN VLADIMIR

From the third quarter of the twelfth century the chronicles begin speaking of the *velikiy knyaz'* and *velikoe knyazhenie* of Suzdalia with increasing frequency. What brought about this change? Around 1155 Yury's son Andrey Bogolyubskiy spurned the magnates of Rostov and Suzdal' by making the smaller town of Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma the capital of his grand principality. According to the reports of many chronicles which have similar information, Andrey left Kiev "to [occupy] the grand principality, and from that time the grand principality was in Vladimir" (*na velikoe knyazhenie i otsele byst' velikoe knyazhenie v Volodimere*).[194]

In keeping with our observation that Yury treated Suzdal' as the capital of his grand principality according to the Lyubech agreement, the statement that Andrey departed from Kiev "to [occupy] the grand principality" confirms this. That is, Suzdal' was a *velikoe knyazhenie* before Andrey assumed control of it. Around 1155, however, after arriving in Suzdalia from Vyshgorod near Kiev he moved the capital to Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma. He did not create a new grand principality in Suzdalia. Rather, he transferred its capital.

One of his main objectives, it is generally believed, was to raise the political importance of the *velikiy knyaz'* of Vladimir over that of the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev. He also wished to elevate the cultural and ecclesiastical status of Vladimir above that of Kiev. To this end he completed his father's building projects and initiated new ones. He built the Assumption Cathedral, erected Vladimir's Golden Gates in imitation of Kiev's, constructed a new court at Bogolyubovo, and founded the Church of the Intercession of Our Lady on the river Nerl. Endeavoring to instill a spirit of holiness in his new capital, he built a shrine for the relics of St. Leonty, the bishop of Rostov, and covertly brought the so-called Vladimir icon of the Mother of God from Vyshgorod. In his attempt to equate the Christian tradition of his capital with that of Kiev, he promoted the fiction that St. Vladimir founded Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma. He also attempted, in vain, to create a new metropolitan see.[195] In short, he imitated the achievements of Yaroslav the Wise who, after the death of his brother Mstislav in 1034, initiated ambitious religious, political, and cultural projects to enhance the glory of Kiev and his grand princely status.[196]

[194] Ust., 43; N4, 163; S1, 171; Nika., 33; Maz., 60–61; and Rog., col. 21. According to Ipat., Andrey left Vyshgorod for Vladimir in 1155 (Ipat., col. 482); for the correct date, see N. G. Berezhkov, *Khronologiya russkogo letopisaniya* (Moscow, 1963), 157.

[195] Concerning Andrey's career, see E. S. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: The Man and the Myth,* Studia historica et philologica 12, sectio slavica 4 (Florence, 1980); and Limonov, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skaia Rus'*, 38–98.

[196] See pp. 268–69 above.

If we accept the view that the princes introduced changes to dynastic nomenclature at the Congress of Lyubech, we may assume that Andrey adopted the title *velikiy knyaz'* of Suzdalia. He merited the title because he was the eldest-surviving son of Yury Dolgorukiy and because he ruled the capital of the grand principality. But Andrey wished to be more. In keeping with his policy of advancing Vladimir's status as the rival to Kiev, he also attempted to promote himself as superior to the grand prince of Kiev. As a reflection of this, it seems, from the mid-1150s almost all the chronicle compilations begin referring to him as the grand prince of Vladimir.[197]

Andrey also demonstrated his political ambitions in his relationship with the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev. After his coalition evicted Mstislav Izyaslavich from the capital in 1169, he attempted to manipulate the town's affairs through his puppets. Among these were his younger brothers whom he, as the senior prince of the dynasty, appointed to Kiev according to their genealogical seniority. Even though his lieutenants wielded only nominal power, they were dubbed grand princes. This was the case with Gleb Yur'evich († 1171), who served as Andrey's appointee longer than their younger brothers Mikhalko and Vsevolod.[198] Under Andrey, therefore, the office of the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev reached its lowest ebb: for the first time it became subservient to the grand prince of Vladimir and, in effect, an honorary office. Significantly, the prince who appointed his henchman to rule Kiev was not acknowledged as its grand prince. To carry that title one had to reside in Kiev.

In appointing his men to rule Kiev, Andrey assumed political supremacy in the land. As a result, he became grand prince on three rather than two counts: because he obtained the title from his grand principality of Vladimir; because he was the senior prince of the dynasty of Yur'evichi in Suzdalia; and because he usurped the mantle of political supremacy that the grand prince of Kiev had worn until then.[199] The last was an unprecedented accomplishment for a dynastic grand prince. Andrey, however, was denied the ultimate satisfaction. He was undoubtedly chagrined because there was no ceremony by which he could formalize his superior status over the grand prince of Kiev.

Beginning with Andrey's reign, Lav. applies the title *velikiy knyaz'* primarily to the ruler of Vladimir and almost never to the prince in Kiev thus seemingly treating the former as the superior of the two. It is noteworthy, however,

[197] See, e.g., Lav., cols. 367, 371; Ipat., col. 580; Av., col. 46; Gust., 316; Kholm., 53; L'vov, 127; Maz., 64; Mosk., 71, 73, 83–84; Nikon 9:211–53; Pisk., 78; Rog., col. 23; S1, 173–74; TL, 252, 255; Tver, cols. 225–26, 233–36; Ust., 28, 43; Vlad., 68–69; and Vosk., 76–77.

[198] Mosk., 80; Erm., 48; Kholm., 52; L'vov, 126; Nikon 9:247; Tver, col. 248; and Vosk., 85. See also Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 117, 125–26.

[199] Concerning the Congress of Lyubech, see p. 284 above; concerning Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo, see pp. 299–300 below.

that Tver, a Rostov *svod,* is less biased. It systematically refers to both as grand princes thus implying that they were of comparable political stature. Its testimony shows that the ruler of Vladimir was not held to be the superior of the two by all the citizens of Suzdalia.

Despite the Lav. chronicler's propensity for attributing the title to Andrey, the prince himself appears to have considered it to be of secondary importance. In 1171, after his brother Gleb died in Kiev, Andrey sent to the Rostislavichi a directive beginning with the declaration "You have acknowledged me your father" (*narekli mya este sobe ottsem*). In that capacity he appointed their senior prince Roman Rostislavich to rule Kiev.[200] Just as Yaroslav the Wise had designated his eldest surviving son Izyaslav to rule Kiev and to be the "father" to his younger brothers, the Rostislavichi acknowledged Andrey to be their "father" because of his genealogical seniority. He used the superiority that he enjoyed as senior prince of the Monomashichi rather than his status as grand prince of Vladimir to appoint his lieutenant to Kiev. By having recourse to his moral authority as "father" he demonstrated that he considered his dynastic status to carry greater weight than his political one.

Andrey's heavy-handed tactics were unsuccessful. He failed to assert firm control over the princes of Kiev. The Rostislavich of Smolensk proved to be especially obstreperous. Consequently, in 1173 he and Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich the grand prince of Chernigov organized a second coalition of princes with the intention of driving out the Rostislavichi from the Kievan lands. On this campaign, unlike in 1169, the troops panicked and fled following betrayal within their ranks. The Rostislavichi therefore retained control of Kiev. The Ipat. concludes its account with the comment that "the Rostislavichi placed seniority on Yaroslav [Izyaslavich of Lutsk in Volyn'] and gave him Kiev" (*Rostislavichi zhe polozhisha na Yaroslave stareshin'stvo i dasha emu Kyev*).[201] That is, it does not state that Yaroslav was made *velikiy knyaz'*. His most important qualification was being acknowledged as the senior prince of the Monomashichi even though he was junior to Andrey. This suggests that although the grand principality of Kiev remained the most cherished domain in the land, the title of grand prince of Kiev was valued less than genealogical seniority in the dynasty. The Rostislavichi testified to Kiev's desirability soon after when, changing allegiance yet again, they asked Andrey for permission to seize it for themselves from Yaroslav. On this occasion Andrey did not act autocratically. He sought the approval of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich for his decision to reappoint Roman Rostislavich of Smolensk to Kiev.[202]

[200] See under the year 1174: Ipat., col. 567. See Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 121–22.
[201] Ipat., cols. 577–78.
[202] Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 130.

His efforts to subjugate his retinue at Bogolyubovo also failed. On 29 June 1174 a gang of disgruntled boyars assassinated him. In reporting his death most chronicles call him *velikiy knyaz'*. On the one hand, it is interesting to note that Lav., the *svod* produced in Suzdalia where Andrey ruled, calls him simply "grand prince," perhaps because he was the one that its author recognized to be supreme in the land. On the other hand, Ipat., the southern compilation, calls him "grand prince of Suzdal'."[203] It does so, in part, no doubt, to distinguish him from the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev but also, perhaps, to point out that his was a lower rank because he was the grand prince of a dynastic grand principality. Just the same, the testimony of Ipat. confirms that beginning with Andrey the grand prince of Vladimir was acknowledged as a *velikiy knyaz'* by the southern chroniclers. Despite Andrey's political aspirations, however, his rule was not as secure as the author of Lav. would have us believe. After his death the grand prince's power in Suzdalia plummeted. The region broke out in vicious succession rivalries as Andrey's relatives fought for supremacy in the grand principality.[204]

Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich in Kiev

The internecine strife in Suzdalia allowed the Rostislavichi to depose Yaroslav Izyaslavich to whom they had given Kiev at an earlier date. In 1175 they replaced him with their senior prince Roman Rostislavich († 1180).[205] His rule was also of short duration. The following year he was evicted by Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich the senior prince of the Ol'govichi.[206] Svyatoslav remained grand prince for almost twenty years.

His was the longest and most illustrious reign in Kiev during the second half of the twelfth century. The roles of the princes of Kiev and Vladimir were now reversed. Whereas Andrey had dispatched his brothers to Kiev as lieutenants, after his death Svyatoslav became the kingmaker, so to speak, in Suzdalia. Andrey's brothers, Mikhalko and after him Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo, assumed the reigns of power in Vladimir with his assistance.[207] Given his successful career, it is not surprising that Lav., Ipat., and later Muscovite compilations call him *velikiy knyaz'*.[208] Just the same, at times the northern

[203] Lav., cols. 367, 371; Ipat., col. 580; see also Mosk., 83–84; Tver, col. 250; Kholm., 53; L'vov, 127; et al.

[204] Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 130–31.

[205] Ipat., col. 600; Gust., 316; compare s.a. 1174: NPL, 34, 223.

[206] Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 135–37.

[207] Ibid., 134–35.

[208] Lav., col. 397; Ipat., col. 632; Mosk., 95; Erm., 56; L'vov, 137; Nikon 10:22; et al.

compilations show their pro-Monomashichi biases. Thus, under 1185 Mosk. reports that "Grand Prince Vsevolod sent [a message] to Kiev, to Prince Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich" (*knyaz' veliki Vsevolod posla v Kiev ko knyazyu Svyatoslavu Vsevolodichu*).[209] Ten years later, in reporting Svyatoslav's death the author of Lav. writes that "Svyatoslav, the prince of Kiev, died . . . and Grand Prince Vsevolod sent his men to Kiev" (*prestavisya knyaz' Kyev'skyi Svyatoslav . . . i posla velikyi knyaz' Vsevolod muzhe svoe v Kyev*).[210] That is, the two scribes refuse to call Svyatoslav *velikiy knyaz'* but give that appellation to Vsevolod. Nevertheless, other regional compilations from Suzdalia are seemingly unbiased in their reporting in that they call both Vsevolod and Svyatoslav *velikiy knyaz'*.[211]

Under the year 1180, when Svyatoslav became prince of Novgorod for a short period of time, the town's chronicler dubbed him Svyatoslav *velikiy*.[212] Historians are not agreed what the author had in mind when using the modifier. Is *velikiy* an abbreviated form of *velikiy knyaz'* or, as some would have it, does it mean "the Great"?[213] That is, did the Novgorodian chronicler wish to report that the townspeople had welcomed Svyatoslav the grand prince of Kiev, or did he intend to honour the prince with some more illustrious designation? Significantly, this is not an isolated instance in which NPL used the term *velikiy*. As we have seen, under 1125 it reported that *Volodimir velikyi* died in Kiev.[214] Did the author of NPL use the modifier in the same sense for Vladimir Monomakh and for Svyatoslav?

Let us have a closer look at the terms *velikiy* and *velikiy knyaz'* by examining their use by the compiler of Ipat. On one occasion he speaks of Vladimir Monomakh as "grand prince of all Rus'" (*velikiy knyaz' vseya Rusi Vladimir Monomakh*) and on another as *Volodimer Monomakh velikiy*.[215] He calls Monomakh's son Mstislav "grand prince of Kiev" (*velikiy knyaz Kievskiy*) and *Mstislav velikiy*.[216] He speaks of "Grand Prince Vsevolod" (*velikiy knyaz' Vsevolod*) Bol'shoe Gnezdo and *velikiy Vsevolod*.[217] He refers to Roman Msti-

[209] Mosk., 91.

[210] Lav., col. 412.

[211] Tver, cols. 270–72; Erm., 56; L'vov, 137; et al.

[212] "And Svyatoslav *velikiy* Vsevolodovich entered Novgorod" (*I vnide Svyatoslav velikiy Vsevolodovich Novugorodu*) (NPL, 36, 226); see also Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 148–50.

[213] A number of historians interpret *velikiy* to mean "the Great" as, for example when it is applied to "Mstislav the Great" (*Mstislav velikiy*); see Fennell, *Crisis of Medieval Russia*, 201, 202, 205; Rybakov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 464, 490, 520; and Tolochko, *Drevnyaya Rus'*, 112, 119, 135.

[214] NPL, 21, 205, and 160. Also, see p. 265 above.

[215] Ipat., cols. 289, 303.

[216] Ipat., col. 303.

[217] Ipat., cols. 652–59.

slavich of Galich as "grand prince" (*velikiy knyaz'*) and *velikiy Roman.*[218] From this data we may conclude that the compiler uses the terms, *velikiy* and *velikiy knyaz'* (or *knyaz' velikiy*) interchangeably. It appears that authors used the modifier *velikiy* as the abbreviated form of "great among princes" (*velikiy v knyazekh*) the manner in which Ioann identified Svyatoslav Yaroslavich in the *Izbornik of 1073.*[219] Thus, when the Novgorodians dubbed Svyatoslav *velikiy* they were undoubtedly referring to him as "great among princes" (*velikiy v knyazyekh*), that is, as grand prince of Kiev.[220] It is unlikely that they were acknowledging him to be the *velikiy knyaz'* of Novgorod.

THE GRAND PRINCE OF NOVGOROD

The Novgorodians' acknowledgement of Svyatoslav as *velikiy* raises the question of Novgorod's *velikiy knyaz'*. Why were certain princes in that town called grand princes even though it had no hereditary dynasty?

Yaroslav the Wise had allocated Novgorod as a patrimony to his eldest son Vladimir (the elder brother of Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod) who died in 1052, two years before Yaroslav.[221] In reporting Vladimir's death NPL, Lav., and Ipat. state that he was Yaroslav's "eldest" (*stareyshiy*) son.[222] The testimony of the three oldest compilations is important for at least three reasons. First, in calling Vladimir *stareyshiy* rather than *velikiy knyaz'*, the sources suggest that in 1052 Novgorod was not yet a grand principality. Second, by using that term the chronicles imply their older provenance because they are reflecting the tradition that Yaroslav expressed when he made his eldest surviving son, Izyaslav, his successor to Kiev. As an aside let us note that Nikon also uses the epithet *stareyshiy.*[223] Thus, in adhering to the oldest textual tradition it gives greater credence to its reporting in general, and more specifically to its designation of particular dynastic capitals as grand principalities. Third, because Vladimir was the eldest son, Yaroslav gave him the second most important domain in the land after Kiev.[224]

[218] Ipat., cols. 717–19, and 721.

[219] See p. 271 above.

[220] According to another view the epithet *velikiy* referred to Svyatoslav's genealogical seniority over Ryurik and was not part of his title *velikiy knyaz'* (Poppe, "On the Title of Grand Prince," 687–88).

[221] NPL, 161; see also Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," 379, and *Dynasty,* 20–21, 24–30; and see p. 284 above.

[222] NPL, 181; Lav., col. 160; Ipat., col. 149. Compare Mosk. and Tver, which call him *velikiy knyaz'* (Mosk., 379; Tver, col. 150) Theirs is obviously a later interpolation.

[223] Nikon 9:85.

[224] Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," 381–84.

As we have seen, despite Vladimir's premature death, the town became the patrimony of his heirs, namely, his son Rostislav. On becoming prince of Kiev, however, Izyaslav evicted Rostislav.[225] After that Izyaslav and his successors in Kiev appointed their lieutenants to administer Novgorod. When the princes at Lyubech upgraded the status of dynastic capitals to grand principalities they, as suggested above, also promoted Novgorod even though it did not have a resident dynasty. They probably used two arguments for giving it that status. First, it was more important than any other dynastic capital; indeed it was second in importance only to Kiev. Second, Yaroslav had allocated it as a patrimony to Vladimir, thus confirming its status as a dynastic capital.

To judge from circumstantial evidence, Monomakh gave Novgorod to his eldest son Mstislav as his patrimony at the Congress of Lyubech or soon after. Mstislav's tenure there was most successful. The townspeople were pleased with his rule in light of the information that he remained their prince for over twenty years until 1117, when Monomakh summoned him to Kiev. The Novgorodians allowed Mstislav to appoint his son Vsevolod in his place.[226] In the following year, Monomakh and Mstislav summoned the Novgorodian magnates to Kiev and made them accept unspecified terms by taking an oath on the Holy Cross.[227] Did the Novgorodians consent to accept Mstislav's heirs as their ruling dynasty at that meeting? Such an agreement could be inferred from the chronicler's statement under 1132 that Vsevolod had promised the Novgorodians to die as their prince.[228] As we have seen, his use of the term "autocrat" (*samoderzhets*) in his statute also implies that he had concluded a permanent arrangement with the town.[229] What is more, calling himself *velikiy knyaz'* shows that he treated Novgorod as the dynastic capital.[230] The citizens however became disaffected with Vsevolod and evicted him before his death.[231] Just the same, after that the town retained its status of grand principality.

[225] See *Dynasty*, 46–48.

[226] The Novgorod chronicler reports that Monomakh summoned Mstislav from Novgorod to Kiev in 1117 (NPL, 20, 204). Until then he had ruled Novgorod for twenty years (NPL, 470). Accordingly, Monomakh had sent Mstislav to Novgorod in 1097, the year of the Congress of Lyubech.

[227] NPL, 21, 204–5.

[228] NPL, 22, 207.

[229] See p. 278 above. Compare the analogous terms *samovlastets* and *edinovlastets* that the chroniclers used for Yaroslav (see p. 268 above).

[230] For Vsevolod's reign in Novgorod, see Rybakov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 540–44; Rapov, *Knyazheskie vladeniya na Rusi*, 144–45; and Dimnik, *Dynasty*, 307, 325–26, 328–31, 337–46.

[231] NPL, 24, 209.

After Vsevolod died in 1136 the written sources do not attribute the title *velikiy knyaz'* to a prince of Novgorod for over fifty years. Towards the turn of the thirteenth century, however, chroniclers give it to two of Mstislav's descendants. In 1198 Yaroslav Vladimirovich of Volyn' is identified with it,[232] and in 1216 Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy of Smolensk is given the title.[233] In 1218 he left Novgorod of his own accord to become grand prince of Galich.[234] Five years later Yaroslav Vsevolodovich of Pereyaslavl' Zalesskiy from Suzdalia assumed that title when he occupied Novgorod.[235] With his rule the dynasty of Suzdalia secured its hold over the northern emporium and sole claim to the office of *velikiy knyaz'*. The evidence that his son Alexandr Nevsky († 1263), who is identified in that manner most frequently, "inherited" the title supports this observation.[236] Although the list of Novgorodian grand princes may be incomplete, the available names intimate that only Monomashichi were accorded that title.

Consequently, the use of the designation *velikiy knyaz'* in Novgorod suggests that after the Congress of Lyubech the title was reserved solely for members of the House of Monomakh. The descendants of Monomakh's eldest son Mstislav, the Mstislavichi, evidently had a monopoly on its use up to the second decade of the thirteenth century. This evidence supports our earlier observation that the Novgorodians concluded an arrangement with Monomakh promising to treat Mstislav's heirs as the rightful rulers of Novgorod.[237] After Mstislav Udaloy abandoned Novgorod, however, Yaroslav Vsevolodovich appropriated it for the dynasty of Yury Dolgorukiy in Suzdalia. Being a Monomashich Yaroslav was also allowed to assume the title grand prince of Novgorod. Scattered chronicle references suggest that non-Monomashichi princes like Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov, who ruled Novgorod on rare occasions and for brief periods of time, were never dubbed grand princes by the townspeople.[238]

There is a corollary to the discussion on Novgorod. Under 1206 Lav. has an intriguing account according to which Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo of Vladimir sent his eldest son Konstantin of Rostov to Novgorod. Vsevolod allegedly

[232] NPL, 44, 237; N4, 178; for Yaroslav, see Baumgarten, Table V, 42.

[233] Lav., col. 492; Nika., 38; S1, 193; and Tver, col. 385.

[234] NPL, 58, 59, 259, 260–61. See also p. 280 above, and p. 303 below.

[235] Concerning his occupation of Novgorod, see NPL, 61, 263. Concerning the title, see NPL, 72, 282; Lav., col. 510; Maz., 68; Nika., 42; S1, 207; Tver, col. 361; and N4, 213.

[236] Mosk., 131–34; Erm., 78–79; Kholm., 68; L'vov, 159–61; Maz., 71–72; Nika., 42–45; Nikon 10:118–25; N2, 184; Pisk., 88–91; Sim., 61–64; S1, 220–26; Tver, cols. 375–81; and Vosk., 146–49.

[237] See p. 295 above.

[238] Concerning Svyatoslav's rule in Novgorod, see pp. 293–94 above.

declared that he was sending Konstantin because he was the "senior" (*starshiy*) of all his brothers not only in Suzdalia but also in all of Rus', and that Novgorod had "seniority" (*stareishin'stvo*) over all the other principalities in Rus'.[239] It has been pointed out that a Rostov chronicler wrote the entry with his characteristic pro-Suzdalian bias, and that it was interpolated into Lav. during the second half of the thirteenth century.[240] The information therefore cannot be used as a reliable contemporary witness. Just the same, it is noteworthy that the chronicler held Konstantin's status as *starshiy knyaz'* to be of greater importance than *velikiy knyaz'*. As we shall see, he was probably reflecting Vsevolod's sentiment towards the hierarchy of the two positions.

RYURIK AND VSEVOLOD BOL'SHOE GNEZDO

In 1181 Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich, the senior prince of Chernigov, assumed permanent rule in Kiev. Nevertheless, his status was anomalous. As the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev he wielded real power, but he was also the senior co-ruler with no authority over the surrounding Kievan lands. The co-ruler Ryurik Rostislavich of Vruchiy occupied Belgorod and controlled the Kievan domains. Ipat., and it alone, calls Ryurik *velikiy knyaz'* even though he was not resident in Kiev.[241] As we have seen, Ipat. contains Ryurik's chronicle and it was probably its author who identified his patron as a grand prince during the period of the duumvirate.[242] This spurious information reveals that contemporaries considered only Svyatoslav to be the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev.

After his death in 1194 Ryurik succeeded him in Kiev and justly assumed the title. Even so, according to the system of succession that Yaroslav the Wise had devised, which stipulated that only a senior prince of a dynasty had a claim to Kiev, Ryurik was ineligible. His elder brother David in Smolensk was the senior prince of the Rostislavichi. But there was precedent for Ryurik's assumption of power. Andrey Bogolyubskiy had appointed his brothers Gleb, Mikhalko, and Vsevolod in turn as his lieutenants in the capital of Rus', and each had been recognized as grand prince.[243] In like manner, Ryurik assumed the title as David's appointee.[244] During Ryurik's reign the relationship

[239] Lav., cols. 421–24, 489; TL, 287–89; compare NPL, 49–50, 246.

[240] A. A. Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie russkikh letopisnykh svodov XIV–XVI vv.* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1938), 9; Yu. A. Limonov, *Letopisanie Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoy Rusi* (Leningrad, 1967), 135–36.

[241] Ipat., cols. 636, 682, 707 and elsewhere.

[242] Concerning Ryurik's chronicle, see p. 257 above.

[243] See p. 290 above.

[244] Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 209, 213.

between the grand princes of Kiev and Vladimir underwent another important albeit short-lived shift in the balance of power.

In Suzdalia, after Andrey Bogolyubskiy was assassinated in 1174, his nephew Yaropolk Rostislavich usurped the grand principality of Vladimir for a brief period of time. Mikhalko, Andrey's brother, evicted the nephew but died two years later. Despite their short reigns both were acknowledged as grand princes.[245] In 1176 Mikhalko's brother Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo succeeded him and ruled for thirty-six years. Most chronicles identify him as *velikiy knyaz'* from the earliest years of his reign.[246] They demonstrate the same deference to Vsevolod's wife by calling her "grand princess" (*velikaya knyaginya*).[247]

The chroniclers' penchant for attributing the title to Vsevolod has led some historians to observe, correctly it would seem, that he was more preoccupied with his grand princely status than his predecessors had been. Some also argue, again probably correctly, that he was the first to embrace the title systematically.[248] More precisely, it has been observed that Vsevolod, or his chronicler, began applying the title consistently after 1190, and that its use became most pronounced after 1195.[249] The last two observations are apropos because the two dates reflect important milestones in Vsevolod's political career.

Before 1189, when the chronicles refer to Vsevolod as *velikiy knyaz'*, they mean simply that he was the senior prince of the Yur'evichi of Suzdalia and the grand prince of Vladimir. Around that year, however, he acquired a greater status. He evidently asserted his dynastic seniority over the entire House of Monomakh by forcing all three dynasties in the House to acknowledge him as their senior prince.[250] That is, he assumed the moral authority of

[245] Concerning Yaropolk, see Tver, cols. 256–59; see also Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 130–31. Concerning Mikhalko, see Lav., col. 377; Gust., 317; Kholm., 54; L'vov, 131; Maz., 65; Pisk., 79; Tver, col. 259; et al. Compare Poppe, who claims that the title *velikiy knyaz'* when used for Mikhalko did not mean "grand prince" but was used in the sense of "chief prince" ("Words that Serve the Authority," 174).

[246] Lav., s.a. 1186: col. 396 and passim; NPL, 49, 246; Ipat., s.a. 1178: col. 613 and elsewhere; Mosk., s.a. 1181: p. 90 and passim; Erm., s.a. 1184: p. 53 and elsewhere; Nika., s.a. 1183: p. 36 and elsewhere; Nikon 10, s.a. 1177: p. 3 and *passim;* Pisk., s.a. 1178: p. 79 and elsewhere; S1, s.a. 1183: p. 179 and elsewhere; VL, s.a. 1177: p. 68; Tip., s.a. 1177: p. 82 and elsewhere; Tver, s.a. 1177: col. 261 and passim; and Ust., s.a. 1177: p. 29.

[247] Lav., cols. 417, 421, 424; L'vov, 144; Mosk., 104.

[248] Goetz, "Der Titel 'Grossfürst'" (1910), 59; Poppe, "On the Title of Grand Prince," 685. A. A. Shakhmatov says that in Lav. and the *Pereyaslavskaya letopis'* up to 1185 inclusive Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo is called simply prince (*knyaz'*), but beginning with 1186 he is systematically called *velikiy knyaz'* (*Obozrenie,* 12).

[249] Poppe, "Words that Serve the Authority," 174.

[250] Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 193–95.

the "father" over his own dynasty in Suzdalia, over the dynasty headed by Roman Mstislavich in Vladimir in Volyn', and over the Rostislavichi headed by David of Smolensk. The dynastic seniority gave Vsevolod's office of grand prince of Vladimir unprecedented clout. He evidently wished to reflect his increased political power by stressing his grand princely status in the chronicles.

In 1194 Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Kiev died and was succeeded by Ryurik. Immediately, Vsevolod sent his officials to Kiev to install Ryurik as *velikiy knyaz'*.[251] In his capacity as senior prince of all the Monomashichi he demanded Ryurik's submission. This is confirmed by his ultimatum to Ryurik in 1195 when he reminded Ryurik that the Rostislavichi had acknowledged him to be the senior prince of all the Monomashichi and that as such he expected to receive a number of towns in the Kievan land from Ryurik.[252] Vsevolod's action reveals that he believed his seniority in the House of Monomakh carried greater weight with his relative than his rank of grand prince of Vladimir! In this he was of the same mind as other princes. As we have seen, in 1171 Andrey Bogolyubskiy, as the acknowledged "father" of the Rostislavichi, had appointed their senior prince Roman to Kiev.[253] Soon after, the Rostislavichi rebelled against Andrey and, declaring Yaroslav Izyaslavich of Lutsk to be the senior prince of all the Monomashichi, deferred to his seniority by ceding Kiev to him.[254] Significantly, in 1195 Vsevolod, like his elder brother Andrey Bogolyubskiy, did not wish to rule Kiev. Because of his seniority, however, he was determined to control the prince of Kiev by ruling domains around Kiev.

Vsevolod, like his brother Andrey Bogolyubskiy, realized that it was futile to occupy Kiev in person. He was deterred by the great distance that separated his patrimony from Kiev and by the Kievans' traditional animosity towards the dynasty of Suzdalia. Just the same, after even Ryurik acknowledged his overlordship, Vsevolod attained the zenith of his power. Like his elder brother Andrey, he secured political supremacy in the land. For the second time in Vladimir's history, its grand prince merited that title on three counts: because he ruled the grand principality of Vladimir, because he was the senior prince of the dynasty of Yur'evichi in Suzdalia, and because he usurped the mantle of supremacy from the grand prince of Kiev.[255] It is therefore not surprising that his chronicler flaunted Vsevolod's grand princely status. Lav. repeatedly

[251] Lav., col. 412; see Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 211.
[252] Ipat., col. 683; Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 213.
[253] See p. 291 above.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Concerning the mantle of supremacy, see pp. 285 and 290 above.

calls him grand prince but never attributes that title to Ryurik.[256] It is noteworthy, however, that Ipat., the Kievan *svod* which incorporated Ryurik's chronicle, does identify him as the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev.[257]

After 1194, therefore, Vsevolod's military resources were unmatched in the land. In addition to commanding the loyalty of the patrimonial domains of Suzdalia, Smolensk, Pereyaslavl', and Volyn' that belonged to the House of Monomakh, he also became overlord of Kiev the capital of Rus'. His status as the senior prince of the Monomashichi increased his authority as grand prince of Vladimir, enabling him to assert his jurisdiction over the non-Monomashichi dynasties. He appointed his lieutenants to Novgorod and asserted his authority over Murom and Ryazan'. Moreover, the princes of Galicia and Chernigov sought his friendship. Once again, therefore, his increased political power must have prompted him to lay greater emphasis on his status as *velikiy knyaz'*. It was by that title, rather than as senior prince, that the non-Monomashichi princes, who owed him no loyalty on dynastic grounds, would have acknowledged him. Just the same, whereas the chroniclers consistently attribute the title *velikiy knyaz'* to Vsevolod he, or any other prince for that matter, is never reported as referring to himself as *velikiy knyaz'* in the chronicles. Instead, as we saw when he berated Ryurik for his insubordination, Vsevolod cited his status of senior prince to assert his superior authority.

In the light of Vsevolod's dual status as senior prince and grand prince, it will be useful to establish the relationship between the two by examining the different degrees of princely power that the chronicles cite. At the bottom of the ladder stood a prince who was debarred from ruling his patrimony. He was demoted to the status of *izgoi* and evidently lost the official rank of prince. Such a man usually became a soldier of fortune and offered his services to a powerful prince in the hope of obtaining a domain for his services.[258]

When a princeling reached the age of majority he was inducted into office, or the first rung on the political ladder, through the hair cutting ceremony (*postrig*) which officially confirmed on him the title "prince." At that time his father normally allocated a patrimony to him or, as was the case with Mikhail's son Rostislav, had him serve as a lieutenant in administering an important town like Novgorod.[259] On the next rung was the senior prince of a

[256] See, e.g., Lav., cols. 412, 419.

[257] See, e.g., Ipat., cols. 682, 707–8, 710–11; see also Nikon 10:23–27; Tver, col. 291.

[258] See, e.g., Boris Vyacheslavich (Dimnik, *Dynasty*, 96, 135–38), Ivan Rostislavich Berladnik (ibid., 29), and Konstantin Vladimirovich of Ryazan' (ibid., 363).

[259] Concerning the *postrig*, see M. Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev 1224–1246*, Studies and Texts 52 (Toronto, 1981), 38–39.

dynasty whom the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev appointed to rule the dynastic capital. This was the case with Vladimir Davidovich of the Davidovichi whom Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev appointed to Chernigov.[260] Above him was the senior prince of the dynasty who became grand prince of the dynastic capital through normal genealogical progression. As we shall see, Yaroslav Vsevolodovich in Vladimir was such a one.[261] Superior to him was a *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev who was an appointee of his senior prince. An example of this was Gleb the younger brother of Andrey Bogolyubskiy.[262] Above him was a senior prince and dynastic grand prince who controlled the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev because the former was his genealogical senior. David of Smolensk held such authority over Ryurik of Kiev.[263]

Above him was a *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev who held real power but was the junior co-ruler because he was not the senior prince. This was the case with Izyaslav Mstislavich, who ruled Kiev with his uncle Vyacheslav Vladimirovich.[264] Above him was his senior prince who served as the nominal co-ruler and for whom *velikiy knyaz'* was no more than an honorific title. This was the case with Vyacheslav. On the next rung was a senior prince who was a *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev with real power but also the senior co-ruler who did not control the Kievan lands. This was the status of Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich.[265] The next was a *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev who occupied the capital of Rus' through his own power but owed allegiance to his senior prince. Ryurik Rostislavich was an example of this status when, even though he was senior prince of the Rostislavichi, he was subordinate to Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo the senior prince of the entire House of Monomakh.[266] From this information we see that when a grand prince was not also the senior prince of his dynasty, he was always subject to his senior prince.

The most powerful ruler was a grand prince of Kiev or Vladimir who was also the senior prince of his dynasty and not answerable to any higher authority. Some examples of princes who wielded this power were Yaroslav the Wise, his son Izyaslav, his brother Vsevolod, his son Vladimir Monomakh, his son Mstislav, Vsevolod Ol'govich, Andrey Bogolyubskiy, his brother Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo, and, as we shall see, Mikhail Vsevolodovich.

Vsevolod's hold over Kiev was short-lived. In 1197, three years after Ryurik occupied Kiev his elder brother David died and Ryurik became the senior

[260] Dimnik, *Dynasty,* 355, and *Dynasty II,* 65–66.
[261] See p. 304 below.
[262] See p. 290 above.
[263] See p. 297 above.
[264] See p. 287 above.
[265] See Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 150–52.
[266] See p. 299 above.

prince of the Rostislavichi. The increased power that his genealogical seniority brought with it emboldened Ryurik. He rebelled against Vsevolod for refusing to help him against Roman Mstislavich of Galich and Yaroslav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov. In 1202 Roman evicted Ryurik from Kiev and gave it to Ingvar Yaroslavich of Volyn'.[267] The following year, after Ryurik was reconciled with Vsevolod and Roman, the former reinstated him in Kiev.[268] In 1204, however, Roman once again deposed Ryurik and forced him to become a monk. Vsevolod appointed Ryurik's son Rostislav to Kiev. Finally, in 1205 after Roman fell in battle Ryurik reinstated himself in Kiev without Vsevolod's blessing.[269] Seeing that the grand prince of Vladimir had lost his grip on the maverick Rostislavich, Vsevolod Svyatoslavich Chermnyy of Chernigov attempted unsuccessfully to evict him from Kiev. When Ryurik died in 1208 he was still at loggerheads with Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo.[270] Thus the efforts of the grand prince of Vladimir to assert his control over Kiev ultimately failed.

Following Ryurik's death Vsevolod Chermnyy the senior prince of the Ol'govichi seized the capital of Rus'.[271] Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo could not demand the same dynastic loyalty from him that he had required from Ryurik. Nevertheless, the grand prince of Suzdalia was still feared as the most powerful ruler and Vsevolod Chermnyy deferred to him. The two formed a pact making theirs the most powerful alliance in the land. Consequently, towards the end of his life, after Ryurik rebelled against him and after Vsevolod Chermnyy occupied Kiev, Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo gave up his efforts to control the affairs of southern Rus'. Instead, he concentrated on asserting his supremacy in the north and northeast, over Novgorod, Murom, Ryazan', and the Volga trade route.

THE LAST GRAND PRINCES OF KIEV

In 1212, after Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo died and deprived Vsevolod Chermnyy of his most powerful ally, the Rostislavichi attacked Kiev, forcing Vsevolod Chermnyy to flee to Chernigov where he died.[272] They therefore gave Kiev to their senior prince Mstislav Romanovich, who never engaged in

[267] Tver, col. 291. For Ingvar, see Baumgarten, Table XIV, 1.
[268] Lav., col. 419.
[269] Lav., cols. 417–21, 425–26.
[270] For Ryurik's career, see Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 212–64.
[271] Tip., 85; Pisk., 81; concerning Ryurik's death, see Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 264–65.
[272] For Vsevolod Chermnyy's career, see Dimnik, *Dynasty II,* 249–80.

conflicts with the new *velikiy knyaz'* in Vladimir.[273] Indeed, Vsevolod's successor Yury was at first too preoccupied with securing his rule because, after his father's death, the power of the grand prince of Vladimir plummeted. We can single out two reasons for the decline. The first was the decision of Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo to carve up his domains among his numerous sons thus diminishing the grand prince's territorial base and military power. The second was his imprudent resolve to alter the traditional order of succession by designating his second son Yury to succeed him as *velikiy knyaz'* rather than his eldest son Konstantin.

The last measure was a violation of the traditional practice of succession based on seniority ordained by Yaroslav the Wise. Like his forefather Monomakh, who had transgressed the system of succession at the Congress of Lyubech by preempting the turn of the Svyatoslavichi to Kiev, Vsevolod designated as his successor to Vladimir his second son rather than the eldest. Despite this breach of tradition Vsevolod—like Monomakh, who had obtained the approval of all the princes in the land for his enactment—had recourse to a similar procedure to legitimize his deviation. He summoned a general assembly of "all his boyars from the towns and districts, Bishop Ioan, abbots, priests, merchants, courtiers, and all the people" to ratify his action.[274] Some would have supported him out of genuine loyalty while others probably acquiesced from fear of his military might. Although all the assembled pledged their support for Yury, Vsevolod could not guarantee that his decree would be fulfilled after his death. Ultimately, the success of his designation would depend on the talents and resources of the new *velikiy knyaz'* himself.

Not surprisingly, his father's ruling antagonized Konstantin. His claim that he was the rightful successor was justified on the grounds of seniority. The rivalry reached its climax in 1216 at the battle of Lipitsa where Konstantin and Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy of Novgorod defeated Yury and his younger brother Yaroslav. Konstantin therefore added the title of *velikiy knyaz'* to that of senior prince. He, however, died two years later.[275] After that Yury reinstated himself as grand prince and adopted a policy of cooperation with the grand prince of Kiev.

In the same year Mstislav Udaloy of Novgorod abandoned that town to seek his fortune in Galicia.[276] Mstislav Romanovich of Kiev, who commanded

[273] NPL, 59, 260; Lav., col. 502; Mosk., 116; Erm., 66–67; L'vov, 149–50; Nikon 10:79–82; and Tver, cols. 327–29.

[274] Mosk., 108; Fennell, *Crisis of Medieval Russia*, 46.

[275] Lav., cols. 441–42; Mosk., 116; Erm., 67; Tver, col. 329; Vosk., 125–26; Rog., col. 26; and Sim., 49–50.

[276] See p. 287 above.

the loyalty of the southern princes, summoned them to help his cousin seize Galich from the Hungarians. The alliance he controlled made him the acknowledged supreme grand prince in the land. This was confirmed when almost all the princes of Rus', except those from Suzdalia, joined him on the campaign against the Tatars. In 1223 the enemy overwhelmed the coalition of princes and Mstislav fell in battle at the river Kalka.[277]

The next Rostislavich in seniority, Ryurik's son Vladimir, succeeded his cousin in Kiev. He also preoccupied himself with southern affairs and did not challenge Yury over supremacy. In 1235, however, the pact he formed with Daniil Romanovich of Galich antagonized Mikhail Vsevolodovich of Chernigov. The irate prince evicted Vladimir from Kiev with the help of the Polovtsy and replaced him with Izyaslav Mstislavich of the Rostislavichi.[278] Even though Izyaslav served as Mikhail's lieutenant in Kiev for only a few months a number of the chronicles refer to him as *velikiy knyaz'*.[279] Not long after they captured Vladimir, the Polovtsy released him and Mikhail reinstated him in Kiev. On this occasion his stay there was short. In 1236 the alliance of princes headed by Yury and Daniil deposed him and deputed Yury's younger brother Yaroslav to occupy Kiev. But he, like his father Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo, his uncles Andrey Bogolyubskiy and Gleb, and his grandfather Yury Dolgorukiy, had no hope of securing a firm foothold in the capital. The Kievans rejected his rule and forced him to vacate the town.[280]

After that Mikhail occupied Kiev in person. During his reign as grand prince of Chernigov and grand prince of Kiev his relationship with the grand prince of Vladimir was amicable. The two were brothers-in-law and for most of their reigns worked hand in glove as none of their predecessors had done. The question of who was the superior *velikiy knyaz'* never arose. Yury remained in office until 1238, when he fell victim to the Tatar lance.[281] His brother Yaroslav replaced him on the grand princely throne of Vladimir.[282] He, however, had a history of animosity towards Mikhail who had undermined his authority in Novgorod.

In 1240 the Tatars captured Kiev and terminated the traditional system of succession according to which Mikhail had occupied the capital. Three years

[277] NPL, 63, 267; Mosk., 120–21; Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 295–96.

[278] Lav., col. 513; Mosk., 126; see also Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 328–29.

[279] Lav., col. 513; Nika., 42; S1, 210; Tver, col. 364.

[280] Lav., col. 513; Mosk., 126; Sim., 54; S1, 210; Vosk., 138. See also, Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 337–39.

[281] Lav., cols. 465, 519; Ipat., col., 779; Mosk., 128; and L'vov, 156–58.

[282] Lav., cols. 467–70; Mosk., 130; Erm., 78–79; Kholm., 67; L'vov, 159–60; Nika., 42–45; Pisk., 86–88; Sim., 59; Tver, cols. 373–74; and Vosk., 144.

later, Yaroslav travelled to Khan Baty in Saray to obtain the patent (*yarlyk*) for the grand principality of Vladimir. He also asked to be granted Kiev either in the hope of avenging himself on Mikhail or in the hope of acquiring the most prestigious grand principality in Rus', or both. He succeeded not because he was more powerful than Mikhail but because he won the backing of the new overlord. Baty, it appears, was also determined to avenge himself on Mikhail for killing Tatar envoys.[283]

The khan therefore conferred supreme power in Rus' on Yaroslav by naming him the "senior of all the princes in the Russian tongue" (*starei vsem knyazem v Russkom yazytse*) and by giving him the patents for Vladimir and Kiev.[284] He did not designate Yaroslav *velikiy knyaz'* of all Rus'. Rather he, or the chronicler writing the report, called Yaroslav senior prince, the title that signified supreme authority in a dynasty. In Baty's view, it appears, the status of senior prince outranked that of *velikiy knyaz'*. Thus, the position of the senior prince of all Rus' assimilated the grand princely offices of Vladimir and Kiev. After that Yaroslav became the absentee ruler of Kiev.[285] His victory, however, was short-lived. In 1246 the Tatars summoned him to the Great Khan's Court in distant Karakorum, where he was poisoned.[286] After that, Yaroslav's younger brother Svyatoslav replaced him in Vladimir.[287]

In the same year the Tatars executed Mikhail in Saray at Baty's command. It is noteworthy that even though the khan refused to give him the *yarlyk* for Kiev, in reporting his death most chronicles identify him as the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev.[288] Not surprisingly, the authors of those accounts in Lav. and Ipat. refused to give Mikhail that title because they reflected the views of his two staunchest enemies: Lav. represented Yaroslav of Vladimir, and Ipat. represented Daniil of Galich. The testimony of the majority of the chroniclers is a truer reflection of the real situation. Mikhail was the last autonomous prince of Kiev who attained the mantle of supremacy in Rus' according to the traditional system of lateral succession instituted by Yaroslav the Wise. In their view, it appears, he died as the last *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev.

[283] Concerning the execution of the envoys, see Dimnik, *Mikhail*, 87–88, 134–35.

[284] Lav., col. 470.

[285] In 1245, when Daniil of Galich passed through Kiev, he reported that it was administered by Yaroslav's boyar Dmitry Eikovich (Ipat., col. 806; see Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 367).

[286] Lav., col. 471; see also Dimnik, *Dynasty II*, 371.

[287] Lav., col. 471; Vlad., 91.

[288] NPL, 298–303; Mosk., 136–39; Kholm., 69–71; Maz., 71–72; Nikon 10:130–33; Pisk., 92–95; Sim., 66–69; S1, 230–35; Tip., 96; Tver, cols. 386–95; and Vosk., 152–56. Concerning Mikhail's career, see Dimnik, *Mikhail*, passim, and *Dynasty II*, 299–374.

CONCLUSION

We have seen that there is little contemporary data for examining the use of the title *velikiy knyaz'* during the Kievan Rus' period. Most of our information comes from late chronicle compilations and late copies of documents authored by princes or their contemporaries. The three oldest compilations, NPL, Lav., and Ipat., seldom use the title up to the beginning of the twelfth century. When they do apply it they are consistent in attributing it to the prince of Kiev. Some investigators have suggested that most of the chronicle references to grand princes after that time are unreliable later interpolations. Nevertheless, the evidence of independent documents seemingly corroborates the chronicle data. Compilers are also generally in agreement concerning the identities of grand princes who lived after the middle of the twelfth century. A number, however, reveal their biases by attributing the title, in the main, to their preferred princes ruling either Kiev or Vladimir. Nikon uses the title most liberally and calls seemingly every dynastic senior prince a *velikiy knyaz'*. Independent sources support many of its identifications of dynastic grand princes.

Up to the third quarter of the eleventh century the title *velikiy knyaz'* was in contention with others like *kagan* and "tsar," but it won out as the preferred appellation. Even so, the first chroniclers seemingly ignored it or were reticent to ascribe it to the prince of Kiev. As the concept of *velikiy knyaz'* evolved and grew in prestige, however, they attributed the title to the prince of Kiev with increasing frequency. It witnessed its heyday, so to speak, when the Suzdalian chroniclers attempted to appropriate it solely for the *velikiy knyaz'* of Vladimir.

Thus, we have seen that Oleg, Igor', and Svyatoslav were not called grand princes by their contemporaries in Rus'. The title *velikiy knyaz'* in the PVL was a translation and an adaptation of the one given to them in Greek texts. There is also no conclusive proof that Vladimir used the designation even though later chroniclers ascribe it to him. Many authors dub him "the Great" (*velikiy*) in recognition of his Christianization of Rus'. His son Yaroslav the Wise was probably the first to style himself *velikiy knyaz'*. This being the case, the title came into usage some fifty years before the chroniclers inserted it into the PVL at the beginning of the twelfth century. For Yaroslav, who employed it as an official title in his documents, it signified his political status as the autocrat of Rus' ruling the grand principality of Kiev. Significantly, when designating his eldest son Izyaslav as his successor, he decreed that Izyaslav's genealogical status as senior prince, or the "father" of the family, required all his brothers to submit to him. That is, in his system of succession

genealogical seniority and not the office of *velikiy knyaz'* was the fundamental concept underlying the political structure of Rus'. A prince's seniority in the dynasty gave him the right to rule the grand principality of Kiev and to be supreme ruler or *velikiy knyaz'* over all the other princes descended from Yaroslav.

Not all princes, however, abided by the rules of Yaroslav's system of succession. His son Svyatoslav proved that the rank of senior prince was not a prerequisite for assuming the grand princely office if one violated Yaroslav's system by usurping power. Since Kiev held the status of a grand principality it gave its ruler the right to be called *velikiy knyaz'*. It did not matter whether he occupied the town through peaceful succession, by usurpation, or as another man's puppet.

The princes attending the Congress of Lyubech probably upgraded the dynastic capitals ruled by the senior princes of the inner circle to grand principalities. Consequently, these senior princes assumed the status of *velikiy knyaz'*. Nevertheless, contemporary scribes seemingly ignored acknowledging dynastic grand princes by not attributing that title to them in the chronicles even though some of these princes employed it in documents and on objects signifying their authority. To judge from chronicle descriptions of succession rivalries, seniority outweighed the grand princely status in importance because it was the underlying prerequisite for ruling the grand principality of Kiev and the dynastic grand principalities.

After the death of Yury Dolgorukiy the office of the dynastic grand prince of Suzdalia attained an increased importance. His son Andrey Bogolyubskiy attempted to displace the grand prince of Kiev from his primacy in Rus' by making the office of grand prince of Vladimir superior to the one in Kiev. Thus, for a period of time during Andrey's reign the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev exercised merely a titular function. Following his death the chroniclers' application of the title to the rulers of Kiev and Vladimir reflected their rivalry for supremacy in the land.

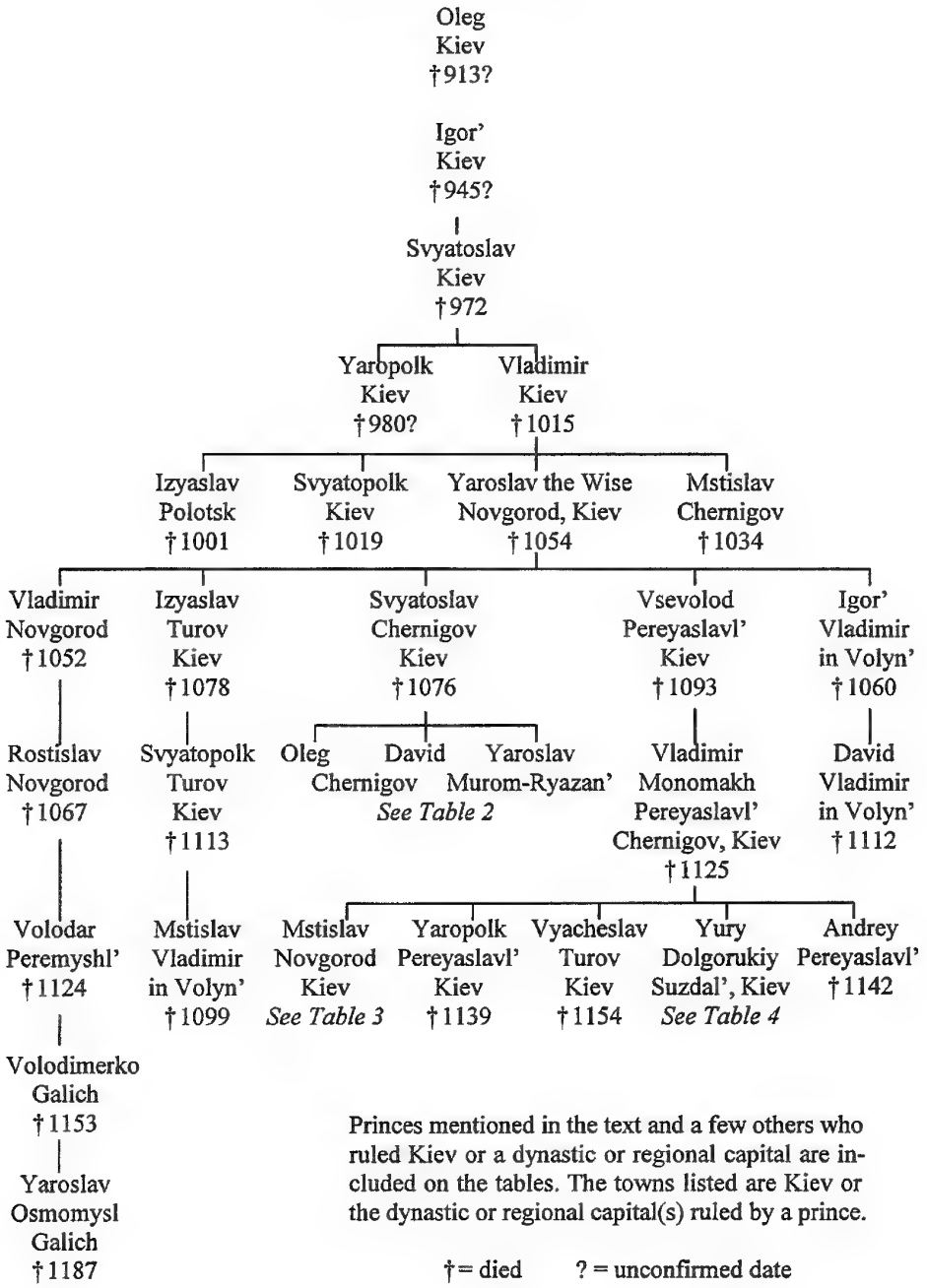
In Vladimir, the power of the grand prince reached its peak with Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo. His military might as the grand prince of Vladimir enabled him to assert his status of senior prince over the three dynasties in the House of Monomakh. Command of their joint military forces made him the most powerful *velikiy knyaz'* in the land. This supremacy in turn enabled him to assert his overlordship over the non-Monomashichi dynasties. Thus, whereas the Monomashichi owed him allegiance because of the moral authority that he wielded over them as their "father," the princes of other dynasties submitted to him because of the military superiority he held over them as *velikiy knyaz'* of Vladimir. Vsevolod's status of senior prince of the Monomashichi alliance

was therefore the basis for his military supremacy. Despite the importance that he attached to his genealogical seniority, however, chronicle evidence suggests that he had a greater fixation on the title *velikiy knyaz'* than any other prince in Kiev or Vladimir. And yet, even though the Suzdalian chroniclers consistently dub him *velikiy knyaz'*, they never report that he referred to himself by that title.

After Vsevolod died his successor lost the military superiority that he had wielded over the other dynasties. Consequently, the balance of power between Vladimir and Kiev stabilized while his son Yury ruled Vladimir and the Rostislavichi controlled Kiev. After Mikhail Vsevolodovich assumed power in Kiev he asserted his supremacy. In the end, however, the Tatars downgraded the office of the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev by conflating it with that of the *velikiy knyaz'* of Vladimir. Even so, in declaring the ruler of Vladimir to be the senior prince in all of Rus', the conquerors seemingly affirmed the tradition that held the status of senior prince to be superior to the office of *velikiy knyaz'*.

In short, our investigation suggests that the prince of Kiev styled himself *velikiy knyaz'* from the time of Yaroslav the Wise up to the reign of Mikhail Vsevolodovich. After the Congress of Lyubech the senior princes ruling the dynastic capitals of families from the inner circle were also dubbed grand princes. During the second half of the twelfth century, two grand princes of Vladimir in Suzdalia, Andrey Bogolyubskiy and Vsevolod Bol'shoe Gnezdo, successfully usurped supremacy from the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev. In the 1240s the Tatars, in effect, terminated the office of the *velikiy knyaz'* of Kiev and conferred political supremacy on their puppet in Vladimir.

TABLE 1
THE PRINCES OF KIEVAN RUS'



Princes mentioned in the text and a few others who ruled Kiev or a dynastic or regional capital are included on the tables. The towns listed are Kiev or the dynastic or regional capital(s) ruled by a prince.

† = died ? = unconfirmed date

TABLE 2
THE HOUSES OF CHERNIGOV AND MUROM-RYAZAN'

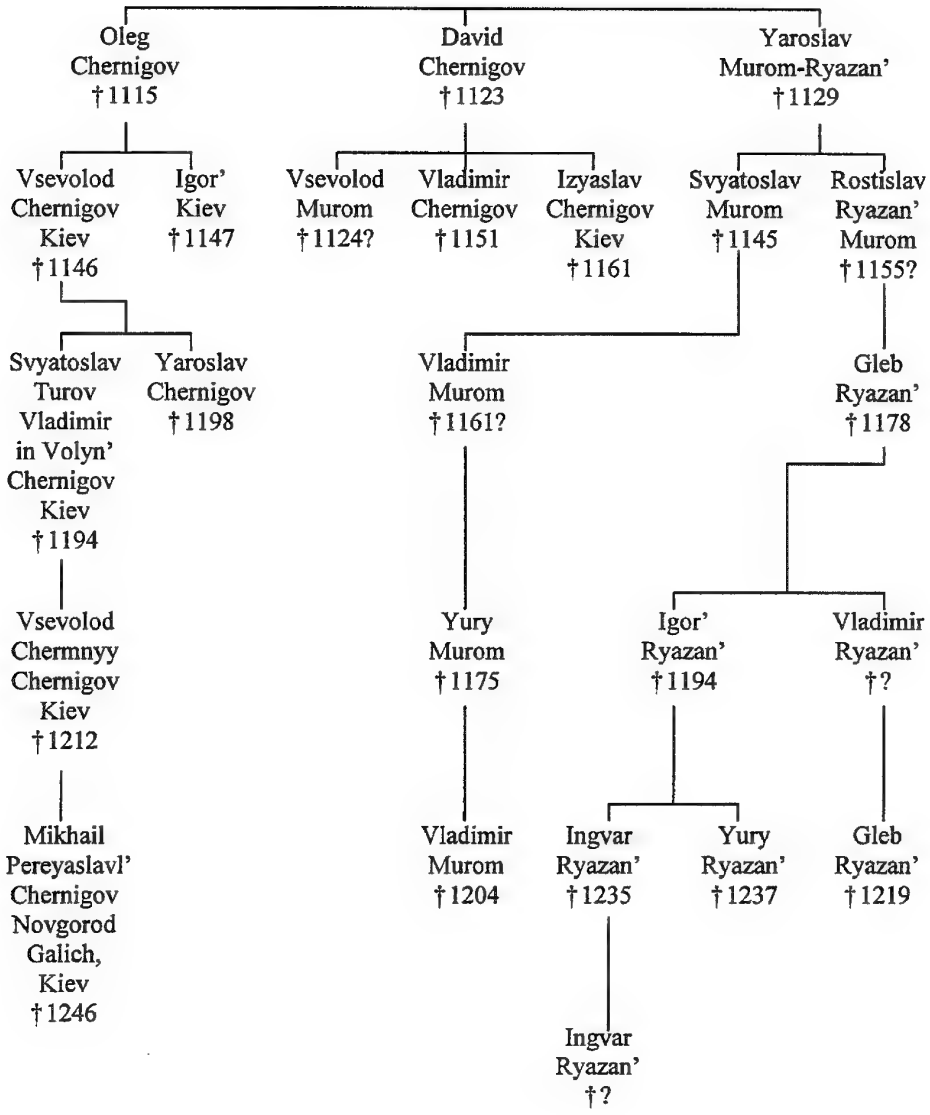


TABLE 3
THE MSTISLAVICHI

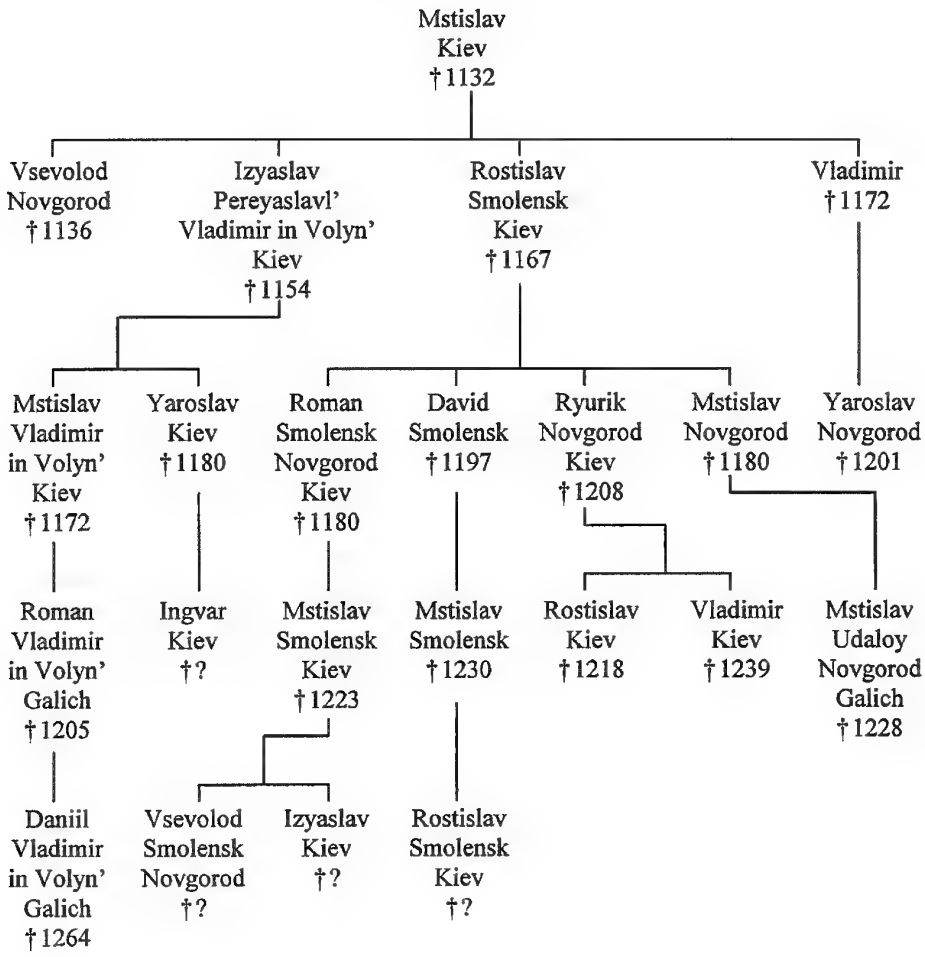
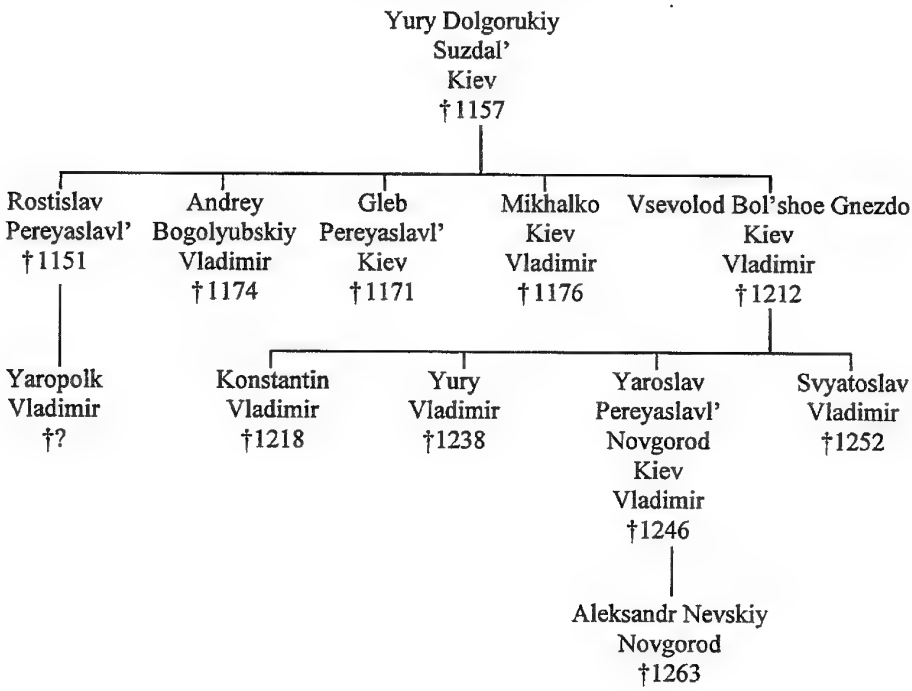


TABLE 4
THE HOUSE OF SUZDALIA



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FIBONACCI, TEACHER OF ALGEBRA: AN ANALYSIS OF CHAPTER 15.3 OF *LIBER ABBACI*

Barnabas Hughes, O.F.M.

TOWARD the end of the twelfth century, Leonardo Pisano, also known as Fibonacci,[1] began assembling a monumental work on calculations of every kind, eventually titled simply *Liber Abbaci.* Although it was completed before 1202, as noted in the manuscript,[2] the introduction makes it clear that the text at hand is the revised copy of 1228 which Fibonacci dedicated to Michael Scot (ca. 1175–ca. 1235), astrologer to the court of Frederick II.[3] Fibonacci gathered the material under fifteen chapters, the last of which—"Rules Belonging to Geometry and Problems from Algebra and Almuchabala"—is divided into three parts: "Ratios of Three and Four Quantities"; "Solution of Certain Geometric Problems"; and "Method of Algebra and Almuchabala."[4] While many histories of mathematics pay respectful attention to

[1] The most recent biography is in R. Franci, "Il *Liber Abaci* di Leonardo Fibonacci 1202–2002," in *La matematica nella società e nella cultura* (Bollettino della Unione Matematica Italiana, ser. 8, 5-A [2002]), 293–307, which contains material not found in K. Vogel, "Fibonacci," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography,* vol. 4 (New York, 1971), 604–13, or R. Grimm, "The Autobiography of Leonardo Pisano," *The Fibonacci Quarterly* 11 (1973): 99–104, such as his early education in Bugia, Algeria. For a careful study of Arab/Islamic education, see M. Abdeljaouad, "Issues about the Status of Mathematics Teaching in Arab Countries—Elements of Its History and Some Case Studies," in *International Congress on Mathematics Education 2004,* available at http://facstaff.uindy.edu/~oaks/Biblio/issues_Abdeljaouad.PDF. Two studies in the history of algebra are helpful for putting Fibonacci's work in a larger context: R. Franci and L. Toti Rigatelli, "Toward a History of Algebra from Leonardo of Pisa to Luca Pacioli," *Janus* 72/1–3 (1985): 17–82; and K. Parshall, "The Art of Algebra from al-Khwārizmī to Viète: A Study in the Natural Selection of Ideas," *History of Science* 72/2 (1988): 129–64.

[2] Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale Magl. I 2616, fol. 1r.

[3] For the extent and influence of the scientific court of Frederick II, see P. Toubert and A. P. Bagliani, eds., *Federico II e le scienze* (Palermo, 1994).

[4] "Partes huius ultima (*sic*) capituli sunt tres: quarum prima erit de proportionibus trium et quattuor quantitatum, ad quas multe questionum geometrie pertinentium solutiones reddiguntur; secunda erit de solutionibus quarumdam questionum geometricalium; tertia erit super modum algebre et almuchabale" (B 383.11–17; L 307.3–12); the citations refer to the page and line numbers in Boncompagni's and Libri's transcriptions (see n. 9 below); further, wherever just the statement of a problem is given, no references are offered because they are easily found in the Appendix by problem number.

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Liber Abbaci,[5] none offers the analysis of the algebraic section of chap. 15.3 offered here in two parts and an Appendix. The first part, on Fibonacci's text, discusses the manuscripts and printed copies of *Liber Abbaci,* his resources, the meaning of algebra and its content, the method of algebra, and terminology. The second part focuses on Fibonacci as a teacher; this includes what I view as his supposed method for teaching algebra, expansion of the technique of completing the square, a list of algebraic skills, discussion of introductory equations and developmental problems, his reliance upon geometry, and his use of algebra outside chap. 15.3. The Appendix lists exemplary exercises and solved problems with probable sources and translations into symbolic equations for each problem.

THE TEXT

Manuscripts and Printed Transcriptions of *Liber Abbaci.*

Resources available for primary research are manuscript copies, published transcriptions, and printed translations. Considerable information about the manuscript copies is available. In the following list, originally prepared by Lüneburg,[6] the manuscripts that I studied are marked by asterisks, and my additional comments on these manuscripts are in brackets:

Florence, Biblioteca nazionale centrale:

*Magl. Conv. Sopp. I 2616 (s. XIV[1]); Boncompagni's source (see below).

[*Magl. Conv. Sopp. VII 2645, fols. 54r–76r (s. XIV[1]); a heavily annotated Latin edition of chap. 15 and incorrectly identified as the algebra of al-Khwārizmī;[7] not in Lüneburg's list].

*Magl. IX 21 (s. XIV[1]) [containing only chapters 14 and 15, fols. 165(179)r–217(231)r]; Libri's source (see below).

*Magl. IX 22 (s. XV).

*Magl. IX 38 (s. XVI) [containing only chapters 14 and 15].

*Florence, Biblioteca Laurentiana Gadd. Reliqui 36 (s. XIV) [containing chapters 12 to 15, the last of which only has problems 1 to 24].

[5] For example, G. Loria, *Storia delle matematiche dall' alba della civiltà al tramonto del secolo XIX,* 2d ed. (Milan, 1982), 221–27. See also M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik,* vol. 2 (Leipzig; 2d ed. 1900, rpt. New York, 1965), 7–35; and N. Miura, "The Algebra in the *Liber Abaci* of Leonardo Pisano," *Historia Scientiarum* 21 (1981): 57–65.

[6] H. Lüneburg, *Leonardi Pisani Liber Abbaci oder Lesevergnügungen eines Mathematiker,* 2d. ed. (Mannheim, 1993), 315–16.

[7] W. Van Egmond, *Practical Mathematics in the Italian Renaissance: A Catalog of Italian Abbacus Manuscripts and Printed Books to 1600* (Florence, 1980), 101; see B. Hughes, "The Nineteen Remarks of an Early 14th Century Florentine Algebraist" (in preparation).

*Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 783 (s. XV) [containing only the last three chapters, which were copied from Magl. I 2616, listed above].
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana I 72 sup.
Naples, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Codex Farnesini, Armadio VII, Puteo C., n. 18.
*Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 3637 (*olim* 1256) (s. XIV), in an Italian hand [notable for expressing mixed numbers in the modern fashion rather than as Fibonacci did; e.g., $2\frac{3}{4}$ rather than $\frac{3}{4}$ 2].
*Paris, Bibliothèque national de France lat. 7225A (s. XV^2) [a copy of Mazarine 3637, missing chap. 14).
*Paris, Bibliothèque national de France lat. 7367 (s. XV^2) [a copy probably of lat. 7225A or vice-versa since it also lacks chap. 14].
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 1343 (s. XIII ex.).
Siena, Biblioteca pubblica communale L.IV.20 (s. XIII^2).[8]

From my review of ten manuscripts, I think that while the manuscript transcribed by Boncompagni may be the best (since it contains fewer errors in mathematics than the others), a critical edition of chap. 15.3 would bring us closer to Fibonacci's thinking about algebra because it would establish a text which now is only probable.

The published transcriptions are by Guillaume Libri (1838) and Baldassarre Boncompagni (1857).[9] At least two translations into Italian exist now in print, the first by Benedetto da Firenze (fl. 1463) whose editor, Lucia Salomone, provided an outstanding analysis of the text, the second by Mari Capioni and Letizia Puccini which provided a careful analysis of each problem.[10] Quite recently, a translation into English (the entire *Liber Abbaci*) by Laurence Sigler has been published; another English translation announced earlier by M. Dunton and Richard Grimm has not so far been located.[11]

[8] G. Arrighi put the copying in the fifteenth century; see "Il codice L.IV.21 della biblioteca degl'Intronati di Siena e la 'Bottega dell'Abaco a Santa Trinità,'" *Physis* 7 (1965): 369–400.

[9] G. Libri, ed., *Histoire des sciences mathématique en Italie depuis la renaissance des lettres jusqu'à la fin du 17e siècle,* vol. 2, 2d ed. (Halle, 1865), 307–479 [the transcription contains only chap. 15]; B. Boncompagni, ed., *Il Liber Abbaci di Leonardo Pisano,* vol. 1 of *Scritti di Leonardo Pisano, matematico del secolo decimoterzo* (Rome, 1857). For a synopsis of the entire text and a highly detailed analysis in German, consult Lüneburg, *Leonardi Pisani Liber Abbaci.*

[10] L. Salomone, ed., *Leonardo Pisano: É chasi della terza parte del xv capitulo del Liber Abaci nella trascelta a cura di Maestro Benedetto secondo la lezione del Codice L.IV.21 (sec. XV) della Biblioteca comunale di Siena,* Università di Siena Quaderni del Centro Studi della Matematica Medioevale 10 (Siena, 1984), xi–xii. Note that Benedetto began his translation with the seventh problem (L. Puccini and M. Capioni, eds. and trans., *Algebra: dal cap. 15° p. III del "Liber Abaci"* (doctoral diss., University of Siena, 1980–81); my thanks to Professor Raffaella Franci for supplying me with a copy of the dissertation.

[11] L. E. Sigler, trans., *Fibonacci's Liber Abaci: A Translation into Modern English of Leonardo Pisano's Book of Calculation* (New York, 2002). Since the translator collated each page

Comparing two transcriptions of the same manuscript is not uncommon, particularly where the second corrects numerous errors in the first.[12] Under review here, however, are two transcriptions, Libri's and Boncompagni's, reflecting different manuscripts. Having studied the two manuscripts I can testify to the general reliability of the transcriptions. Unfortunately, the printed copy of Libri's work is seriously flawed. Reading Boncompagni's and Libri's text side-by-side shows an apparent lengthy omission in Libri's text for problem 12 (according to the numbering used below) after "... res $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 pro" (L 373.15; B 413.26). What follows, "denarii $\frac{1}{8}$ 7 ..." to "... 9, extrahe" (L 375.11; B 415.2), is the conclusion of problem 13 and most of problem 14. The missing section, "superficie *fd* ..." to "... res $\frac{1}{3}$ 1 et" (B 413.26–414.14), namely, the conclusion of problem 12 and most of problem 13, is printed at L 375.12–377.9. The conclusion of problem 14, "8 remanebit 1 ...," leading to the remainder of the treatise, is at L 377.9–12 (B 415.2–4). One may wonder if this egregious printing error—for it could not have been an error in transcription—was ever pointed out to Libri.[13]

Sources for the Algebra of *Liber Abbaci.*

Any discussion of sources does well to proceed with caution.[14] While a primary source is easily recognized where copied verbatim, not so easily recognized is a source that itself is based on a primary source. For instance, the algebra of al-Khwārizmī is easily recognized, at least in stark outline, in the list of canonical equations and their typical examples. To affirm that a medieval teacher based his work directly on a copy of al-Khwārizmī's text, however, is hazardous at least. The material may have been drawn from another

of his work with the corresponding page in Boncompagni's transcription, I offer no references to Sigler's translation. Furthermore, as Prof. Dr. Heinz Lüneburg has noted, the translation is not reliable (personal communication of 25 August 2003; Lüneburg offers substantiation on the web at http://www.mathematik.uni-kl.de/~luene/miszellen/abbaci.html). For the reference to another translation, see M. Dunton and R. Grimm, "Fibonacci on Egyptian Fractions," *The Fibonacci Quarterly* 4 (1966): 339.

[12] M. Curtze, "Die Ausgabe von Jordanus' *De numeris datis* durch Prof. P. Treutlein in Karlsruhe," *Amtl. Organ der Kasier Leop.-Carol. deutsche Academie der Naturforscher Leopoldina,* Ser. I, 18 (1882): 26–31.

[13] Further note that an attendant clause in B 414.15–16, "et quia ex .a.b. ... et res $\frac{1}{3}$ 7," lost in transcription through homoioteleuton, belongs after "$\frac{1}{8}$ 7" in L 373.15.

[14] The algebra available to Fibonacci is described with great detail in Y. Dold-Samplonius, "Developments in the Solution to the Equation $cx^2 + bx = a$ from al-Khwārizmī to Fibonacci," in *From Deferent to Equant: A Volume of Studies in the History of Science in the Ancient and Medieval Near East in Honor of E. S. Kennedy,* ed. D. King and G. Saliba (New York, 1987), 71–87. R. Rashed, "Fibonacci e la matematica araba," in Toubert and Bagliani, *Federico II*, 324–37, attend to Arabic sources for arithmetic, algebra, and theory of numbers.

text itself based on al-Khwārizmī, for instance, a medieval Latin version of the algebra of Abū Kāmil (ca. 850–930), "after al-Khwārizmī (ca. 825), the earliest algebraist of the Islamic Middle Ages whose writings are extant,"[15] and the intellectual successor of the Great Persian. At least thirty problems in Fibonacci's tract reflect problems in the algebra of Abū Kāmil. At the same time some twenty-five problems in the algebra of al-Karaĵi (953–ca. 1029) are either exactly the same as or quite similar to problems in *Liber Abbaci.*[16] These resources are not to be wondered at since they are among those Fibonacci might have studied as a youth in Bugia.[17] In the Appendix I have noted which problems in his work might look to the algebras of al-Khwārizmī, Abū Kāmil, and al-Karaĵi as resources.

Might *Liber mensurationum* of Abū Bakr, a recognized geometry text of the Middle Ages,[18] have been a resource for Fibonacci? Abū Bakr's primary method for solving the problems is to manipulate the geometric parts by various arithmetic operations. In addition, the first 113 of the 158 problems offer twenty-four alternate solutions *secundum aliabram.* The author considered the algebraic solutions of another four problems so simple that with the comment "Eius vero modus (inveniendi) secundum aliabam est facilis,"[19] he offered no further elaboration. All the equations for solving the problems fall within the six types of al-Khwārizmī. But there is no congruence between any problem in *Liber Abbaci* with any problem in *Liber mensurationum.* Hence, I exclude

[15] M. Levey, ed., *The "Algebra" of Abū Kāmil Kitāb fī al-jábr wa'l-muqābala in a Commentary by Mordecai Finzi* (Madison, 1966), 3. See J. Sesiano, ed., "La version latine médiévale de l'Algèbre d'Abū Kāmil," in *Vestigia Mathematica: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Mathematics in Honour of H. L. L. Busard,* ed. M. Folkerts and J. P. Hogendijk (Amsterdam, 1993), 315–452 [references below are to marginal numbers]. For further discussion of the influence of Abū Kāmil upon Fibonacci, see S. Shalhub, "The Calculations and Algebra of Abū Kāmil Shuja ibn Aslam and His Effects on the Works of al-Karaĵi and the Work of Fibonacci," in *Deuxième Colloque Maghrabin sur l'Histoire des Mathématiques Arabes* (Tunis, 1990), A23–39. See also J. Sesiano, "Le Liber Mahameleth, un traitè mathématique latin compose au xiie siecle en Espagne," in *Histoire des Mathématiques Arabes. Prémier Colloque International d'Alger sur l'Histoire de Mathématiques Arabes, Actes du Colloque* (1986), 69–98.

[16] F. Woepcke, ed., *Extrait du Fakrî, Traité d'Algèbe par Aboû Bekr Mohammed ben al Haçan al Karkhî* (Paris, 1853). See also M. Abrarova, "The Algebraic Section of al-Karaĵi's Treatise, 'The Comprehensive Book on Arithmetic,'" in *On the History of Medieval Eastern Mathematics and Astronomy* (Tashkent, 1983), 49–53.

[17] Abdeljaouad, "Issues about the Status of Mathematics Teaching in Arab Countries" (Issue 5: What kind of mathematics textbooks?), 28

[18] H. L. L. Busard, ed., "L'Algèbre au Moyen Age: Le 'Liber Mensurationum' d'Abû Bekr," *Journal des Savants* (1968): 65–124. See also J. Høyrup, "Al-Khwārizmī, ibn Turk, and the Liber Mensurationum: On the Origins of Islamic Algebra," *Erdem* 5 (Ankara, 1986): 456–68, for additional comments on this treatise as a companion to al-Khwārizmī's *al-jabr.*

[19] Problems 40, 42, 45, and 64.

the latter as a resource for the former.[20] Finally, I respectfully disagree with Gino Loria who included Omar Khayyam among Fibonacci's sources.[21] If Fibonacci had seen Omar's *Algebra* which discusses in detail the multiform cubic equation with its solutions, I do not believe that he could have resisted incorporating at least an edited passage in his own *Liber Abbaci.* But he did not, because I do not think that Omar's tract was available.[22]

While Fibonacci depended on earlier algebraists, particularly Abū Kāmil, he carried some of their ideas farther. For instance, in establishing a geometric rationale for the three composite quadratic equations, Fibonacci offered an pictorial explanation of $x^2 + 10x = 39$ that is quite similar to that of a parallel equation in the Abū Kāmil Latin text.[23] Fibonacci added two additional explanatory figures for the other two quadratic equations, a feature lacking in the Latin copy of Abū Kāmil's work. It should also be noted that he did not always copy directly from any Latin translations of the *al-jabr* of Abū Kāmil. This is easily established: compare Fibonacci's statement of problem 14 with the same problem from Abū Kāmil Latin text:

> *Fibonacci:* Item diuisi 20 in homines, et accidit unicuique aliquid. Et addi duos homines et in omnes diuisi 60. Et accidit unicuique denarii 5 plus eo quod acciderat antea.
>
> *Abū Kāmil:* Quod si dicemus tibi: Divisi 20 dragmas per homines et contigit uni res; deinde addidi illis 2 homines, et postea divisi illis 60 dragmas, et conti[n]git uni plus eo quod contigit uni primorum 5 dragmis.[24]

Although this is the first of the divide-money-among-people problems, all of which are found in Abū Kāmil's text, Fibonacci did offer a geometric preparation for solving the algebraic equation, a feature lacking in Abū Kāmil's text. While he might have taken the idea from a geometric presentation in an earlier problem of this type in Abū Kāmil's text,[25] I would judge at least the extension of the method an innovation. In seven other problems each of

[20] J. Høyrup, "On a Collection of Geometrical Riddles and Their Role in the Shaping of Four to Six 'Algebras,'" Roskilde University Centre, Section for Philosophy and Science Studies, Preprint, March 1998, 50, hypothesizes a case aligning problem 89 in *Liber Abbaci* with problem 51 in *Liber mensurationum* by rearranging the conditions of the problem. But he himself noted "this would not agree with (Fibonacci's) faithful use of sources."

[21] Loria, *Storia delle matematiche,* 220. For Omar's algebra, see D. S. Kasir, ed., *The Algebra of Omar Khayyam* (New York, 1925; rpt. 1972).

[22] The reasons for this are detailed in B. Hughes, "Arabic Algebra: Victim of Religious and Intellectual Animus," in *Mathematische Probleme im Mittelalter: Der lateinische und arabische Sprachbereich,* ed. M. Folkerts (Wiesbaden, 1996), 197–220.

[23] Compare B 408.27–39 and L 361.2–21 with Sesiano, "La version latine," 466–86.

[24] Sesiano, "La version latine," 1685.

[25] Ibid., 1629–78.

whose initial wording is contextually the same as Abū Kāmil's, Fibonacci presented a geometric format for his equations which is not found in the Latin text of Abū Kāmil.[26]

Not to be overlooked in the resourceful thinking of Fibonacci is a remark made at the beginning of chap. 14, on the extraction of roots and allied concepts and skills, that much may be harvested from Book II of Euclid's *Elements.* Throughout the development of this chapter he will make use of certain propositions, *keys* (*claues*) he calls them, identified by statement and example rather than by number:[27]

II.1: $a(b + c + \ldots) = ab + ac + \ldots$

II.4: $a^2 + 2ab + b^2 = (a + b)^2$

II.2: $a(a + b) + b(a + b) = (a + b)^2$

II.7: $2a(a + b) + b^2 = a^2 + (a + b)^2$

II.5: $ab + (\frac{a + b}{2} - b)^2 = (\frac{a + b}{2})^2$

II.6: $b\,(2a + b) + a^2 = (a + b)^2$.

The three propositions following the first are introduced by *Item si,* but the fifth and last by *Rursus si* and *Item si.* I would suggest that the change in introductory particle signals a change in emphasis, namely, that the use of the last two propositions will be significantly different. In fact, he wrote, "All the problems in algebra and almuchabala, namely, in the book of contempt and solidation, are reduced to the last two rules."[28] Proposition II.1, of course, is used for factoring a binomial. The last two are the foundations of the three composite quadratic equations:

II.5 for $ax^2 + bx = c$ and $ax^2 = bx + c$

II.6 for $ax^2 + c = bx$

upon which the method of completing the square is based. It is strange that Fibonacci did not consider II.4 a template for quadratics of the form $x^2 + bx = c$,

[26] Fibonacci's problems are 25, 73, 77, 78, 80, 81, and 82. The corresponding problems in Abū Kāmil's text are cited in the Appendix.

[27] Here and elsewhere I have written in modern symbols what Fibonacci expressed in so many words.

[28] "Ad has quidem ultimas duas diffinitiones reducuntur omnes questionestiones (*sic*), que sunt in aliebra almuchabala scilicet in libro contemptionis et solidationis" (B 353.1–4). I have found no explanation anywhere of these two obscure terms identifying a book on algebra. The title would fit better a book devoted to the Law of Double False Position, the favored tool of Arabic problem solvers. The *contemptio* or "rejecting" may refer to a false guess that is less than the true value of the unknown quantity, and the *solidatio* or "heavying" may acknowledge an increase in its value. From these two false guesses the true value of the unknown arises.

since the first step in the procedure for solving the classical example, $x^2 + 10x = 39$, is to change $10x$ into $2(5x)$.

Where Fibonacci cited al-Khwārizmī's *Liber de algebra et almuchabala* in the title of the section on algebra, we recognize as it were "the lion's paw." The Arab had set the arrangement of the introductory material: six canonical equations with exemplary solutions together with geometric underpinnings for the solutions of the quadratic equation, namely,

Simple types	*Composite types*
$ax^2 = bx$	$ax^2 + bx = c$
$ax^2 = c$	$ax^2 = bx + c$
$x = c$	$ax^2 + c = bx$

A comparison of our text with available Latin editions of al-Khwārizmī's *Algebra* suggests that Fibonacci was not a slavish copyist.[29] Not only did he create many examples of his own, but he built a geometric scaffold to strengthen the solutions of the quadratic equations, a geometric approach different from that of al-Khwārizmī. For instance, al-Khwārizmī proved his method of completing the square on the equation $x^2 + 10x = 39$ in the following way.[30] Beginning with a square of side x, he attached two rectangles 5 by x on adjacent sides—the $2(5x)$ mentioned above, which together represent the $10x$ of the equation. The L-shaped figure has an area of 39 square units. He then completed the square (*sic*) by filling in the space between the arms of the L with a square of 25 square units. Consequently, the side of the enlarged square is $x + 5$, and the solution follows. The procedure is based on Euclid, *Elements,* Bk. II, Prop. 5. Fibonacci, on the other hand, began with the enlarged square, which matches the completed square of al-Khwārizmī, equivalent to $x^2 = 64$. He showed how various line-segments are equal in length, how the two rectangles are equal in area, and that the two squares are unequal in area. With this background for the students, Fibonacci constructed the L-shaped figure to represent $x^2 + 10x = 39$, proceeded to complete the square as above and solved the problem.[31] His is truly a novel analytic/synthetic approach.

[29] Cf. B. Hughes, ed., "Gerard of Cremona's Translation of al-Khwārizmī's *al-Jabr:* A Critical Edition," *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986): 233–36 for chap. 2; B. Hughes, ed., *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of al-Khwarizmi's al-Jabr* (Stuttgart, 1989), 30–35 for chap. 1; and W. Kaunzner, ed., *Die lateinische Algebra in MS Lyell 52 der Bodleian Library, Oxford, früher MS Admont 612,* Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 475 [Veröffentlichungen der Kommision für Geschichte der Mathematik, Naturwissenschaften und Medizin 44] (Vienna, 1986), 50–57 for chap. 1.

[30] See Hughes, *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation,* 38–39, or "Gerard of Cremona's Translation," 237–38.

[31] B 408.4–26; L 359.9–361.2.

The Meaning of Algebra and Its Content.

In line with his major sources, Fibonacci does not define the word *algebra.* For him, algebra is a method as the title of the third section of chap. 15 states, "On the Solution of Certain Problems by the Method of Algebra and Almuchabala. . . ."[32] The section begins with a statement of the three kinds of numbers on which the students will focus: roots, squares, and constant.[33] Thereafter follow rules for operating on these elements, how to form them into equations,[34] six basic equations together with procedures for solving each type, always the technique of completing the square for quadratic equations. These are the tools which students are expected to remember.[35] Further and perhaps for the first time in Latin medieval mathematics, he used the word *equation* to represent a statement of equality between two numbers.[36] At the end of the introduction which laid the foundation for solving the problems, Fibonacci wrote, "With these six rules you can find the solutions to an unlimited number of problems."[37] Nor would he let his students forget this statement. After each of the early developmental problems for which he constructs quadratic equations Fibonacci identified the type of equation by name, e.g., "thus we brought the problem to one of the six rules, namely that in which a square equals roots."[38] Farther on, as with any experienced teacher, instead of identifying the appropriate rule by description, he wrote simply "Use algebra," "Divide this as in algebra," or ". . . whence, when we use here the method of algebra, we will find. . . ."[39] In short, the algebra Fibonacci pre-

[32] ". . . de solutione quarundam questionum secundum Modum algebre et almuchabale . . ." (B 406.34–35; L 356.11–12).

[33] ". . . tres proprietates que in quolibet numero considerantur, que sunt radix, quadratus, et numerus simplex" (B 406.36–37; L 356.15–16).

[34] ". . . debent reddigi ad equationem" (B 407.3–4; L 357.21). The equations are discussed below.

[35] ". . . si immemor non fueris de hiisque superius demo(n)strata sunt" (B 455.15; L 469.4–5). See n. 119 below for more on the place of memorizing in Arabic/Islamic pedagogy.

[36] "Vnde cum in aliqua questione inuenientur census uel partes unius census equari radicibus uel numero, debent reddigi ad equationem" (B 407.2–4; L 356.29–357.2). The word was also used in astronomy/astrology to refer to the houses of the zodiac. Not until the late fifteenth century would it be reintroduced by Benedetto da Firenze: "E primo di semplici aguagliamenti è quando lo censo s'aguaglia alle chose," in Salomone, *Leonardo Pisano,* 3. For a general history of the word equation, see Hughes, "Arabic Algebra," 197–220.

[37] "Cum his autem sex regulis possunt solutiones infinitarum questionum reperiri . . ." (B 409.39–40; L 364.11–13).

[38] ". . . et sic perduximus hanc questionem ad unam ex sex regulis, ad eam uidelicet in qua census equatur radicibus" (B 410.12–13; L 365.13–15). The rules are discussed at length in the second part below, on Fibonacci as teacher.

[39] "Age secundum alzebra (*sic*) in hoc . . ." (B 446.29–30; L 449.24 *altera*); "Diuide ergo

sented in chap. 15.3 was a *method,* a set of rules for solving endless lists of mostly number theoretic problems.

How might the problems be described? The simplest description, of course, is that they begin simply and become progressively more difficult, with lengthier explanations toward the end of the tract. While a more specific categorization follows one's preference, I see eight groups of problems according to their numerical sequence in the text:

I Problems 1–18 illustrate the simple types of equations, the use of two parts of 10 ($10 - x$ and x) or 12, introduce compound types of equations, and illustrate the latter with examples focused on coins and interest.

II Problems 19–32 introduce compound types with fractional relations of two parts of 10 and the use of rational roots and radical in initial equations.

III Problems 33–51 require the square as the unknown and employ compound equations, auxiliary variables, and roots of roots.

IV Problems 52–58 emphasize solutions by proportion, one by completing the square, all explanations being quite lengthy.

V Problems 59–75 offer two solutions, the first by algebra and the second by geometry.

VI Problems 76–87 contain the *auere* problems, so called because *auere* is used for the unknown instead of *census.*

VII Problems 88–89 are called "the triplet problems" because the initial number is separated into three parts.

VIII Problems 90–99 are a miscellany of mathematical ideas, including a fourth degree equation, further discussion on ratio and proportion, and a theorem in number theory.

The descriptions that follow the sequence of numbers in any group are not meant to restrict those kinds of problems to the numbered group. That is, while the problems in Group V are solved in two ways, there are problems elsewhere in our text that are solved by both algebra and geometry. Finally, I would note that Fibonacci recognized that equations were used for solving problems; hence, he began the tract with a discussion of fifteen variations on the six equations made classical by al-Khwārizmī.

The foregoing descriptions of the problems envision solving number theoretic problems; practical applications are not within the scope of chap. 15.3, as is clear from the evidence. The latter pertain to chapters 8 through 13 of *Liber Abbaci* which focus on solving problems of all kinds: buying and selling, money exchange, interest on loans, arithmetic and geometric progressions, number puzzles, and a host of other problems. Chap. 13, entitled "The Rule of

hoc secundum algebra" (B 449.34–35; L 456.25–26); "Vnde cum agimus secundum algebra in hiis inueniemus . . ." (B 455.41; L 459 [missing; text is corrupt]).

Elcatayn Which Solves Nearly Every Problem Solved on the Abacus," highlights Fibonacci's favorite method of problem solving, the Rule of Double False Position by which "the solution of nearly every problem is found."[40] For eighteen folios, 141r through 158r,[41] Fibonacci solves many of the same kinds of problems that he addressed in the previous five chapters. While we today consider the solution of practical problems an essential component of any elementary course in algebra, such was not what Fibonacci had in mind for chap. 15.3, even though he did employ some algebra in a few practical problems prior to chap. 15.3, as is discussed below.

The Method of Algebra.

The title of the tract, "Incipit pars tertia de solutione quarumdam questionum secundum Modum algebre et almuchabale, scilicet ad proportionem et restuarationem," has three components. By "Incipit pars tertia de solutione quarumdam questionum" Fibonacci signals a separate tract on problem solving, distinct from the two previous on the theory of proportion and its application, yet, as will be shown, not entirely independent of them. After analyzing fifteen equations which exemplify further the six canonical equations discussed in the introduction to chap. 15.3, Fibonacci proposed and solved ninety-nine problems each of which must be reduced to one of the canonical forms for solution. Second, he acknowledged that he was continuing the algebraic tradition of al-Khwārizmī by incorporating "secundum Modum algebre et almuchabale" (from the title of al-Khwārizmī's treatise), *Liber Maumeti filii Moysi Alchwarismi de algebra et almuchabala,* not to overlook the substance of his introduction which reflects the work of his earliest predecessor. In the introduction, Fibonacci apparently adapted al-Khwārizmī's treatise to his own purposes; he did not simply translate as did Robert of Chester, Gerard of Cremona, and William of Lunis.[42] These three were concerned with transmitting the teaching of al-Khwārizmī; Fibonacci focused on the parts that could best serve his purpose. For instance, the translators incorporated the terminology of *restauratio* and *oppositio* in their works; Fibonacci used only the word *restaurare,* as discussed below. Finally, Fibonacci alerted the stu-

[40] "Elchataiym quidem arabice, latine duarum falsarum posicionum regula interpretatur, per quas fere omnium questionum solutio inuenitur" (B 318.5–6). For further information on this, see B. Hughes, "A Treatise on Problem Solving from Early Medieval Latin Europe," *Mediaeval Studies* 63 (2001): 114–16; and Lüneburg, *Leonardi Pisani Liber Abbaci,* 237–51.

[41] B 318.3–352.7.

[42] I discuss the authorship of William of Lunis in *Robert of Chester's Translation,* 22–25; see also R. Franci , "Una traduzione in volgare dell'*al-Jabr* di al-Khwarizmi (ms. Urb. lat. 291 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)," in *Il sogno di Galois,* ed. R. Franci, P. Pagli, and Annalisa Simi (Siena, 2003), 26.

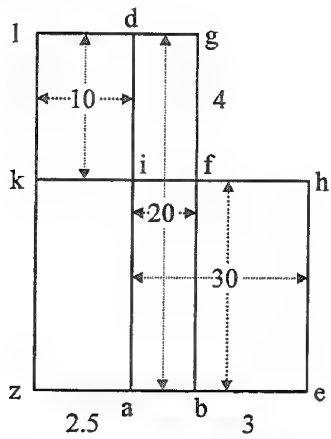
dents to expect his own emphasis on the manner of solution by "scilicet ad proportionem et restaurationem," two separate and distinct techniques which require separate attention.[43]

In solving several problems Fibonacci used proportion in three ways. Early on proportional line-segments draft an equation. Later, a continued proportion, $a : b : c$, leads to the solution. Toward the end of the tract, he utilized single false position, a method explained in chap. 12 of *Liber Abbaci*.[44] Let us inspect each of them.

Fibonacci used proportional line-segments in problem 13:

> I divided 20 (deniers) equally among some people. After increasing the number of the group by 3, I increased the fund to 30 (deniers) which I divided among them. Each received 4 (deniers) less than would have been received before. (How many people were there, and how much did each receive?)

The one figure below adapted from the text represents four stages in the preparation for the solution: (1) rectangle *abgd*, (2) rectangle *aehi*, (3) rectangle *idlk*, and (4) rectangle *zaik*.



First he set the line-segment *ab* equal to the original number of people, and *bg* the amount each received from the 20 deniers. Hence, the rectangle *ag* =

[43] Because Fibonacci conjoined proportion and restuaration in this expression and restauration is an operation, I wonder if he might have thought of *proportio* as a kind of operation—even though it does signify ratio, as I interpret it. What prompted my query was a remark of Abū Kāmil: "Ex istis etiam tribus speciebus [radices, census, numerus] quelibet [singulis] *singillatim* duabus aliis proportionatur (vel: proportionari—sc. equari—potest)." The implication is that the two verbs *proportionari* and *equari* signifying operations are synonymous seems confirmed by the statement that follows: "Quod est ut dicas: census equantur radicibus . . ." (Sesiano, "Le version latine," 10–12).

[44] B 173.40–43.

$(ab)(bg)$ represents the 20 deniers. Second, by extending ab three units to e to account for the increase in personnel and decreasing bg by 4 to represent the loss, $fb = eh = 6$ and rectangle $aehi$ depicts the 30 deniers. Fibonacci had two unequal rectangles, $abgd$ and $aehi$. Third, by extending gd to l, he created rectangle $idlk = 10$ deniers, knowing that $id = gf = 4$, which required $ki = 2\frac{1}{2}$. Now he had the inverted L-shaped polygon $abglkia$ equal to rectangle $aehi$. Finally, by adding the auxiliary rectangle $zaik$ to both figures, he had two equal rectangles $zehk$ and $zbgl$ which he would use to create appropriate ratios and proportions as follows, verbally of course:

[1] To begin	$(bg)(bz) = (he)(ez)$	[6] from [4]:	$\frac{4}{3} = \frac{bz}{bf}$
[2] $eh = bf$:	$\frac{bg}{bf} = \frac{ez}{bz}$	[7] $\therefore$	$bf = \frac{4}{3}x + \frac{10}{3}$
[3] dividing:	$\frac{fg}{bf} = \frac{be}{bz}$	[8] + 4 :	$bg = \frac{4}{3}x + \frac{22}{3}$
[4] permuting:	$\frac{fg}{be} = \frac{bf}{bz} = \frac{4}{3}$	[9] $(ab)(bg)$:	$20 = \frac{4}{3}x^2 + \frac{22}{3}x$
[5] let $ab = x$:	$bz = x + 2\frac{1}{2}$	[10] CTS on [5]:	$x = 2$.

Hence the initial group had 2 persons who would have received 10 deniers apiece. Fibonacci used the same geometric approach to solve problems 12, 14, and 15, all worded variously as problem 13 and problem 52 in a section on fractional parts. Problem 52 seeks a number which has been decreased by its third and 6 deniers, such that the square of the difference equals twice the number. Fibonacci remarked that the problem is easily reduced to one of the six rules but that he chose to solve it "proportionaliter." (An algebraic solution does appear in the margin of the folio and is noted by Boncompagni.[45])

The method of continued proportion is used with problems that can be expressed as $(x + f)d = ex$, notably problems 68 and 69. Its basis is the following theorem: If three continually proportional numbers $a : b : c$ have a given ratio $d : e$ and $d < e$, then $e(a + b) = d(b + c)$. Fibonacci's proof of the theorem is

[1] $\frac{a}{b} = \frac{b}{c} = \frac{d}{e}$, $a < b < c$, $d < e$.

[2] $\frac{a+b}{b} = \frac{b+c}{c}$

[3] $\frac{a+b}{b+c} = \frac{b}{c} = \frac{d}{e}$,

[4] $\therefore$ $e(a + b) = d(b + c)$. Q.E.D.[46]

The algorithm derived from the theorem finds an alternate[47] solution to prob-

[45] B 423n.

[46] B 432.24–28; L 418.4–10.

[47] The first solution appears in the text, B 431.7–35; L 415.4–417.19. The alternate solution is at B 432.29–433.13; L 417.20–419.30.

lem 68: "to find two numbers, one being 5 more than the other; further, the product of the larger and $\sqrt{8}$ equals the product of the smaller and $\sqrt{10}$."

	Problem with solution	*Generalization*
[1]	$(x+5)\sqrt{8} = x\sqrt{10}$	$(x+f)d = ex$
[2]	$(\sqrt{10})^2 = 10, (\sqrt{8})^2 = 8; 10-8=2$	$d^2 - e^2 = m$
[3]	$(5)(8) = 40, (5)(10) = 50$	
[4]	$\frac{40}{2} = 20 = a, \quad \frac{50}{2} = 25 = e$	$\frac{fd^2}{m} = a, \frac{fe^2}{m} = c$
[5]	$\frac{20}{b} = \frac{b}{25} \to b = 10\sqrt{5}$	$a : b : c, \to b = \frac{fde}{m}$
[6]	$x = a + b = 20 + 10\sqrt{5}$	$x = \frac{fd(d+e)}{m}$

One may wonder why Fibonacci, with his obvious knowledge of Euclid's *Elements* II.1,[48] did not simply "remove the parentheses" by multiplication and solve the equation by the usual operations. Perhaps he preferred offering an alternate method, however cumbersome.

The third proportional technique appears in problem 89 in which 10 is divided into three parts in continued proportion ($1 : x : x^2$) with the condition that $x^4 = x^2 + 1$.[49] Fibonacci solves the problem geometrically for

$$x = \sqrt{\sqrt{\frac{5}{4}} + \frac{1}{2}}.$$

Substituting this value of the unknown into the statement of the problem has a result that the students would have found unexpected: the sum of the three parts,

$$1 + \left(\sqrt{\sqrt{\frac{5}{4}} + \frac{1}{2}}\right) + \left(\sqrt{\frac{5}{4}} + \frac{1}{2}\right),$$

does not equal 10. Fibonacci had anticipated this. He instructed the students to solve the proportion,

$$\left[1 + \left(\sqrt{\sqrt{\frac{5}{4}} + \frac{1}{2}}\right) + \left(\sqrt{\frac{5}{4}} + \frac{1}{2}\right)\right] : 10 = 1 : y,$$

in which, what we would call an auxiliary variable appears. The quadratic equation that eventually emerges from the proportion is restructured to produce, by completing the square, the smallest part:

$$y = 5 - \sqrt{\sqrt{3125} - 50}.$$

[48] If one of two straight lines is cut into any number of segments, the rectangle contained by the two straight lines is equal to the rectangles contained by the uncut straight line and each of the segments.

[49] B 448.9–451.38. Fibonacci discussed and solved this problem in a simpler form, in chap. 12 of *Liber Abbaci;* B 181.6–25.

Hence, the three parts are 0.8212, 2.5706, and 6.6082. By initially setting the smallest part equal to unity, Fibonacci employed the method of single false position which led to the wrong sum, a technique well known in his day, the antecedents of which are found in ancient Egypt and Babylon.[50]

The method known as *restauratio* has received considerable attention, usually together with *oppositio.*[51] What Fibonacci understood by the term is obvious in his use of the verb *restaurare.* It occurs for the first time in problem 1 in connection with the (symbolic) statement of the problem, "You have 40 roots less by 4 squares which equal a square. *Restaura* therefore 4 squares from both sides (of the equation) to produce 5 squares equal to 40 roots."[52] The sense is to add $4x^2$ to both sides of the equation. The same kind of addition appears in the next example where $15x - \frac{3}{2}x^2 = x^2$ becomes $15x = \frac{5}{4}x^2$;[53] likewise in problem 14.[54] In problem 24, once Fibonacci had reduced the statement of the problem to the form $x\left(\frac{10-x}{x} + \frac{x}{10-x} + 10\right) = 114$, which is quickly reduced to $1040 + 9x^2 - 194x = x^2$, he instructed the students "to restore the diminished $194x$ to both sides of the equation and then take one x^2 away from both sides."[55] These moves produce the equation $1040 + 8x^2 = 194x$, the form required for the algorithm. As a final example consider problem 30: having restored the $9x$ from the equation $90 - 9x = x^2$ he obtains $90 = x^2 + 9x$.[56] In every example here, as well as those in the remainder of the tract, our word is used to transform a quadratic equation into one of the three standard forms, by removing squares and/or roots from one side of an equa-

[50] See Hughes, "Treatise on Problem Solving," 117; R. J. Gillings, *Mathematics in the Time of the Pharaohs* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 154–61; and J. Tropfke *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik: I. Arithmetik und Algebra,* ed. K. Vogel, K. Reich, and H. Gericke, 4th ed. (Berlin, 1980), 368.

[51] G. Saliba, "The Meaning of al-jabr wa'l muqabalah," *Centaurus* 17 (1973): 189–204 explains the contexts in which the words appear but apparently does not show how the words are used. Regardless, his work improves on the detailed discussion of F. Rosen, ed. and trans., *The Algebra of Mohammed ben Musa* (London, 1831). This translation is invaluable because his work has the introductory passages omitted in the Latin translations, not to overlook more problems from the Arabic text of al-Khwārizmī, 177–88. Oaks clarifies the terminology in every respect in J. A. Oaks and H. M. Alkhateeb, "The Vocabulary of Arabic Algebra," (forthcoming).

[52] "(U)enient 40 radices minus 4 censibus que equantur censui. Restaura ergo 4 census ab utraque parte; erunt 5 census qui equantur 40 radicibus" (B 410.9–10; L 365.7–9).

[53] "Restaura ergo census $\frac{1}{2}$ 1 ab utraque parte" (B 410.21; L 365.26–28).

[54] "15 res diminutis censibus $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 que equantur 20: restaura ergo census $\frac{1}{2}$ 2; erunt census $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 et 20 que equantur 15 rebus" (B 414.42–43; L 375.7–8).

[55] "(R)estaura ergo res diminutas et extrahe unum censum ab utraque parte, remanebunt 8 census et denarii 1040 equantur rebus 194" (B 418.19–21; L 385.25–28).

[56] "Restauratis itaque 9 rebus uenit quod census et 9 res equantur denariis 90" (B 420.15; L 390.16–17).

tion to the other. *Restaurare* has no other meaning for Fibonacci. As for *Oppositio,* he did not employ a verbal form of *opponere.* In all parallel passages of *Liber Abbaci* with the translations of al-Khwārizmī's *al-jabr* where the translators incorporated the verb as "oppone" or "opponas," Fibonacci wrote "abice" or "tolle de."[57] For him, the concept of combining constants from both sides of an equation into one place was adequately served by the verb that did the work. The explicit use of *opponere* was apparently not part of his usage.

Terminology: *Res, Radix,* and *Census.*

The fifteen introductory equations in Fibonacci's text instruct the students in ways to approach the solved problems that follow. Every preparatory equation in the set of fifteen employs three or four of the same crucial words: *numerus, radix, census,* and *equa(n)tur.* The solution always appears in a form such as "radix census equatur 5," save one exceptional case, ". . . exhibunt 6 quibus equatur unus census. Quare radix eius est surda, cum sit radix numeri non quadrati."[58] The context indicates that *census* is a plane square or a square number and its side or root is five. In the simple demonstrations which follow the preparatory instructions and their solved equations, *census* appears as a geometric square and *radix* is its side. The demonstrations establish the method of solving the equation by completing the square. From the information processed in the instructions, it appears reasonable to conclude that Fibonacci was developing a mind-set in his students: if the equation is worded in terms of *census,* then the answer will be *radix*—a square and its side.[59]

To anyone not familiar with Fibonacci's use of algebra in previous chapters of *Liber Abbaci,* the first solved problem introduces a new word, *res.* The problem is to find the two parts of a number given a condition. The text in a modern translation reads, "Make the larger part *radix* which you will call *res* and the smaller part 10 minus *res* which multiplied into *res* produces 10 *res* minus *census.*"[60] It seems that *res* and *radix* are synonymous. Confirmation appears shortly, "Therefore multiply 10 *res* minus *census* by 4 to obtain 40

[57] "Oppone" appears in Hughes, "Gerard of Cremona's Translation," 249.74 and 250.19, and *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation,* 56.3–4. Fibonacci has "abice" at B 411.30; L 368.22. "Opponas" appears in Hughes, *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation,* 57.23. Fibonacci has "tolle de" at B 411.42; L 369.11.

[58] B 407.19–20; L 357.27–28.

[59] There is a fifth word, *auere,* which appears in solved problems 66, 67 (as *quantitas*), 70, and 76–88 (*quantitas* appearing twice) which means a quantity of value, much in the meaning of *census.*

[60] ". . . pone pro maiori parte radicem quam appellabis rem; remanebunt pro minori parte 10 minus re que multiplicata in rem uenient 10 res minus censu" (B 410.3–5; L 364.21–365.2).

radices minus 4 *census.*" The *radices* have taken the place of the *res.* The same pattern follows in the subsequent ten number problems; *res* and *radix* are interchanged. The same two words were used by Gerard of Cremona in his translation of the first problem.[61] I find it more easy to imagine a common exchange of the two words in the algebraic literature so readily available to Fibonacci than to imagine an exchange due to scribal error.[62] Why the final reduction to *radix*? It was necessary that the equation fit one of the canonical forms which is expressed in terms of *census* and *radices.*

Res has a wider use. Al-Khwārizmī posed the following problem[63] (as displayed in modern symbols):

$$(\tfrac{x^2}{3}+1)(\tfrac{x^2}{4}+1)=20.$$

Instead of producing *census census* or x^4 as the product of $(\frac{x^2}{3})(\frac{x^2}{4})$, he substituted *res* for *census;* then *res* squared is *census.*[64] Farther into the multiplication, a third of *res* times 1 is a third of *radix.* Fibonacci did something similar in a parallel exercise, problem 6:

$$(1+\tfrac{2}{3}x)(1+\tfrac{3}{4}x)=73.$$

Immediately he instructed the students to identify the unknown number as *res* which he held onto through most of the solution until the equation is in canonical form, at which point he commanded, "dimidia radices"; and *res* is ignored thereafter.[65] A second use appears in the five people-and-money problems that follow the eleven number problems. *Res* is used to identify line-segments in the work preparatory for the solution. In short, Fibonacci saw no difference between *res* and *radix* and accepted them as synonymous. Hence, the two words are more easily translated by x than by *root* and *thing.*

[61] "Et erit quod quadraginta res erunt equales quinque censibus. Ergo unus census erit octo radices qui est sexaginta quattuor" (Hughes, "Gerard of Cremona's Translation," 248).

[62] For a remarkable description of the change in the meaning of the Arabic word *mal* from *quantity* to *square,* see the section "A Speculative History of the Meanings of Mal," in Oaks and Alkhateeb, "Vocabulary." Not to be overlooked is the *Liber algorismi de practica arismetrice* of John of Seville (twelfth century), in which the author claims to quote seemingly from the *Algebra* of al-Khwārizmī ("Exceptiones de libro quid dicitur gleba mutalibilia . . ."). John translated *mal* as *res* (!) in each of the three composite quadratic equations; e.g., "Queritur ergo que res sum .x. radicibus suis idem decies accepta radice sua efficat 39." See B. Boncompagni, ed., *Trattati d'aritmetica* (Rome, 1857), 112–13.

[63] "Multiplica tertiam census et dragmam in quartam eius et dragmam, et sit quod provenit viginti" (Hughes, "Gerard of Cremona's Translation," 248.49–50).

[64] John of Seville in his *Liber algorismi de practica arismetrice* used *res* in place of *census* to signify a quantity, e.g., "Queritur ergo que res cum .x. radicibus suis idem decies accepta radice sua effciat 39" (Boncampagni, *Trattati,* 112).

[65] B 411.7–21; L 367.14–368.7.

Census is a chameleon word; it suits its meaning to the context.[66] In some places it means a sum of money or a fund and functions within a linear equation. In *Liber augmenti et diminutionis* there are at least ten problems which employ *census* in this sense; for instance, "Add a third of a *census* to itself, then a fourth of that sum. It now has thirty drachmas."[67] Abū Bakr in his *Liber mensurationum* at problem 8 offered a second way of solving the problem , namely "secundum algebram" in which he wrote, ". . . *census* which is the area of the square . . ."[68] There was no doubt in his mind about the meaning of our term. Among the translations of al-Khwārizmī *al-jabr,* that by Gerard of Cremona is quite possibly the most true to the original Arabic text;[69] hence I looked to its use of the word first. Gerard had written, "*Census* is whatever results from multiplying a root by itself."[70] He reinforced the concept by labeling a geometric square as *census* where he offered a naive proof for the solution of $x^2 + 10x = 39$.[71] For the most part throughout the translation, the students understand *census* to mean *square number.* Then among the "various problems" they read the conditions of problem 7. An instruction says, "Here put *thing* for *census.*"[72] The chameleon has changed its appearance; it has become a first degree unknown in this problem and treated as such.

The meaning indicated somewhat of a shift in the first Latin translation of al-Khwārizmī's *al-jabr.* Robert of Chester used *substancia* instead of *census,* thereby getting away from the idea of money. Yet his definition is no more helpful: "*Substancia* is that which results from multiplying a root by itself."[73] Robert's problem 5 corresponds to 7 in Gerard's translation. Here al-Khwārizmī assumed without further instruction, as Robert translated, that the students would understand that the *res* in the solution corresponds to the *substancia* in

[66] While *census* is the Latin word for the Arabic *mal,* I restrict my discussion to the meaning of the Latin word well established in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This might have been the result of a movement begun or continued by Abū Kāmil who wrote in his *al-jabr,* "Et si item dixerimus tibi: Quantum est res in rem? Dic: censum" (Sesiano, "Le version latine," 592).

[67] "[E]st census cui adjunxisti tertiam sui et quartam ejus quod aggregatur, et fuit triginta" (Hughes, "Treatise on Problem Solving," 119).

[68] ". . . erit census qui est area quadrati . . ." (Busard, "L'Algèbre," 88).

[69] J. Høyrup, "'Oxford' and 'Cremona': On the Relation between Two Versions of al-Khwārizmī's *Algebra,*" in *Actes du 3me Colloque Meghrébin sur l'Histoire des Mathématiques Arabes, Tipaza (Alger),* 1–3 Décembre 1990, vol. 2 (Alger). [Author's note: "article published with many errors"].

[70] "Census autem est quicquid aggregatur ex radice in se multiplicata" (Hughes, "Gerard of Cremona's Translation," 233).

[71] Ibid., 236–37.

[72] "Hic rem ponit pro censu" (ibid., 253).

[73] Hughes, *Robert of Chester's Latin Translation,* 30.

the problem.[74] The third translation by William of Lunis[75] is more explicit about the meaning of our word: "*Census,* however, or *quadratus* of a root is the number produced by multiplying the root by itself."[76] Returning to Gerard's crucial problem 7, we find it described in William's problem 12 where the issue is avoided by translating the unknown as *quantitas* which becomes *res.*[77] All of this testifies to considerable variation in the translation of *mal* and its meaning prior to the time of Fibonacci.

How did Fibonacci understand *census*? In the set of definitions opening chap. 15.3 he used only *quadratus.* Among the fifteen exemplary equations, only *census* is the descriptor in any equation. This is also the case in the large set of solved problems until problem 36, at least the text of which he obtained from al-Karaĵi: "Let 3 roots of square *.b.d.* with 4 roots of the residue, namely, plane *.b.z.,* equal square *.b.d.* and 4 deniers." While the problem is discussed at length for another context in the second part of this study, on Fibonacci as teacher,[78] it evinces a second use of *census* as an auxiliary variable. As stated the problem begins with a square from which a rectangular portion is removed, leaving a diminished square, $x^2 - 3x$. This forms the initial representation of the problem in so many words:

$$3x + 4\sqrt{x^2 - 3x} = x^2 + 4\,.$$

After moving $3x$ to the right of the equal sign, Fibonacci wrote, "Let the area [of the diminished square] be called *census.*" In effect he set $x^2 - 3x = y^2$ to produce $4y = y^2 + 4$, which is easily solved by completing the square. We see again the chameleon use of *census,* one and the same word now identifies a different area.

What may we make of chap. 15.3 as a whole? What might Fibonacci have envisioned while compiling this Latin treatise? An easy answer is that he wished a text on algebra at once more advanced and more theoretical than what al-Khwārizmī had offered, somewhat along the lines of Abū Kāmil and al-Karaĵi's work. In view of the fact that he did borrow from these Arabic predecessors, he seems to have been developing a theory of algebra. In the introduction to *Liber Abbaci,* which was written for the corrected edition of 1228, he stated, "This book looks more to theory than to practice."[79] Any

[74] Ibid., 59.

[75] The attribution is mine (see ibid., 22–26); the editor, Prof. Wolfgang Kaunzner, did not identify any candidate for author in his scholarly edition.

[76] "Census autem uel quadratus radicis est numerus, qui ex ducta radice in se producitur" (Kaunzner, *Die lateinische Algebra,* 50).

[77] Ibid., 81.

[78] See pp. 336–37 below.

[79] "Sane hic liber magis ad theoriam spectat quam ad practicam" (B 1.14–15). Since nearly

theory requires organization and purpose. Chap. 15.3 exhibits organization, an easy beginning that is used selectively in the development of further problems. While chap. 15.3 lacks the kind of culmination found in Euclid's *Elements,* it maintains a unity of purpose, to develop expertise in solving more challenging problems. I can be more specific.

In a scientific theory we expect to find generalizations, definitions, basic concepts, fundamental applications, rationalizations, and extensions of theory. Fibonacci made a first significant generalization with respect to Euclid, *Elements* II.5 and II.6, where he stated, "All the problems in algebra and almuchabala ... are reduced to the last two rules."[80] The students would witness this statement applied to the method of completing the square. While Fibonacci did not define the words *algebra* and *almuchabala* as such, he did incorporate them into the phrase, "the method of algebra and almuchabala,"[81] whereby the students would know that these two words were an umbrella phrase under which would be gathered several tools for solving equations. The meaning of algebra was defined by its method. Fibonacci set apart the three types of composite quadratic equations with the remark that their components were to be reduced to an equation. This is most probably the first time a Latin mathematical statement containing the verb *equals* has been called an *equation,* his second significant generalization. He then exemplified all of this with fifteen simple solved equations,[82] clearly fundamental applications. For students who preferred a grounding of new theory in geometry, Fibonacci laid out five geometric figures over which he rationalized the three rules for solving quadratic equations.[83] After the introduction to chap. 15.3, Fibonacci offered his students a set of ninety-nine solved problems many adopted from earlier writers yet all burgeoned from the same introductory material, which separated themselves sequentially into eight distinguishable groups. His third innovation is an extensive use of geometric figures and proportional reasoning to set up and assist in the solution of algebraic equations.[84] I would suggest that Fibonacci reached his goal in writing chap. 15.3, to present a theory of algebra, "scientific knowledge."[85]

59% of the text is devoted to the solution of practical problems, we may well wonder what Fibonacci had in mind when he penned that sentence!

[80] See p. 319 above.

[81] See p. 323 above.

[82] B 407.4–408.3; L 357.3–359.9.

[83] B 408.3–409.43; L 359.9–364.17.

[84] See pp. 318–19 above.

[85] For the significance of the phrase "scientific knowledge," see J. Høyrup, *In Measure, Number, and Weight: Studies in Mathematics and Culture* (Albany 1994), 25.

FIBONACCI AS TEACHER

While Fibonacci's mathematical accomplishments are very well known, there is no hard evidence on how he supported himself. Toward the end of his life (ca. 1241), the Comune of Pisa granted him an annual salary of twenty pounds of deniers for scientific work and consultative services.[86] As an abacist he might have taught in a school attached to a monastery or cathedral.[87] He could have maintained a school at home where he lectured from his own book.[88] An overview of the algebraic section of chap. 15 in *Liber Abbaci* offers general characteristics of his curriculum and approach to teaching algebra. The text is divided into two sections, the introduction and the solved problems. Both parts share the same properties: the material proceeds from simple to complex with several examples to clarify meanings and reinforce skills which are distributed over the section; where thought necessary or appropriate, geometric explanations support algebraic development. Details about each section fill out a picture of what we might suppose Fibonacci to have been as a teacher. A general survey concludes the description of the pedagogy of Fibonacci.

As remarked above, the introductory material might well have been taken from a copy of al-Khwārizmī's *Algebra.* Algebra, he wrote, considers three properties which are found in any number: root, square, and simple number, the last being any number not identified as a root or square. They are found in the solution of equations of which there are six types, three simple and three composite. The former are (1) squares, also called *census,* set equal to roots, (2) squares equal to a number, and (3) roots equal to a number. Each type must appear as an equation. Eight examples of the simple types follow, such as "cum duo census equantur .x. radicibus. . . ."[89] Thereafter he described and

[86] Franci, "Il *Liber Abaci,*" 301–2.

[87] For a discussion about an abacist, see W. Van Egmond, "The Commercial Revolution and the Beginnings of Western Mathematics in Renaissance Florence 1300–1500" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1976), chap. 3. For information about contemorary cathedral schools, see P. Nardi, *L'insegnamento superiore a Siena nei secoli XI–XIV: Tentative e realizzazione dalle origini alla fondazione dello studio generale* (Milan, 1996), 43–48.

[88] An informative description of mathematical education during the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries may be found in R. Franci, "L'insegnamento dell'arithmetica nel medioevo," in *Itinera Mathematica. Studi in onore di Gino Arrighi per il suo 90° compleanno,* R. Franci, P. Pagli, and L. Toti Rigatelli (Siena, 1996), 16–22; briefly in Høyrup, *In Measure, Number, and Weight,* 18. See also B. Hughes, "Learning Algebra in 14th Century Italy," in *Paradigms in Medieval Thought Application in Medieval Disciplines: A Symposium,* ed. N. van Deusen and A. E. Ford (Lewiston, N.Y., 1990), 1–14; and F. R. Graves, *A History of Education During the Middle Ages and the Transition to Modern Times* (New York, 1910), 1–24.

[89] B 407.5; L 357.3–4.

exemplified the three composite types: (1) squares and roots equal to a number; (2) roots and a number equal to squares; (3) squares and a number equal to roots. Fibonacci immediately noted that, in modern terminology, if the coefficient of the square term is greater or less than unity, it must be reduced to unity,[90] a requirement which he demonstrated with four examples. (This requirement lasted well into the seventeenth century, as one realizes while reading Descartes' *La géométrie.*) In several places Fibonacci used some form of the verb *reintegrare* to command the reduction.[91]

Students are introduced to each of the composite types together with the method for solving each, namely by completing the square (CTS). However familiar we are with the method, it is well to remember that Fibonacci and his audience lacked our convenient symbols. All they could manipulate were given numbers, namely the number of roots (our coefficient) and the simple number (our constant). Hence, he explained and exemplified the method for each type; for instance, for the second type, roots and a number equal to a square, he offered this example:

> A square equals 10 roots and 39 deniers. I add the square of half the roots, namely 25, to 39, and the sum is 64, whose root 8 added to 5, half the roots, yields 13 as the root of the desired square. Hence the square is 169.[92]

Since there are variations in applying the procedure to the three types, I offer a list of the five steps to keep in mind wherever CTS is used:

1. square the half of the (coefficient of the) roots;.
2. add the square to the number (constant);
3. take the (positive) root of the sum in step 2;
4. add/subtract the half of the (coefficient of the) roots to step 3;
5. declare the sum/remainder in step 4 to be the quantity of the root.

For the first type, square and roots equal to a number, subtraction is required in step 4. For the second type, square equal to roots and a number, addition in step 4 sets up the answer for step 5. For the third type, roots equal to square and some number, a solution is possible only if the number is equal to

[90] "Vnde, cum in aliqua questione inuenietur census augmentatus uel diminutus cum compositione radicum et numerorum, tunc omnis reducentur sunt ad censum unum" (B 407.26–28; L 358.7–10). The word "reintegra" or something similar often signals the operation.

[91] "(R)emanebit medietas census et res $\frac{5}{12}$ 1 que equantur denariis 72. (R)eintegra censum tuum et habebis censum et res $\frac{5}{6}$ 2 que equantur 144" (B 411.13–14; L 367.23–26). See also B 412.3; L 369.18 and B 420.26; L 391.8.

[92] "Verbi gratia, census equetur decem radicibus et denariis 39. Addam siquidem quadratum medietatis radicum, scilicet 25 super 39. Erunt 64. Quorum radici, scilicet 8, superadde 5, scilicet medietatem radicum, prouenient 13 pro radice quesiti census. Quare census est 169" (B 408.39–43; L 361.21–26).

or less than the square of half the (coefficient of the) roots. This is the case where the quadratic equation has either two identical roots or two positive roots. If the number equals the half, then the equation has two identical roots each equal to the half. If less than the half, there are two positive roots which are found in this way. First, subtract the (constant) number from the square of the half. Then, subtract the root of the remainder from the half to find the first root. For the second root, add the remainder to the half. Fibonacci exemplified the double procedure with the equation, $x^2 + 40 = 14x$ in problem 15 of the introduction.

Fibonacci brought his discussion of the types of equations and method of solution to a close with the following remark:

> With these six rules the solutions can be found for an unlimited number of problems. But it is necessary for those who wish to use the method to know what we have said about multiplication, division, and extraction or addition of roots and conjugate binomials. With all this understood perfectly, a group of problems are proposed.[93]

Yet, like many a good teacher he did not instruct his students with all they needed to know at once; the introductory explanation and exercises would be enough to get them through the first ten problems or so. He would add to the tools of problem solving as the need arose or a problem suggested.

With all the attention given to equations in the introduction, one may well ask if Fibonacci had the same concept of equation much as we have? The concept I would use is simple: two sets of numbers separated by a symbol of equality. An answer lies in problem 7, the first example of the second type of quadratic equation, $x^2 + (10 - x)^2 = 62\frac{1}{2}$. In the course of the solution he removed the parentheses, as it were, collected like terms, and proceeded to operate on the equation $100 + 2x^2 - 20x = 62\frac{1}{2}$ where he writes,

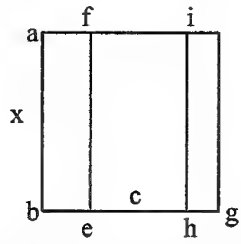
> Add therefore 20 roots to both parts (and the equation will become) 100 and 2 squares, which equal 20 roots and $62\frac{1}{2}$ deniers. Subtract therefore $62\frac{1}{2}$ from both parts. What will remain are 2 squares and $37\frac{1}{2}$ deniers, which equal 20 roots.[94]

Fibonacci recognized two parts to his equation, both separated from one another by the verb *equal.* Clearly, his terminology indicates that he understood what an equation is, much in the way we do today.

[93] "Cum his regulis possunt solutiones infinitarum questionum reperiri; sed oportet, eos qui per earum modum procedere uolunt, scire ea que diximus in multiplicatione, et diuissione, et extractione seu additione radicum, binominorum atque recisorum. Quibus perfecte cognitis, quedam questiones super hec proponantur" (B 409.39–43; L 364.11–17).

[94] "(A)dde ergo uiginti res utrique parti, erunt 100 et duo census que equantur 20 rebus et

Moving beyond the introductory material to the set of solved problems, the students would learn that more complex conditions in the statement of a problem could modify step 1. This occurs for the first time in problem 62, symbolically $(\sqrt{6x})(\sqrt{5x}) + 10x + 20 = x^2$, which becomes $\sqrt{30x^2} + 10x + 20 = x^2$. Fibonacci, as would we, factored the first two terms; but unlike us he did it geometrically. Given the square $ag = x^2$

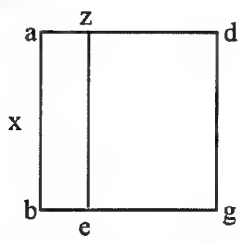


Fibonacci set $ae = \sqrt{30x^2}$ and $fh = 10x$. Since $ab = x = fe$, it follows that $be = \sqrt{30}$ and $eh = 10$. Hence $bh = \sqrt{30} + 10$; and he has factored $\sqrt{30x^2} + 10x$ into $(\sqrt{30} + 10)x$. The solution by completing the square follows easily. Time and again in future equations, Fibonacci would use this device to factor some $\sqrt{ax^2 + bx}$, a and b being numbers.

A significant addition would be a common tool, the auxiliary variable,[95] for example, in problem 36:

> Let 3 roots of square .b.d. with 4 roots of the residue, namely plane .b.z., equal square .b.d. and 4 deniers.

The geometric representation is



with necessary clarification from problem 35: the square .b.d. $= x^2$ had been shortened by removing area .e.d. $= 3x$, leaving the plane .b.z. $= x^2 - 3x$, the residue. With this information an equation is formed:

denarijs $\frac{1}{2}$ 62. (A)bice igitur $\frac{1}{2}$ 62 ab utraque parte, remanebunt duo census et denarii $\frac{1}{2}$ 37 que equantur 20 radicibus" (B 411.29–31; L 368.20–22).

[95] The problem is identical with one by al-Karaǰi. Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell from Woepcke's analysis whether or not Fibonacci learned of the substitution from this source. See Woepcke, *Extrait du Fakrî*, 94 [21].

[1] $3x + 4\sqrt{x^2 - 3x} = x^2 + 4$

[2] Then $4\sqrt{x^2 - 3x} = x^2 - 3x + 4$

At this stage Fibonacci introduced an auxiliary variable ("pone ergo pro superficie .b.z. censum"), y^2.

[3] Let $y^2 = x^2 - 3x$

[4] Then from [2] $4y = y^2 + 4$

[5] CTS on [4] $y = 2$

[6] From [5] into [3] $4 = x^2 - 3x$

[7] CTS on [6] $x = 4$. Q.E.F.

The substitution in [3] is completely justified if we recall that any rectangular area, such as .b.z., can be squared. Fibonacci would use elsewhere the technique of auxiliary variables.[96] His students would learn that the method of completing the square was not the only useful algebraic tool. There are others.

Equation solving tools appear in both the introductory material and the developmental problems. The following is a descriptive list of Fibonacci's procedures using modern terminology; he taught the procedures by showing their use in problem solving. In the introduction the skills are either assumed from earlier sections of *Liber Abbaci* or are taught here; all are listed in the order in which they appear in the treatise; all letters represent numerical quantities.

Procedures taught during the solution of the introductory material are

1) identifying squares and square roots of a number (B 406.38–39; L 356.17–19)
2) performing the same operation on both sides of the equation (B 407.5–8; L 357.3–5)[97]
3) reducing the coefficient of the squared term in a quadratic equation to unity (B 407.26–28; L 358.7–10)
4) completing the square (B 407.22–409.43; L 358.4–364.17).

Procedures taught among the solution of the problems in the developmental section are

5) multiplying a binomial by a monomial (B 410.4–5; L 365.1–2)
6) multiplying a binomial by a binomial (B 411.8–12; L 367.16–22)
7) squaring a binomial (B 411.24–27; L 368.11–17)
8) clearing equations of fractions (B 412.18–24; L 370.14–24)
9) using the additive inverse (B 412.24–26; L 370.24–26)

[96] This is used in problem 89 (see pp. 326–27 above) for each of the three ways for solving the problem, and likewise in problem 99 ("pone pro ipso censu rem . . .").

[97] The rule was foreshadowed in chap. 12: "Rursus cum de equalibus equalia dempseris, que remanebunt equalia sunt" (B 191.30–31).

10) representing an algebraic problem by a geometric figure (B 413.6–31; L 372.5–373.15 [*pro*] and 375.12–376.6)
11) reducing a new problem to one already solved (B 417.8–9; L 382.24–25)
12) multiplying a number by its multiplicative inverse (B 417.12–14; L 383.1–5)
13) substituting x^2 and x for x and $\sqrt{x}$ to avoid working with radicals (B 420.34; L 391.21–22)
14) operating with conjugate binomial surds where both terms are named *binomium* and $\sqrt{b}$ is *surda* (B 420.40–43; L 342.1)
15) employing an auxiliary variable (B 421.25–26; L 393.21–23)
16) operating with zero (*zephyrum*) (B 421.27–28; L 393.24–25)
17) operating by the rules of proportion (B 425.20–29; L 402.7–20)
18) factoring $ax + \sqrt{bx^2}$ into $(a + \sqrt{b})x$ (B 430.11–12; L 413.9–10)
19) computing with roots of roots (B 430.13–16; L 413.11–17)
20) rationalizing conjugate binomial surds (B 432.43–433.19; L 419.2–30)
21) operating with squares of squares (B 439.35–42; L 420.25 – 421.5)
22) squaring a trinomial (B 443.34–39; L 442.15–24)
23) simplifying a cubic equation (B 445.39–43; L 448.3–8)
24) recognizing that squaring a cube is the same as cubing a square (B 447.24–26; L 451.18–20)
25) solving a quartic equation (B 447.29–448.8; L 451.28–453.2)
26) using Single False Position (B 448.9–30; L 453.3–454.27)
27) exemplifying alternate ways of solving a problem (B 451.40–454.2; L 561.14–466.4)[98]
28) reducing $ax^4 + bx^3 = cx^2$ to $ax^2 + bx = c$ (B454.3–39; L 466.4–468.2)
29) *Theorem:* If $a = b + g$, $\frac{a}{b} = e$, and $\frac{a}{g} = d$, then $(e)(d) = e + d$. (B 454.41–455.13; L 468.5–469.3)
30) *Theorem:* If $a = b + c$ and $b < c$, then $\frac{c}{b} = x$ and $\frac{a}{b} = x + 1$. (B 455.17–26; L 469.8–20).

Each of these tools is exemplified at least once.

Recognizing how thoroughly Fibonacci mastered contemporary algebra, one may well wonder if he did not use it elsewhere in *Liber Abbaci.* Evidence of prior use, foreshadowing perhaps, may be found in chap. 12 ("The Solution of Many Problems Which We Call Erratic"), where Fibonacci introduced *regula recta.*[99] He exemplifed this in two ways. First, he set the unknown equal to *res,* our *x,* and proceeded to construct a first degree equation which he solved in our customary manner. This he exemplifed in a problem pro-

[98] This is not the first instance, merely the most extensive.

[99] "In soluendis itaque questionibus est regula quedam recta dicitur, qua arabos utuntur" (B 191.16–18). Fibonacci offers several approaches to solving this problem, including systems of equations. These are discussed at length in J. Sesiano, *Une introduction à l'histoire de l'algèbre: Resolution des équations des Mésopotamiens à la Renaissance* (Lausanne, 1999), 104–20, for which information I am gratefully indebeted to Mahdi Abdeljaouad.

posed by a teacher in Constantinople, which he had discussed and solved by another method on the previous page:

> Two men are talking and one says to the other, "If you give me 7 deniers, I will have 5 times what you have." The other replies, "But if you give me 5 deniers, I shall have 7 times what you have."[100]

Before any money is exchanged, Fibonacci established how much each possesses in terms of *res* (x): A has $5x - 7$ deniers and B has $x + 7$ deniers. After the first exchange, A has $5x$ and B has only x which the first condition of the problem requires. But if the other exchange were to take place, then A would have $5x - 12$ and B $x + 12$, the relationship that Fibonacci would craft into an equation. Since B's amount is 7 times that of A,

[1] $x + 12 = 7(5x - 12)$

[2] $96 = 34x$

[3] Hence $2\frac{14}{17} = x.$

Thus A possessed $5\,(2\frac{14}{17}) - 7 = 7.12$ deniers and B had $2\frac{14}{17} + 7 = 9.82$ (rounded) before any exchange. For Fibonacci *regula recta* combines all the conditions into a single equation with one unknown to be solved accordingly.

In a second use of *regula recta* he found the price of the least expensive of three pearls [priced at x, $2x$, and $(4x - \frac{1}{3})$ bizants] from the equation:[101]

[1] $\frac{3}{10}x + \frac{1}{30} = \frac{1}{8}(2x) + 21\frac{13}{30}$

[2] Hence $x = 428.$

While the problem is solved easily, what is curious is that immediately after the solution, Fibonacci stated that there is another method for solving this kind of problem, called *regula versa.* He compared the two methods thus, "By the *regula recta* we proceed from the beginning to the conclusion of the problem. With the *regula versa* we do the contrary."[102] Hence, he said, after taking a commission of one tenth on the sale of the three pearls, what remains to the buyer from the price of the first pearl is one eighth the price of the second plus $21\frac{13}{30}$ bizants. This relationship is the new beginning of the solution

[100] "Item si proponatur: quod unus illorum petat alteri denarios 7 et habeat quincuplum eius. Et secundus petat primo 5 denarios et habeat septuplum eius" (B 190.29–30).

[101] "$\frac{3}{10}$ rei et $\frac{1}{30}$ unius bizantii que equantur $\frac{1}{8}$ pretii secunde margarite et bizantii $\frac{1}{10}\frac{1}{3}$ 21" (B 203.35–36). Note: here $\frac{1}{10}\frac{1}{3} = \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{10} = \frac{13}{30}$.

[102] "(P)er regulam rectam tendimus de principio ad finem questionis; per versam facimus contrarium" (B 203.42–43). Fibonacci might have learned of this method from *Liber Mahameleth;* see Sesiano, "Le Liber Mahameleth," 75, 91–92.

in terms of the commission which is represented by x, the price of the least expensive pearl. From the new relationship he derived the equation

[1] $$\frac{3}{4}x - 21\frac{13}{30} = \frac{7}{10}x - \frac{1}{30}.$$

[2] Hence $$\frac{1}{20}x = 21\frac{2}{5},$$

an amount equal to 428 bizants. Hence, by knowing the commission on the sale, Fibonacci computed back to the price of the sale. Summarily then, Fibonacci certainly used algebraic techniques outside of chap. 15.

Having completed the introduction to the "method of algebra and almuchabala," Fibonacci began the set of solved problems, *questiones* he called them, to apply and thereby reinforce the rules. Problems 1 through 9 are solved in a straightforward manner using the method of completing the square; the algorithm is shown to accomplish its purpose. Now the students need be brought to a higher level of thought. In problem 10 ("Having separated 10 into two parts, I divided each part by the other and found that the sum of the quotients is $3\frac{1}{2}$"), he introduced his students to a fundamental algebraic generalization: using letters, a and b, to represent the two parts of the number 10, regardless of the line-segments that appear in the margin of the manuscript/text. Fibonacci set up and developed the solution to the problem in letters; what some 300 words and twenty-one lines of printed text require[103] is handled expeditiously in a modern presentation.

[1] Define: Set $a = x$ and $b = 10 - x$

[2] Let $\frac{a}{b} = g$ and $\frac{b}{a} = d$

[3] Given: $g + d = 3\frac{1}{3}$

[4] From [2]: $a = bg$ and $b = ad$

[5] (a,b) X [4]: $a^2 = abg$ and $b^2 = abd$

[6] ab[3]: $abg + abd = ab(3\frac{1}{3})$

[7] [5] -> [6] $a^2 + b^2 = ab(3\frac{1}{3})$

[8] [1] -> [7]: $x^2 + (10 - x)^2 = x(10 - x)(3\frac{1}{3})$

[9] ∴ $x^2 + 18\frac{3}{4} = 10x$

[10] CTS on [8]: $x = 2\frac{1}{2}$

[11] From [10] into [1]: $a = 2\frac{1}{2}$ and $b = 7\frac{1}{2}$.

[103] B 412.9–29; cf. L 368.27–371.4.

Problems 11 and 12 complete a series of practice problems using the six canonical types.

In problem 13, with the phrase *promptius inuenire,* Fibonacci introduced his students to an alternate way of solving the problem.[104] In the third of six distribution problems, 20 deniers are to be spread equally among a group of people. Suddenly, as it were, 3 people are added to the group; now the distribution leaves all with 4 deniers less than what the original group might have received.[105] The goal is to find out how many persons there were originally and what might they have received. Fibonacci went to great lengths in twenty-three lines of text to set up the desired equation $x^2 + 5\frac{1}{2}x = 15$ by means of ratios and proportions.[106] In a half sentence he instructed the students to solve the problem by the usual method (CTS) and gave the answers. Then he stated that there is an easier (*promptius*) way of reaching a crucial point along the way to the equation. He substituted x for the number of original people, multiplied by 4 (the loss in income), added 30 (an auxiliary area), and subtracted the original sum, 20, as area to get $4x + 10$. Dividing this by 3 (the number of additional people), he reached $3\frac{1}{3} + \frac{x}{3}$ for line *bf,* which is step [7] above. In six lines[107] he did what his resource (?) took nineteen of the twenty-three lines in the text to accomplish. (A modern student might solve the problem in less than six lines and without going through a quadratic equation.) If nothing else, I think that this short addition shows not only that Fibonacci conscientiously evaluated what he probably adopted, but that he wanted his students to reflect on what they had done and perhaps find another way to approach the solution to a problem. Thereafter, as the list of skills in problem solving relates, Fibonacci walked his students through exercise after exercise in every effort to make them proficient in this type of problem solving.

As a teacher, Fibonacci might well have been asked if in his approach to problem solving he preferred one mental framework over another. There are at least three answers to the question. First, Fibonacci wanted his students to understand how to check the solution to a problem. Second, he advised his students to consider alternate ways of solving a problem. Finally, the pervading use of geometry suggests that he preferred to think geometrically. We may consider the checking of a solution first.

This aspect of the mathematical mentality of Fibonacci may be appreciated by detailing his solution to problem 75: "I divided 10 into two parts and

[104] B 414.20; L 374.2. This problem is discussed and solved in a different context on pp. 324–25 above.

[105] B 413.36–38; L 376.7–9.

[106] B 413.38–414.13 (see pp. 324–25 above); L has a printing error (see p. 316 above).

[107] B 414.20–25; L 374.2–11.

divided one part by the other and the other by the one part; and they are 3 dragmas." The solution proceeds easily:

> Let the two parts be 5 less the thing and 5 and the thing. Their product is 25 less a square which multiplied by 3 is 75 less three squares. Now add the squares to both parts to yield 50 and two squares which equals 75 less three squares. Add three squares to both and take from both parts 50 to have 5 squares equal to 25 drachmas. Then divide 25 drachmas by 5 to get 5 drachmas for the value of the square. Wherefore, their root is the thing: hence the small part is 5 less the root of 5 and the larger part is 5 and the root of 5.[108]

Fibonacci used the term *census* where the word *square* appears above. Its early meaning was money or treasury or fund, but—as remarked above—by the time he wrote and in view of all that preceded in the text, the students would understand *square*. The *thing* of course is the unknown. Translated into modern algebraic symbols, the problem is

$$\frac{5-x}{5+x}+\frac{5+x}{5-x}=3.$$

For the solution and in many more words, Fibonacci said to multiply both sides of the equation by the common denominator, to collect terms, and to solve for $x=\sqrt{5}$. Hence the two parts of 10 are $5-\sqrt{5}$ and $5+\sqrt{5}$. I think it safe to say that Fibonacci expected his students to understand that in the statement of the problem the two quotients were to be added together. Any doubt would have been removed as the students read the explanation above.

The checking of the solution is introduced by "Vel aliter" in Boncompagni's text and "Generaliter" in Libri's,[109] as follows:

[1] Since $\frac{5+\sqrt{5}}{5-\sqrt{5}}$ is the solution for $\frac{5+x}{5-x}$, then $\frac{3}{2}+\sqrt{\frac{5}{4}}=\frac{5+x}{5-x}$

[2] or $$(5-x)\left(\tfrac{3}{2}+\sqrt{\tfrac{5}{4}}\right)=5+x.$$

[3] Multiplying yields $$\frac{15}{2}+\sqrt{\frac{125}{4}}-\frac{3}{2}x-\sqrt{\frac{5x^2}{4}}=5+x.$$

[4] After transposing $$\frac{5}{2}+\sqrt{\frac{125}{4}}=\frac{5}{2}x+\sqrt{\frac{5x^2}{4}}.$$

[108] "Diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi istam per illam et illam per istam, et prouenerunt 3 dragme. Operare secundum quod dicta sunt superius et habebis quesitum. Utere in hoc uia alia, que est ut diuidas 10 in duas partes, et ponas minorem partem 5, minus re, aliam vero 5 et rem; multiplica unam in aliam, uenient 25 diminuto censu; que due in 3, ueniunt 75 diminutis tribus censibus; et multiplica unamquamque partium in se, et prouenient 40 et duo census que equantur dragmis 75, diminutis tribus censibus: adde ergo utrique parti 3 census, et tolle ab utramque (*sic*) parte 50, uenient 5 census equales 25 dragmis; diuiditur (*sic*) ergo 25 dragmas per 5, uenient 5 dragmae pro quantitate census; quare radix earum est res: ergo minor pars erit 5 diminuta radice 5 dragmarum; et maior erit 5 et radix de 5" (B 441.18–27). See L 437.4–18.

[109] B 441.28–43; L 437.18.

[5] Squaring [4] $\frac{75}{2}+\sqrt{\frac{3125}{4}}=\frac{15}{2}x^2+\sqrt{\frac{125}{4}x^4}$.

[6] Multiply [5] by $\frac{3}{10}-\sqrt{\frac{1}{20}}$ $x^2=5$

[7] Hence $x=\sqrt{5}$ as required.

(That Fibonacci computed $\frac{3}{10}-\sqrt{\frac{1}{20}}$ as the reciprocal of $\frac{15}{2}+\sqrt{\frac{125}{4}}$ demonstrates his expertise in working with radicals.) Clearly, Fibonacci instructed his students well in checking a solution to a problem.

In the discussion above on proportion, problem 89 was singled out as exemplary.[110] Here it provides an excellent example of Fibonacci encouraging his students to seek other ways to solve a problem. Consider it again:

> I have divided 10 into three parts. The product of the smallest and largest parts equals the square of the middle part. Further, the sum of the squares of the smallest and middle parts equals the square of the largest part.[111]

He began by noting that the first condition, the product $1(x^2) = (x)^2$, requires the three parts of 10 to be *one, root,* and *square,* respectively the smallest, middle, and largest parts, resulting in the quartic equation, $(x^2)^2 = x^2 + 1^2$, for which

$$x=\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}+\sqrt{\frac{5}{4}}}\,.$$

This leads to a contradiction which is removed by a careful use of proportion leading to the correct value of the *smallest* part of 10, the other two parts being found easily. Fibonacci then suggested that the problem be solved by finding the largest part: "If you wish to find the largest part, set it equal to one and the smallest part to the thing."[112] The students were expected to proceed in much the same way as before. Having accomplished this, Fibonacci completed his set of recommendations with "Set the middle part equal to 2 dragmas and the smallest part equal to the root of the thing."[113] On the one hand,

[110] See pp. 326–27 above.

[111] ". . . diuisi 10 in 3 partes. Et fuit multiplicatio minoris per maiorem sicut multiplicatio medie partis in se. Et multiplicationes minoris in se et medie partis in se sunt sicut multiplicatio maioris partis in se" (B 448.9–11; L 453.3–7). The problem and its solution are closely parallel to what may be read in Sesiano, "Le version latine," 2954 ff. See also Levey, *"Algebra" of Abū Kāmil,* 186 [No. 61], in which the editor offers a complete symbolic solution for each of the three approaches to the problem, based on quite plausible assumptions involving ten and its three parts. For much the same viewoint, see J. L. Berggren, *Episodes in the Mathematics of Medieval Islam* (New York, 1986), 110–11.

[112] "Et si uolumus maiorem partem inuenire, pones pro ipsa dragmam, et pro media radicem rei, et pro minori parte rem" (B 449.28–29; L 456.15–17).

[113] ". . . ut ponamus pro ipsa media parte duas dragmas et pro prima radicem rei . . ." (B 450.27–28; L 458.19–20).

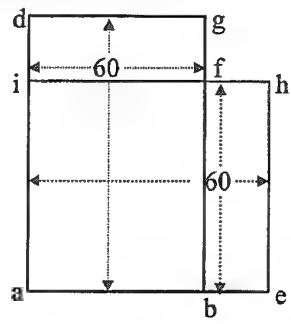
both recommendations reinforce the proportional technique he was teaching; on the other hand, both show the students how to look for alternate solutions.

Finally, if we review how he solved algebraic problems by the geometric tool of completing the square, the influence of geometry becomes quite strong. I have already discussed his interest in ratio and proportion, both of which in the time period when he was writing were tools frequently in use. We recall his geometric factoring of the binomial $\sqrt{30x^2} + 10x$ into $(\sqrt{30} + 10)x$ during the solution of problem 62. Of the ninety-nine problems in the algebraic section of chap. 15 of *Liber Abbaci,* some thirty-five are solved either immediately by geometric tools or by geometric methods acting as aids. An example of a pure geometric solution follows.

In problem 12, letters represent areas, line-segments, and numbers in the figure below adapted from the text. The translation is fairly literal with these conventions: *census* was translated by *quantity* and adjacent pairs of parentheses indicate multiplication; I added a question to the statement of the problem.[114]

> I divided 60 deniers equally among a group of men. After being increased by 2 they received $2\frac{1}{2}$ deniers less than before. (How many men were there and how much did each receive?)

(*Solution*) Begin by setting the line-segment .a.b. equal to the number of men and .b.g. the amount each received from the 60 deniers. Hence the rectangle .a.g. equal to (.a.b.)(.b.g.) represents the 60 deniers.

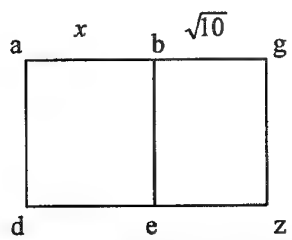


Extend .a.b. to point .e. and let .b.e. equal 2, the number of men who were added. Select point .f. on .b.g. and set .g.f. equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$, the amount by which the individual shares were decreased. Draw .h.i. equal to .e.a. through .f. and equidistant from .e.a.; join .e.h. Quadrilateral .h.e.a.i. equals 60 which equals (.a.e.)(.e.h.) equal to (.a.e.)(.f.b). .b.f. represents what each of the larger group .a.e. received. Since the areas .e.i. and .b.d. are equal, then (.g.b.)(.b.a.) equals

[114] B 413.6–31; for L, see discussion of this passage on p. 316 above.

(.e.a.)(.f.b.); whence the four lines are proportional: .g.b. first to .f.b. second as .e.a. third to .b.a. fourth. Now by division, .g.f. is to .f.b. as .e.b. is .b.a. And after permutation: .g.f. is to .e.b. as .f.b. is .b.a. But the ratio of .g.f. to .e.b. is as 5 is to 4. Therefore .f.b. is $1\frac{1}{4}$ of .b.a. Let thing represent the number .a.b.; hence .b.f. is $1\frac{1}{4}$ things. (.a.b.)(.b.f.) equals $1\frac{1}{4}$ of the quantity for the plane .b.i. Multiply .a.b. by .f.g., namely .i.f. in .f.g. to obtain $2\frac{1}{2}$ things for the plane .f.d. Therefore the total plane .b.d. is $1\frac{1}{4}$ quantities and $2\frac{1}{2}$ things equal to 60 deniers. Therefore $1\frac{1}{4}$ quantities and $2\frac{1}{2}$ things equal 60 deniers. Divide all of these by the number of quantities, namely by $1\frac{1}{4}$, and you get a quantity and two roots equal to 48 deniers. Add therefore the square of half the roots, namely 1, to the 48 and there are 49. From its root subtract the half of the roots. What remains is 6 for the number .a.b.; whence .b.g. is 10 and .a.e. is 8. (The original 6 received 10 deniers apiece; now the 8 receive only $7\frac{1}{2}$ deniers each.)

From a trio of seemingly similar problems, Fibonacci shows how the unexpected arises from carefully changing one condition of the problems, their areas. The problems are 57, 58, and 59, and they begin with the same conditions: "Find a number such that the sum of its square and the product of the number and the square root of 10 is. . . ." The conditions are represented by this figure:



The required number is represented by line-segment .a.b. for which Fibonacci wrote: "Let the thing (x) which is the line .a.b. represent the number. Add to it the line .b.g. which is the root of 10."[115] Upon this common ground, he placed three different conditions: the area for problem 57 is 9 times its width or $9x$; the area of problem 58 is $9x^2$; the area of problem 59 is 20.[116] The solutions here are abbreviated from those in the text.

[115] ". . . ponam pro ipso numero rem, que sit linea .a.b., et addam ei lineam .b.g. que sit radix de 10" (B 426.5–6; L 403.23–24).

[116] Problem 57: "Inueniat quis numerus, quo multiplicato in se et in radicem de 10, facit nonuplum ipsius numeri" (B 426.4–5; L 403.21). Problem 58: "Et si dicatur, quod ex ductu .a.b., scilicet numeri duti (*sic*) in se et in radicem de 10 proueniat nonuplum quadrati" (B 426.16–17; L 404.11). Problem 59: "Item est numerus, quo multiplcato in se et in radicem de 10, proueniunt 20" (B 426.32; L 405.12).

For problem 57:

[1] Given:	$(.a.b.)(.a.b. + \sqrt{10}) = 9.a.b.$
[2] $.a.b. = x$:	$x(x + \sqrt{10}) = 9x$
[3]	$x^2 + x\sqrt{10} = 9x$
[4] [3] ÷ 3:	$x + \sqrt{10} = 9$
[5] ∴	$x = 9 - \sqrt{10}$.

For problem 58:

[1]	$x^2 + x\sqrt{10} = 9x^2$
[2]	$\sqrt{10} = 8x$
[3] ∴	$x = \frac{1}{8}\sqrt{10}$.

For problem 59:

[1]	$x^2 + x\sqrt{10} = 20$
[2] CTS:	$x = \sqrt{10}$.

The last problem and its change of condition produced this remarkable statement from Fibonacci, "you will find that the square and as many of its roots *as there are units in the roots of 10* equal 20."[117] This is an extraordinary remark, to state that there are units in an irrational number. I can almost imagine Fibonacci remarking that the line .a.b. can be bisected and its halves bisected and so on; and that when the bisection has stopped, there is an unnamed unit that measures $\sqrt{10}$, which of course is true. Only a person who tends to think geometrically sees units in an irrational root. The evidence, I would suggest, is quite strong that a geometric mentality pervaded Fibonacci as he penned chap. 15.3, the algebraic section of *Liber Abbaci.*

What conclusion then can we draw about Fibonacci Pisano as a teacher—his understanding of the purpose of the mathematics he proposed in chap. 15.3 of *Liber Abbaci,* his knowledge base, and teaching techniques? The material at hand offers a sound grounding in theory. Fibonacci might have had this in mind when he wrote for the introduction, "This book looks more to theory than to practice." The nearly complete lack of practical applications suggests a theoretical goal to understand, categorize, and solve all kinds of linear and quadratic equations, with considerable attention to those containing

[117] "... census et tot radices eius quot unitates sunt in radicibus de 10 equantur 20" (B 426.35; L 405.16–17). Fibonacci would have used the word *surdus* for its modern equivalent, *irrational number.*

radical expressions. He realized this purpose more than adequately. For his knowledge base we look to his sources. With our focus on chap. 15.3, we see evidence of Euclid's *Elements* and the algebras of al-Khwārizmī, Abū Kāmil, and al-Karaĵi.[118] These resources were used with comprehension and developed creatively.

Regarding teaching techniques, Fibonacci offered in *Liber Abbaci* complete instructions in computational arithmetic and relevant geometry, proficiency in both of which together with a working knowledge of Latin he assumed for students of chap. 15.3. Here he demonstrated and exemplified twenty-eight algebraic skills at least once, some several times, and proved two useful theorem. Being careful to lay down a solid foundation of the basic tools for solving equations, principally the method of completing the square, he led his students from easy through more difficult problems. More often than not Fibonacci used geometric concepts and figures to assist in the solution of the algebraic equations. Occasionally he illustrated the use of ratio and proportion in the reduction of a given relationship to specific numbers. Not only did he train his students to check their work but he also insisted that they consider alternate ways to solve problems. He was a demanding teacher, as the several times that he emphasized memory suggest. No doubt he remembered well how he had to memorize his lessons as a youth in Bugie.[119] In short, I am confident that the evidence assembled here recognizes a person well equipped with the tools of his craft who knew how to present a complete curriculum in a fashion designed for and acceptable to his students. [120]

APPENDIX: EQUATIONS AND PROBLEMS

The list of equations and problems follows the arrangement made by Fibonacci: exercises for the introductory material, and solved problems for reinforcement and development of basic concepts and skills. With the exception of the introductory equations, all have the same format, consisting of at most seven elements: an identifying number, the statement of the problem in Latin as found in Boncompagni's transcription, variant reading(s) from Libri's transcription where appropriate, a transcription of the problem into modern

[118] Additionally, evidence of Fibonacci's proficiency in contemporary, elementary mathematics has been very well described by Lüneburg, *Leonardi Pisani Liber Abbaci,* 47–88.

[119] Learning lessons by heart was at the center of Arab/Islmaic education; see Abdeljaouad, "Issues" (Issue 6: What Pedagogy for Mathematics?), 33–37.

[120] Hearthfelt thanks to the Editor, Julio Gonzales Cabillon, and Jeffrey Oaks for suggestions and corrections that improved this study immensely. The remaining deficiencies are mine.

algebraic symbols, an abbreviation which describes the transition from the statement of the problem to the equation that solves it, a symbolic representation of the equation in the text that leads to the solution, and the resources which Fibonacci might have used.

I have numbered the two sections separately, unnumbered as they are in either of the foundational manuscripts; other manuscripts number the problems.[121] A useful set of numbers for the second section is found in Lucia Salomone's edition of the Italian translation of chap. 15.3 of Fibonacci's *Liber Abbaci* by Benedetto da Firenze (fl. 1465). After studying her work I decided to do my own numbering while including hers together with the correspondence she made with an unidentified numeration, almost certainly from the Italian translation of Puccini and Capioni; thus 25 (18, 24) means that the problem is the twenty-fifth in my list, the eighteenth in Benedetto's list and the twenty-fourth in the unidentified list. The reason for my decision is that I disagree with some of her numbers and with others by the unidentified source; the disagreements are discussed where they occur in my list.

For the statement of each problem, I have included the text from Boncompagni's edition; his transcription of Magliabechiano Codex I 2616 is quite faithful, as is Libri's transcription of Magl. XI 21. Following the text, the page.line numbers are indicated for Boncompagni's and Libri's editions and significant variants in Libri's edition are noted (e.g., "32] 33 L" means that Libri's text has 33 where Boncompagni's text has 32; corrections to the latter are placed in footnotes). Below the statement of each problem and the variants is a line containing two equations joined by an abbreviation. The equation on the left is my representation of the problem. On the right is ordinarily the equation that the text indicates as the path to the solution. The abbreviation reports how I think Fibonacci moved from left to right: some solutions are reached only geometrically and without a canonical equation (GS), many equations are obtained algebraically with a canonical equation (AE), some algebraic equations are formed by geometric tools (GE), and still other equations are found by cooperation between algebra and geometry (AGE). The equations represent statements found in the text. Most composite equations are solved by completing the square, the few others by proportion. In presenting Boncompagni's transcription of the problems, I have reduced and modified some of the punctuation that interrupts the flow of Fibonacci's text; and where Boncompagni's paragraphing had buried one problem within the solution of another, I have treated the problems as separate entries, e.g, 52–53.

[121] Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 383; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France lat. 7225A; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 3637 (*olim* 1256). The equations in the introduction are not numbered.

The question of sources has no simple answer. How easy is the fallacy, *Post hoc ergo propter hoc:* a given author shows the same problem as a predecessor; ergo, etc. With Fibonacci, we are dealing with an author who may have been conversant in several languages, a local Italian dialect, Latin, and Arabic. Arabic copies of the *al-jabr*(s) of al-Khwārizmī and of Abū Kāmil, if not of al-Karaĵi, were available. Did Fibonacci read these, was he conversant with Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation, or did he rely at least in part on what teachers of algebra told him, an oral tradition of problems? While it is true that "Every problem in the Arabic text except number (12) [number (7) is a later interpolation] is found in Gerard's translation,"[122] I think it more likely that Fibonacci learned algebra as young man from Arabic teachers along the southern Mediterranean coast. Hence, to the right of the equations for many of the problems, I identify one or more of three resources: Rosen's translation of al-Khwārizmī (R, with the page and line on which the corresponding problem begins); Sesiano's translation of Abū Kāmil (S, with the corresponding line); and Woepcke's edition of al-Karaĵi (W, with the corresponding reference number). Roman type indicates that a problem in *Liber Abbaci* is identical to one in a resource; if the correspondence seems only quite similar, differing perhaps in constants, then italics are used. Finally, it should be noted that the congruence or correspondence by and large refers only to the statement of the problem, not to the solution.

Fibonacci used a geometric representation of completing the square to solve fourteen of the eighteen problems identical to those of Abū Kāmil, where Abū Kāmil uses a numeral computational process. The difference in method does not mean that Fibonacci did not see Abū Kāmil's works; it only means that he preferred to solve the problem geometrically. Indeed, Fibonacci may have had at hand a Latin copy of Abū Kāmil's algebra, as these two statements suggest:

> *Abū Kāmil* (2656–57): Et si dicemus tibi: Adde censui 4 radices eius et radicem medietatis eius et radicem $\frac{2}{3}$ eius, et erunt 10 dragme; quantus est census?
>
> *Fibonacci* (B 444.21–22; L 444.14–16): Et si dicemus tibi: adde super quodam auere 4 radices eius et radicem medietatis eius et radicem $\frac{2}{3}$ eius, et erunt 10 dragme; quantus est census?

Fibonacci's use of *auere* for Abū Kāmil's *census* might have been an editorial improvement for clarity's sake. A second difference: Abū Kāmil solved this problem arithmetically by manipulating numbers, Fibonacci geometrically by completing the square.

[122] Jeffrey Oaks, private communication. See Oaks, "Vocabulary," Appendix-A: Inventory of problems in al-Khwārizmī's *Algebra.*

Exemplary Exercises in the Introduction to *Algebra.*

1. (D)uo census equantur .x. radicibus. B 407.5; L 357.3–4

2. (T)res census equantur radicibus 12. B 407.8; L 357.8–9

3. (C)ensus $\frac{1}{2}$ 3 equantur radicibus 21. B 407.10; L 357.12

4. $\frac{1}{2}$ unius census equatur 5 radicibus. B 407.11–12; L 357.14

5. $\frac{2}{3}$ unius census equantur 8 radicibus. B 407.14; L 357.18
   $\frac{2}{3}$] $\frac{1}{3}$ L

6. (P)onantur 5 census equari denariis 45. B 407.16–17; L 357.22
   denariis] debuerunt L

7. (C)ensus $\frac{1}{3}$ 4 equatur denariis 26. B 407.18; L 357.25

8. $\frac{3}{4}$ unius census equantur denariis 12. B 407.20–21; L 357.28–29
   denariis] denarii L

9. (D)uo census et decem radices equantur denariis 30. B 407.28–29; L 358.10–11

10. (T)res census et 12 radices equantur denariis 39. B 407.30; L 358.13–14

11. (R)adices 15 et denarii 60 que equentur censibus 5. B 407.32; L 358.16–17

12. $\frac{4}{5}$ census et radices 10 equantur denariis 20. B 407.34–35; L 358.19–20

13. (C)ensus et decem radices equentur 39. B 407.42; L 359.1–2

14. (C)ensus equetur decem radicibus et denariis 39. B 408.39–40; L 361.21–22

15. (C)ensus et 40 equantur 14 radicibus. B 409.16; L 362.20–21

The Solved Problems.[123]

1. Si uis diuidere 10 in duas partes, que insimul multiplicate faciant quartam multiplicationis maioris partis in se. B 410.2–3; L 364.20–22

$$10x - x^2 = \frac{x^2}{4} \qquad \text{AE} \qquad 40x = 5x^2 \qquad [\text{R } 35.15]$$

2. (D)iuisi 10 in duas partes, ex quibus multiplicaui unam in aliam; et in id, quod prouenit diuisi quadratum unius portionis, et prouenit $\frac{1}{2}$ 1. B 410.14–15; L 365.16–18

$$\frac{x^2}{10x - x^2} = \frac{3}{2} \qquad \text{AE} \qquad 5x^2 = 30x$$

3. Item diuisi 10 in duas partes, et multiplicaui unam earum in se, et quod prouenit multiplicaui per $\frac{7}{9}$ 2; et id quod prouenit fuit 100, scilicet quadratus de 10. B 410.24–26; L 366.2–5

$$\frac{25}{9}x^2 = 100 \qquad \text{AE} \qquad x^2 = 36 \qquad [\text{R } 36.19]$$

[123] A few equations were developed from the explanation of the solution, as in problems 53 and 64.

4. (D)iuide 10 minus re in rem, quia ex ipsa diuisione ueniunt $\frac{1}{3}$ 2. B 410.32; L 366.15–16

$$\frac{x}{10-x} = 2\frac{1}{3} \qquad \text{AE} \qquad 10x = 70 \qquad [R\ 37.16;\ S\ 1372]$$

5. Diuisi in duas partes 12, et multiplicaui unam earum per 27; et quod prouenit fuit equale quadrato alterius partis. B 410.38–39; L 366.25–27

$$27(12-x) = x^2 \qquad \text{AE} \qquad x^2 + 27x = 324$$

6. Multiplicaui 1 plus de $\frac{2}{3}$ unius numeri per unum plus de $\frac{3}{4}$ eiusdem; et prouenerunt 73. B 411.7–8; L 367.14–16

$\frac{2}{3}$] $\frac{1}{3}$ L

$$(1+\frac{2}{3}x)(1+\frac{3}{4}x) = 73 \qquad \text{AE} \qquad x^2 + \frac{17}{6}x = 144 \qquad [R\ 38.11]$$

7 (1, 2). Diuisi decem in duas partes, et addidi insimul quadratos ipsorum, et prouenerunt $\frac{1}{2}$ 62. B 411.21–22; L 368.8–9

$$x^2 + (10-x)^2 = 62\frac{1}{2} \qquad \text{AE} \qquad x^2 = 10x - 18\frac{3}{4} \qquad [R\ 39.17]$$

8 [see Benedetto, p. 2, lines 17–21]. Et si extracto quadrato minoris partis de quadrato maioris, remaneant 40 (*sic*).[124] B 411.38–39; L 369.5–7

$$(10-x)^2 - x^2 = 50 \qquad \text{AE} \qquad 50 = 20x \qquad [R\ 42.18;\ S\ 1236]$$

9 (2, 9). Multiplicaui siquidem terciam unius numeri per quartam eius, et prouenit ex multiplicatione idem numerus et denarii 24. B 411.43–412.1; L 369.14–16

$$(\frac{x}{3})(\frac{x}{4}) = x + 24 \qquad \text{AE} \qquad x^2 = 12x + 288 \qquad [R\ 40.21]$$

10 (3, 10). Diuisi 10 in duas partes; et diuisi illam per istam et istam per illam, et prouenerunt $\frac{1}{3}$ 3. B 412.8–9; L 369.27–28

$\frac{1}{3}$] $\frac{1}{2}$ L

$$\frac{x}{10-x} + \frac{10-x}{x} = 3\frac{1}{3} \qquad \text{AE} \qquad x^2 + 18\frac{3}{4} = 10x \qquad [R\ 44.18;\ S\ 1268]$$

11 (4, 11). Rursus diuisi 10 in duas partes, et multiplicaui unam earum per 6; et quod prouenit diuisi per aliam partem. Et terciam eius quod prouenit addidi super summam multiplicationis prime partis in 6. Et totum id quod concretum est, fuit 39. B 412.30–32; L 371.5–9

$$\frac{1}{3}(\frac{6x}{10-x}) + 6x = 39 \qquad \text{AE} \qquad x^2 + 65 = 16\frac{5}{6}x \qquad [R\ 46.10;\ S\ 1790]$$

12 (5, 12). Diuisi 60 in homines et prouenit unicuique aliquid. Et addi duos homines super illos et per omnes ipsos diuisi 60. Et prouenit unicuique denarii $\frac{1}{2}$ 2 minus ex eo quod prouenerat prius. B 413.6–9; L 372.5–8

$$\frac{5}{4}x^2 + \frac{5}{2}x = 60 \qquad \text{GE} \qquad x^2 + 2x = 48 \qquad [S\ 1486]$$

13 (6, 13). Item diuisi 20 in homines et prouenit aliquid. Et additi (*sic*) tres homines et inter omnes diuisi 30. Et accidet unicuique 4 minus eo quod euenerat prius.

4 *om.* L B 413.36–38; L 376.7–9

$$x(\frac{4}{3}x + 7\frac{1}{3}) = 20 \qquad \text{GE} \qquad x^2 + 5\frac{1}{2}x = 15$$

[124] Libri has 50, which is correct.

14 (7, 14). Item diuisi 20 in homines, et accidit unicuique aliquid. Et addi duos homines et in omnes diuisi 60. Et accidit unicuique denarii 5 plus eo quod acciderat antea.
20 *om.* L B 414.27–28; L 374.12–15

$$15x - 2\tfrac{1}{2}x^2 = 20 \quad \text{GE} \quad x^2 + 8 = 6x \qquad [\text{S } 1685]$$

15 (8, 15). Item diuisi 60 in homines et unicuique prouenit aliquid. Et addidi tres homines; inter omnes diuisi 20. Et accidet unicuique 26 minus quam acciderat prius.
B 415.5–6; L 377.13–15

$$\tfrac{2}{3}x^2 + 12\tfrac{2}{3}x = 60 \quad \text{GE} \quad x^2 + 1\tfrac{6}{13}x = 6\tfrac{12}{13} \qquad [\text{S } 1629]$$

16 (9, 16). Item diuisi 10 in homines et prouenit unicuique aliquid. Et addidi 6 homines. Et diuisi in omnes 40. Et prouenit unicuique illud idem quod euenerat prius.
B 415.26–27; L 377.12–14

$$\frac{10}{x} = \frac{40}{x+6} \quad \text{GE} \quad 10x + 60 = 40x \qquad [\text{S } 1714]$$

17 (10, 17). Diuisi decem in duas partes. Et multiplicaui unam earum in se et prouenit triguplum duplum alterius partis. Ergo quadratus unius partis equatur multiplicationi secunde partis in 32. B 415.32–33; L 379.6–9
32] 33 L

$$x^2 = 32(10 - x) \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 + 32x = 320$$

18 (11, 18). Emi nescio quot res pro denariis 36. Emi cariores sibi inuicem equalis precii, uidelicet denariorum 36. Et fuit pretium unius cuiusque carioris denarii 3 plus precio aliarum. Et inter omnes res fuerunt 10. B 415.36–38; L 379.12–15
precii . . . 36] poetii L

$$4\tfrac{1}{2}x + \tfrac{3}{10}x^2 = 36 \quad \text{GE} \quad x^2 + 14x = 120 \qquad [\textit{S 1741}]$$

19 (12, 19). Diuis (*sic*) 12 in duas partes, et multiplicaui unam per aliam. Et quod prouenit diuisi per differentiam ipsarum, et prouenit $\frac{1}{2}$ 4.
$\frac{1}{2}$ *om.* L B 416.21–22; L 381.5–7

$$\frac{x(12-x)}{(12-x)-x} = 4\tfrac{1}{2} \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 + 54 = 21x \qquad [\textit{R 51.13}]$$

20 (13, 20). Rursus diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi maiorem partem per minorem. Et quod prouenit addidi super 10. Et multiplicaui hoc totum per 10 et prouenit 115.
B 416.32–33; L 381.21–23

$$10\left(\frac{x}{10-x} + 10\right) = 115 \quad \text{AE} \quad 2\tfrac{1}{2}x = 10$$

21 (14, 21).[125] Item diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi maiorem per minorem. Et quod prouenit addidi super 10. Et postea diuisi minorem per maiorem, et quod prouenit addidi iterum super 10. Et multiplicaui factum ex prima iunctione per factum ex secunda, et prouenit $\frac{2}{3}$ 122. B 416.40–42; L 382.4–8

$$\left(\frac{x}{10-x} + 10\right)\left(\frac{10-x}{x} + 10\right) = 122\tfrac{2}{3} \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = 10x + 27\tfrac{3}{7} \qquad [\text{S } 2211; \text{W III.18}]$$

[125] In the course of the solution Fibonacci wrote, ". . . et sic reducta est hec questio ad unam ex antecedentibus questionum in qua dicitur: diuisi 10 in duas partes et diuisi istam per

22 (15, 22). Item addatur diuisio maioris partis per minorem super 10. Et diuisio minoris partis per maiorem tollatur de 10. Et que prouenerit multiplicentur. Et ex ipsa multiplicatione proueniat $\frac{1}{3}$ 107. B 417.15.–17; L 383.6–10

$$(10+\frac{x}{10-x})(10-\frac{10-x}{x})=107\frac{1}{3} \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2+14x=120 \qquad [\text{S } 2230]$$

23 (16, ?).[126] Et si proponatur, quod super maiorem portionem ponatur predictus numerus *.a.b.*, et super minorem ponatur predictus numerus *.d.b.* Et multiplicentur insimul et ueniunt 35. B 417. 36–37; L 384.11–14

insimul *om.* L

$$(x+\frac{x}{10-x})\,[(10-x)+\frac{10-x}{x}]=35 \quad \text{AE} \quad 10x=x^2+24 \qquad [\text{W III.19}]$$

24 (17, 23). Rursus diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi illam per istam et istam per illam. Et que ex diuisione prouenerunt addidi super 10. Et in id quod prouenit multiplicaui alteram partium, et prouenerunt 114. B 418.1–3; L 384.24–28

$$x\,(\frac{x}{10-x}+\frac{10-x}{x}+10)=114 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2+130=24\frac{1}{4}\,x$$

25 (18, 24). Diuisi 10 in duas partes et diuisi maiorem per minorem. Et quod prouenit multiplicaui in hoc quod est inter utramque partem, et fuit 24.B 418.24–25; L 386.3–7

et fuit 24] et diuidatur .a.b. in .g.b. et .e. ex multiplicatione ergo .e. in .a.g. prouenient 24 L

$$(\frac{x}{10-x})\,(10-2x)=24 \quad \text{GAE} \quad x^2+17x=120 \qquad [\text{S } 1965]$$

26 (19, 25). Diuisa (*sic*) 10 in duas partes, et diuisi istam per illam et illam per istam. Et quod prouenit multiplicaui in unam partium, et fuit 34. B 419.6–7; L 387.11–13

$$x\,(\frac{x}{10-x}+\frac{10-x}{x})=34 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2+12x=120 \qquad [\text{S } 1983;\ \text{W II.16}]$$

27 (20, 26). Diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi istam per illam et illam per istam. Et differentiam, que prouenit inter exeuntes numeros ex diuisione, multiplicaui per unam partem, et fuerunt 5. B 419.14–16; L 387.26–29

$$x\,(\frac{x}{10-x}-\frac{10-x}{x})=5 \quad \text{AE} \quad 150=25x$$

28 (21, 27). Diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi unam per aliam. Et quod prouenit addidi parti per quam diuisi, et fuit $\frac{1}{2}$ 5. B 419.29–30; L 388.22–24

$\frac{1}{2}$ 5] 25 L

$$\frac{x}{10-x}+(10-x)=5\frac{1}{2} \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2+45=13\frac{1}{2}\,x \qquad [\text{W II.12}]$$

29 (22, 28). Diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi unam per aliam. Et quod prouenit addidi parti diuise. Et hoc totum multiplicaui per aliam partem, et fuit 30. B 420.1–2; L 389.19–21

$$(\frac{x}{10-x}+x)\,(10-x)=30 \quad \text{AE} \quad 11x=30+x^2 \qquad [\textit{S 2047;}\ \text{W II.13}]$$

illam et illam per istam. Et quod prouenerunt ex diuisionibus aggregavi, et illud fuit $\frac{1}{6}$ 2" (B 417.9–11; L 382.24–28). The only antecedent candidate is problem 10, but the sum there is $\frac{1}{3}$ 3.

[126] Salomone did not find a correspondent for this problem perhaps because Puccini and Capioni do not recognize the problem as distinct from (22) nor do they discuss it in their notes (pp. 47 and 251). The fact that there are two separate products, $107\frac{1}{3}$ and 35, for the given conditions, I chose to separate the problems. Consequently, the numbering changes at this point.

30 (23, 29). Diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi unam partem per aliam. Et hoc quod exiit, multiplicaui per diuisam partem, et fuerunt 9. B 420.9–10; L 380.6–8

$$\left(\frac{x}{10-x}\right)x = 9 \quad \text{AE} \quad 90 = x^2 + 9x \qquad \text{[W II.14]}$$

31 (24, 30). Est census de quo, si auferantur 72, remanebit radix eius. B 420.17; L 390.19–20

$$x^2 - 72 = x \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = x + 72$$

32 (25, 31). Sunt duo numeri quorum maior excedit minorem in 6. Et diuisi minorem per maiorem, et prouenit $\frac{1}{3}$. B 420.21–22; L 390.25–26

$$\frac{x}{x+6} = \frac{1}{3} \quad \text{AE} \quad \frac{2}{3}x = 2$$

33 (26, 32). Est numerus de quo eiecci terciam eius et denarios 4. Et eius quod remansit proiecci quartam. Et quod remansit fuit radix primi numeri. B 420.34–35; L 391.19–21

$$\left[\left(x^2 - \frac{x^2}{3}\right) - 4\right] - \frac{1}{4}\left[\left(x^2 - \frac{x^2}{3}\right) - 4\right] = x \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = 2x + 6$$

34 (27, 33). Est census de quo proieci terciam. Et quod remansit multiplicaui per tres radices ipsius, et prouenit idem census. B 421.1–2; L 392.5–7

$$\left(x^2 - \frac{x^2}{3}\right) 3x = x^2 \quad \text{AE} \quad x = \frac{1}{2} \qquad \text{[R 65.16; W III.22]}$$

35 (28, 34). Item est census de quo extraxi 3 radices ipsius. Et addidi eas cum 4 radicibus residui, et fuerunt 20. B 421.5–6; L 392.11–12

$$3x + 4\sqrt{x^2 - 3x} = 20 \quad \text{GE} \quad x^2 + 10\frac{2}{7}x = 57\frac{1}{7} \qquad \text{[}W\ III.21\text{]}$$

36 (29, 35). Et si proponatur, quod tres radices census *.b.d.* cum quattuor radicibus residui, scilicet superficiei *.b.z.*, equantur censui *.b.d.* et denariis 4. B 421.21–22; L 393.15–17

$$3x + 4\sqrt{x^2 - 3x} = x^2 + 4 \quad \text{GE} \quad y^2 = x^2 - 3x \rightarrow 4y = y^2 + 4 \qquad \text{[W III.21]}$$

37 (30, 36). Et si dicatur: est census, de quo extraxi 8 radices et addidi eas cum 10 radicibus residui, et prouenit census et denarii 21. B 421.38–39; L 394.12–14

$$8x + 10\sqrt{x^2 - 8x} = x^2 + 21 \quad \text{GE} \quad y^2 = x^2 - 8x \rightarrow y^2 + 21 = 10y \qquad \text{[W III.23]}$$

38 (31, 37). (E)st census cuius 4 radices multiplicaui per 5 radices eius, et quod prouenit fuit quattuor census et denarii 48. B 422.9–10; L 395.11–13

quattuor] quadruplum L

$$(4x)(5x) = 4x^2 + 48 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = 3 \qquad \text{[}R\ 55.13\text{]}$$

39 (32, 38). Item est census cuius $\frac{1}{13}$ equatur $\frac{1}{7}$ radices (*sic*) eius. B 422.14; L 395.20–21

$$\frac{x^2}{13} = \frac{x}{7} \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = 1\frac{6}{7}x$$

40 (33, 39). Item census, quem si multiplicas in quadruplum ipsius, ueniunt 20. B 422.17; L 395.24–25

$$(x^2)(4x^2) = 20 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = \sqrt{5} \qquad \text{[R 53.21]}$$

41 (34, 40). Item est census, quem in terciam sui multiplicaui, et prouenit 10.
B 422.19; L 395.27–28

$$(x^2)\left(\frac{x^2}{3}\right) = 10 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = \sqrt{30} \qquad [\text{R } 54.4]$$

42 (35, 41). Item est census, quo multiplicato per quadruplum ipsius, prouenit tercia dragme. B 422.22; L 396.1–2

$$(x^2)(4x^2) = \frac{1}{3} \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = \frac{1}{12} \qquad [\text{R } 54.9]$$

43 (36, 42). Item est census, quo multiplicato in radicem ipsius, prouenit triplum census primi. B 422.25; L 396.4–6

$$(x^2)(x) = 3x^2 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = 9 \qquad [\text{R } 54.15]$$

44 (37, 43). Item muliplicaui terciam census et denarium 1 in quartam eius et duos denarios, et prouenit census et augmentum 13 denariorum. B 422.28–29; L 396.9–11
1 *om.* L

$$\left(\frac{x^2}{3} + 1\right)\left(\frac{x^2}{4} + 2\right) = x^2 + 13 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = x + 132 \qquad [\text{R } 58.8]$$

45 (38, 44). Est numerus de quo, si auferatur $\frac{1}{4}\,\frac{1}{3}$ et denarii 4, remanebit siquidem radix eius. B 422.36; L 396.22–23

$$x - \frac{x}{3} - \frac{x}{4} - 4 = \sqrt{x} \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 + 92\frac{4}{25} = 24\frac{24}{25}x \qquad [R\ 60.7]$$

46 (39, 45). Et si dictum fuerit, quod multiplicato predicto residuo scilicet $\frac{5}{12}$ rei minus 4 in se, facit 12 ultra primum numerum. B 423.3–4; L 397.8–11

$$\left(x - \frac{x}{3} - \frac{x}{4} - 4\right)^2 = x + 12 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 + 23\frac{1}{25} = 24\frac{24}{25}x \qquad [\text{R } 60.7^{127}]$$

47 (40, 46). Mvltiplicaui numerum per 4 radices ipsius, et prouenit septuplum ipsius.
B 423.8; L 397.16–17

$$x(4\sqrt{x}) = 7x \quad \text{AE} \quad 4\sqrt{x} = 7$$

48 (41, 47).[128] Item est numerus de quo proieci quartam ipsius. Residuumque multiplicaui 4 (*sic*) radices eius, et prouenit septuplum illius. B 423.14–15; L 397.25–28
4] per 4 L

$$4x\left(x^2 - \frac{x^2}{4}\right) = 7x^2 \quad \text{AE} \quad 3x^3 = 7x^2$$

49 (42, 48). Item numerus est de quo proieci 4 radices ipsius. Et de residuo accipi (*sic*) $\frac{1}{4}$ et fuit equale radicibus 4. B 423.20–21; L 398.6–7

$$\frac{1}{4}(x^2 - 4x) = 4x \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 - 4x = 16x \qquad [R\ 66.9]$$

50 (43, 49). Item est numerus de quo proiecci 3 radices ipsius. Et quod remansit fuit radix quadrupli ipsius numeri. B 423.24–25; L 398.12–14

$$x^2 - 3x = \sqrt{4x^2} \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 = 5x \qquad [R\ 67.14]$$

[127] See Hughes, "Gerard of Cremona's Translation," 259

[128] The equation is not consistent with the solution, $x^2 = 4$. Benedetto (p. 33, line 13) has "sei" in place of "septuplum," which produces the given solution.

51 (44, 50). Rursus est numerus quo multiplicato per $\frac{2}{3}$ ipsius, proueniunt 5.
$\frac{2}{3}$] $\frac{1}{3}$ L B 423.27; L 398.18–19

$$x(\tfrac{2}{3}x) = 5 \quad \text{AE} \quad x = \sqrt{7\tfrac{1}{2}} \qquad [\text{R } 62.13, 64.18]$$

52 (45, 51).[129] Item est numerus de quo extracta tercia ipsius et denariis 6, residuum si in se multiplicabitur reddet dupplum ipsius numeri. B 423.34–35; L 398.29–399.1

$$[x - \tfrac{x}{3} - 6]^2 = 2x \quad \text{G}^{130}\text{AE} \quad x^2 + 81 = 22\tfrac{1}{2}x \qquad [\textit{R 56.21; S 1809}]$$

53 (46, 52). Et si proponatur quod ex ductu .a.d. in se, proueniat numerus .a.b. cum augmento denariorum 18. B 424.13–25; L 399.27–400.16

From (*52*), .a.d. = $\frac{2}{3}x - 6$ *and* .a.b. = 18 GA $\quad (\frac{2}{3}x - 6)^2 = 36$

54 (47, 53). Adhuc est numerus de quo proieieci (*sic*) terciam eius et denarios 6. Et quod remansit multiplicaui per 5 et rediit idem numerus. B 424.26–27; L 400.17–19

$$5[x - (\tfrac{x}{3} + 6)] = x \quad \text{G}^{131}\text{AE} \quad 3\tfrac{1}{3}x = x + 30$$

55 (48, 54). Ex (*sic*) si ex .a.d. in 5, scilicet in .g.h., proueniant 24 ultra numerum .a.b. B 425.1–7; L 401.5–14

$$5[x - (\tfrac{x}{3} + 6)] = x + 24 \quad \text{GAE} \quad x = 23\tfrac{1}{7}$$

56 (49, 55). In quadam negotiatione quidam habuit libras 12 capitalis, cum quibus lucratus est aliquid in mensibus tribus. Super quod totum scilicet super capitale et lucrum, quidam alius addidit libras 11. Et cum his omnibus lucratus est proportionaliter secundum quod lucratus fuerat primum (*sic*). Et in capite duodecim mensium lucratus est aliquid aliud, et fuit totum lucrum duodecim mensium et trium libre 9. Queritur, quot ex ipso lucro cadat unicuique ipsorum, uel quot lucrabatur in unoquoque mense per libram. B 425.8–14; L 401.15–24

$$4x^2 + 104x = 108 \quad \text{GE} \quad x^2 + 26x = 27$$

57 (50, 56). Inueniat quis numerum, quo multiplicato in se et in radicem de 10, faciat nonuplum ipsius numeri. B 426.4–5; L 403.21–23

$$x^2 + \sqrt{10x^2} = 9x \quad \text{GE} \quad x^2 + x\sqrt{10} = 9x$$

58 (51, 57). Et si dicatur, quod ex ductu *.a.b.* scilicet numeri duti in se et in radicem de 10, proueniat nonuplum quadrati. B 426. 16–17; L 404.11–14
duti] dati L

$$x^2 + \sqrt{10x^2} = 9x^2 \quad \text{AGE} \quad \sqrt{10x^2} = 8x^2 \qquad [\textit{W II.35}]$$

59 (52, 58). Item est numerus, quo multiplicato in se et in radicem de 10, proueniunt 20. B 426.32; L 405.12–13

$$x(x + \sqrt{10}) = 20 \quad \text{AGE} \quad x^2 + \sqrt{10x^2} = 20$$

[129] Benedetto 46 is a variation on this problem.

[130] The proposed solution is entirely geometric. The equation here is based on a marginal note in the manuscript of B 423(1).

[131] The equation here is based on a marginal note in the manuscript B 424(1).

60 (53, 59). Multiplicaui occuplum radicis cuiusdam numeri per triplum radicis ipsius, et prouenienti summe addidi denarios 20. Et fit totum illud equale quadrato ipsius. B 427.1–2; L 405.29–406.1

$$(8\sqrt{x})(3\sqrt{x})+20=x^2 \quad \text{AE} \quad 24x+20=x^2$$

61 (54, 60). (M)ultiplicaui radicem occupli cuiusdam numeri in radicem tripli eius, et prouenienti summe addidi 20. Et ex hoc toto pouenit quadratum ipsius numeri. B 427.13–14; L 406.16–19

$$(\sqrt{8x})(\sqrt{3x})+20=x^2 \quad \text{GE} \quad \sqrt{24x^2}+20=x^2 \qquad [W\,II.36]$$

62 (55, 61). Rvrsus multiplicaui radicem sexupli cuiusdam aueris in radicem quincupli eius, et addidi decuplum ipsius aueris et denarios 20. Et fuerunt hec omnia sicut multiplicatio ipsius aueris in se. B 427.35–37; L 407.19–22

$$(\sqrt{6x})(\sqrt{5x})+10x+20=x^2 \quad \text{AGE} \quad (10+\sqrt{30})x+20=x^2 \qquad [W\,II.37]$$

63 (56, 62). Diuisi 10 in duas partes et multiplicaui unam in aliam. Et quod prouenit diuisi per differentiam que est inter utramque partem. Et prouenit radix 6. B 428.19–20; L 408.30–409.2

$$\frac{x(10-x)}{(10-x)-x}=\sqrt{6} \quad \text{AGE} \quad (10+\sqrt{24})x=\sqrt{600}+x^2 \qquad [W\,II.49]$$

64 (57, 63). Item diuisi 10 in duas partes, et multiplicaui unam earum in radicem 8 et aliam in se. Et proieciit quod prouenit ex multiplicatione unius partis in radicem de 8 ex eo quod prouenit ex multiplicatione alteriuis partis in se. Et remanerunt denarii 40.

proieciit quod] proieci id quod L B 429.17–20; L 411.13–17

$$(10-x)^2-\sqrt{8x^2}=40 \quad \text{AGE} \quad x^2+60=(20+\sqrt{8})x \qquad [W\,II.39]$$

65 (58, 64).[132] Item diuisi 10 in duas partes, et multiplicaui unam earum in radicem de 10 et aliam in se. Et que prouenerunt fuerunt equalia. B 430.6–8; L 413.1–3

(65.1) $\sqrt{10x^2}=(10-x)^2 \quad \text{AE} \quad (20+\sqrt{10})x=x^2+100$

(65.2) $(10-x)\sqrt{10}=x^2 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2+x\sqrt{10})=\sqrt{1000}$

66 (59, 65). Super quoddam auere addidi denarios 10. Et quod prouenit multiplicaui in radicem de 5. Quorum accepit radicem et fuit sicut auere predictum. B 430.25–26; L 413.29–414.1

Quorum *om.* L

$$\sqrt{(10+x)\sqrt{5}}=x \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2=\sqrt{500}+x\sqrt{5}$$

67 (60, 66). Inter duas quantitites quarum vna est maior, altera est 5. Et multiplicaui maiorem quantitatem in decuplum eius. Et eius quod prouenit, accepi radicem. Et fuit sicut multiplicatio minoris quantitatis in se. B 430.35–37; L 414.14–17

quarum . . . altera om. L minoris] maioris L

$$\sqrt{10x^2}=(x-5)^2 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2+25=(10+\sqrt{10})x \qquad [W\,II.40]$$

68 (61, 67). Item sunt duo numeri, quorum unus excedit alterum in 5. Et multiplicaui

[132] Fibonacci offers two approaches to the solution.

maiorem eorum in radicem de 8, et minorem in radicem de 10. Et que prouenerunt fuerunt equalia. B 431.5–7; L 415.4–7

$$(x+5)\sqrt{8} = x\sqrt{10} \quad \text{AGE} \quad x^2 = 900 + \sqrt{800000}$$

69.[133] Et quia uolumus inuenire duos numeros, quorum unus excedat alterum in 5. Et sit multiplicatio maioris eorum in radice de 2, sicut multiplicatio minoris in radicem de 8. B 433.20–22; L 419.30–420.3

minoris] maioris L

$$(x+5)\sqrt{2} = x\sqrt{8} \quad \text{AE} \quad 50 = 2x^2$$ [W II.41]

70 (62, 68). Mvltiplicaui quodam auere in duplum eius, et radici uenientis summe addidit 2. Et illud totum multiplicaui per auere predictum, et prouenerunt inde denarii 20.[134] B 433.31–32; L 420.17–20

radici] endici L totum] tum L inde] unde L

$$(\sqrt{2x^2} + 2)x = 30 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 + x\sqrt{2} = \sqrt{450}$$

71 (65, 69). Diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi maiorem per minorem et minorem per maiorem. Et agregaui ea que prouenerunt ex diuisione. Et fuerunt radix 5 denariorum.

ea] eas L B 434.26–27; L 422.15–18

$$\frac{x}{10-x} + \frac{10-x}{x} = \sqrt{5} \quad \text{AGE} \quad 10x = x^2 + \sqrt{50000} - 200$$

72 (68, 70). Diuisi 12 in duas partes, et diuisi qualibet (*sic*) illam partium per aliam. Et multiplicaui quodlibet exeuntium in se, et sunt 4 dragme. B 438.19–20; L 430.26–28

12] 16 L sunt] super L

$$\left(\frac{x}{12-x}\right)^2 + \left(\frac{12-x}{x}\right)^2 = 4 \quad \text{AGE} \quad x^2 + 72 + \sqrt{15552} = (12 + \sqrt{432})x$$

73 (69, 71). Diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi quamlibet illam per aliam. Et multiplicaui quodlibet exeuntium in se ipsum, et minui minus ex maiori. Et remanet 2 dragme. B 439.23–24; L 433.6–9

$$\left(\frac{10-x}{x}\right)^2 - \left(\frac{x}{10-x}\right)^2 = 2 \quad \text{AGE}^{135} \quad (20 + \sqrt{200})x = x^2 + 100 + \sqrt{5000}$$

[S 2551]

74 (70, 72). Diuisi 10 in duas partes, et per unamquamque ipsarum diuisi 10. Et que ex diuisione exierunt, fuerunt 5 dragme. B 440.43–441.1; L 436.8–10

$$\frac{10}{x} + \frac{10}{10-x} = 5 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 + 20 = 10x$$

75 (71, 73).[136] Diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi istam per illam et illam per istam. Et prouenerunt 3 dragme. B 441.18; L 437.4–5

$$\frac{5-x}{5+x} + \frac{5+x}{5-x} = 3 \quad \text{AE} \quad x = \sqrt{5}$$

[133] This appears as an example in Benedetto (56.3–19) of problem 67 (61,67) above.

[134] L 420.20 has 30, which is correct.

[135] The equation follows from a lengthy exposition which has nothing to do with the problem, and its root 28.06 does not fit the equation.

[136] This problem is discussed at length on pp. 341–43 above.

76 (72, 74).[137] De quodam auere minui duas radices eius et 4 dragmas. Et multiplicaui residuum in se ipsum, et prouenit occuplum ipsis (*sic*) aueris. B 442.36–37; L 440.3–5

duas] 12 L ipsis] ipsius L

$$[x^2-(2x+4)]^2=8x^2 \quad \text{GS} \quad x=\sqrt{7+\sqrt{8}}+1+\sqrt{2}$$

77 (73, 75). Est quoddam auere cuius radices[138] et radix medietatis eius et radix tercie eius sunt equales censui. B 443.26–27; L 442.3–4

eius] omni L

$$x^2=2x+\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{2}}+\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{3}} \quad \text{GS} \quad x=2+\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}+\sqrt{\frac{1}{3}} \quad \text{[S 2636; W IV.17]}$$

78 (74, 77). Est quoddam auere cuius 2 radices et radix medietatis eius et radix tercie eius sunt 20 dragme. B 443.40–41; L 443.1–2

$$2\sqrt{x^2}+\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{2}}+\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{3}}=20 \quad \text{AE}^{139} \quad (3\tfrac{1}{6}-\sqrt{\tfrac{2}{3}})x^2+80x=400$$

[S 2642; W IV.18]

79. Et si dixeris: de quodam auere minui duas radices eius et radicem medietatis eius et radicem tercie eius, et remanserunt 20 dragme. B 444.8–9; L 443.18–20.

$$x^2-2\sqrt{x^2}-\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{2}}-\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{3}}=20 \quad \text{AGS}$$

$$x=(1+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{8}}+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{12}})+\sqrt{20+(1+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{8}}+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{12}})}$$

80. Et si dicemus tibi: adde super quodam auere 4 radices eius et radicem medietatis eius et radicem $\frac{2}{3}$ eius, et erunt 10 dragme. Quantus est census? B 444.21–22; L 444.14–16

$$x^2+4\sqrt{x^2}+\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{2}}+\sqrt{\frac{2x^2}{3}}=10 \quad \text{AGS} \quad \text{[S 2656]}$$

$$x=\sqrt{10+(2+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{8}}+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{12}})}-(2+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{8}}+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{12}})$$

81. Et si dicemus tibi: super quodam auere addidi radicem eius et radicem medietatis eius. Et hoc totum multiplicaui in se, et prouenit quicuplum ipsius aueris. B 444.30–31; L 444.27–30

$$[x^2+\sqrt{x^2}+\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{2}}]^2=5x^2 \quad \text{AGS} \quad x=\sqrt{5}-1-\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}} \quad \text{[S 2662]}$$

82. Item super quodam auere addidi radicem eius et radicem medietatis eius. Et hoc totum multiplicaui in se, et prouenit 20 dragme. B 445.1–2; L 445.19–21

$$[x^2+\sqrt{x^2}+\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{2}}]^2=20 \quad \text{AGS} \quad x=\sqrt{20+(\tfrac{1}{2}+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{8}})}-(\tfrac{1}{2}+\sqrt{\tfrac{1}{8}}) \quad \text{[S 2668]}$$

83. Item super quodam auere addidi radicem medietatis eius. Et multiplicaui agregatum in se, et prouenit quadruplum eius. B 445.17–18; L 446.16–447.2

quadruplum] quadratus L

$$[x^2+\sqrt{\frac{x^2}{2}}]^2=4x^2 \quad \text{AGS} \quad x=2-\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}} \quad \text{[S 2678]}$$

[137] Benedetto has 4 roots and 40 dragmas, which produce 4 times what he had.

[138] L 442.3 has "cuius .2. et radices," which is required.

[139] The equation follows from the conditions of the problem; Fibonacci's solution, $x=3$, is incorrect.

84.[140] Multiplicaui quoddam auere et radicem 3 per idem auere et radicem 2 dragmarum. Et prouenerunt 20 dragme. B 445.25–26; L 447.10–11

radicem 3 per idem] radicem in L

$$(x^2+\sqrt{3})(x^2+\sqrt{2})=20 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2+(\sqrt{12}+\sqrt{8})x=14 \qquad \text{[S 2730]}$$

85 (75, 83). Cuidam aueri addidi 7 dragmas. Et multiplicaui aggregatum in radicem tripli ipsius aueris. Prouenit decuplum ipsius. B 445.35–36; L 447.25–27

7] 2 L

$$(x^2+7)\sqrt{3x^2}=10x^2 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2+49=19\tfrac{1}{3}x \qquad \text{[S 2747; W IV.20]}$$

86 (76, 84). Super una quaque duarum inequalium quantitatum quarum una est triplum alterius, addidi radicem eius. Et multiplicaui unum ex aggregatis in aliud, et prouenit decuplum maioris quamtitatis (*sic*). B 446.5–7; L 448.15–18

$$(x+\sqrt{x})(3x+\sqrt{3x})=10(3x) \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2+100\tfrac{1}{3}-\sqrt{133\tfrac{1}{3}}=21\tfrac{1}{3}x \qquad \text{[W IV.21]}$$

87 (77, 85). De quodam auere accepi radice et radicem radicis eius, et radicem 2 et radicum eius, et radicem quincupli eius. Et hec omnia fuerunt 10 dragme.

2 et] 2 L B 446.34–35; L 449.30–450.2

$$x+\sqrt{x}+\sqrt{2x}+\sqrt{5x^2}=10 \quad \text{AE} \qquad \text{[W IV.22]}$$

$$x^2+37\tfrac{1}{2}-\sqrt{781\tfrac{1}{4}}=(\sqrt{281\tfrac{1}{4}}+\sqrt{1\tfrac{1}{8}}-3\tfrac{7}{8}-\sqrt{41\tfrac{52}{88}}-\sqrt{\tfrac{5}{8}})x$$

88 (78, 86). Trium quantitatum inequalium: si multiplicetur minor per maiorem, erit sicut media in se. Et si multiplicetur maior in se, uenit sicut minor in se et sicut media in se insimul iunctis. Et ex ductu minoris in mediam proueniunt 10. B 447.14–16; L 451.3–8

$$x,\ \frac{10}{x},\ \frac{100}{x^3};\ (\frac{100}{x^3})^2=x^2+(\frac{10}{x})^2 \quad \text{AGE} \quad x^8+100x^4=10{,}000 \qquad \text{[W IV.23]}$$

89 (79, 87). Et si dicatur, diuisi 10 in 3 partes. Et fuit multiplicatio minoris per maiorem sicut multiplicatio medie partis in se. Et multiplicationes minoris in se et medie partis in se sunt sicut multiplicatio maioris partis in se. B 448.9–11; L 453.3–7

$$\text{Assuming } 1, x, x^2 \quad \text{AGE} \quad x^4=x^2+1 \qquad \text{[S 2954]}$$

90 (80, 88). Et si dicemus, diuisi 10 in duas partes. Et de maiore parte extraxi duas radices eius. Et super minorem addidi duas radices eius. Et que prouenerunt fuerunt equalia. B 451.40–41; L 461.14–16

$$(5+x)-2\sqrt{5+x}=(5-x)+2\sqrt{5-x} \quad \text{AE} \quad 16x^2=256 \qquad \text{[S 3104; } W\ IV.24\text{]}$$

91 (81, 89). Item diuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi 10 per unamquamque ipsarum partium, et multiplicaui unam exeuntium in alium. Et prouenerunt $\frac{1}{4}$ 6.

B 454.40–41; L 468.3–5

$$(\frac{10}{8-x})(\frac{10}{2+x})=6\tfrac{1}{4} \quad \text{AE} \quad 6x=x^2 \qquad \text{[}S\ 3345\text{]}$$

[140] The equation on the right cannot be derived from the equation on the left, nor does the solution in the text, $x=(\sqrt{19}+\sqrt{24})-(\sqrt{3}+\sqrt{2})$, satisfy the original question. Obviously, something was lost.

92 (82, 90 [end of Benedetto's list]).[141] (D)iuisi 10 in duas partes, et diuisi 10 per unam quamque ipsarum. Et prounerunt $\frac{1}{4}$ 6. B 456.6–7; L 469.30–470.1

diuisi 10 per unam quamque ipsarum] unamquamque ipsarum diuisi 10 L

$$\frac{10}{x} + \frac{10}{10-x} = 6\frac{1}{4} \quad \text{AE} \quad x^2 + 16 = 10x \qquad \text{[S 3290]}$$

93. Et si dicemus: de 10 feci duas partes. Et per unam quamque partium diuisi 20, et multiplicaui unum exeuntium numerorum in alium. Et prouenient 25. B 457.6–7; L 472.25–28

$$\left(\frac{20}{5+x}\right)\left(\frac{20}{5x}\right) = 25 \quad \text{AE} \quad 25x^2 = 225$$

94. Rursus diuisi 10 in duas partes. Et per unam illarum diuisi 40 et per aliam 50. Et multiplicaui unum exeuntium numerorum in alium. Et prouenerunt 125. B 458.7–8; L 474.28–30

et per aliam 50] et unde per aliam L

$$\left(\frac{40}{5+x}\right)\left(\frac{50}{5-x}\right) = 125 \quad \text{AE} \quad 125x^2 = 1125 \qquad \text{[S 3500]}$$

95. (D)e 10 feci duas partes, et per unamquamque earum diuisi 10. Et quod e utraque diuisione prouenit, duxi in se. Prouenit $\frac{1}{4}$ 20. B 458.16–18; L 475.10–13

$$\left[\left(\frac{10}{5+x}\right)\left(\frac{10}{5-x}\right)\right]^2 = 20\frac{1}{4} \quad \text{AE} \quad 4\frac{1}{2}x^2 = 12\frac{1}{2} \qquad \text{[S 3527]}$$

96. (E)t si diserit (*sic*): diuisio (*sic*) 10 in duas partes, et per unam quamque diuisi 10. Et quod prouenit multiplicaui in se, et prouenerunt 30 dragme. B 458.19–20; L 475.15–18

et prouenerunt] prouenerunt L

$$\left[\left(\frac{10}{5+x}\right)\left(\frac{10}{5-x}\right)\right]^2 = 30 \quad \text{AE} \quad x^4 + 291\frac{2}{3} = 50x^2 \qquad \text{[S 3531]}$$

97.[142] Item diuisi 10 in duas partes, et per unamquamque diuisi 40. Et quod prouenit multiplicaui in se. Et prouenerunt 625. B 458.32–33; L 476.4–7

$$\left[\left(\frac{40}{5+x}\right)\left(\frac{40}{5-x}\right)\right]^2 = 625 \qquad \text{[S 3548]}$$

98. Diuisi 10 in duas partes, per unam illarum diuisi 10. Et quod prouenit multiplicaui per aliam partem. Et prouenerunt $\frac{1}{4}$ 20. B 458.37–38; L 476.11–13

$$\left(\frac{10}{x}\right)(10-x) = 20\frac{1}{4} \quad \text{AE} \quad 30\frac{1}{4}x = 100$$

99. Et si dicemus tibi: 30^{plum} cuiusdam census multiplicaui per 30. Et quod prouenit fuit equale aditione 30 dragmarum et 30^{pli} eiusdem census. B 459.1–2; L 476.22–24

30^{plum}] duplum 3 L per *om.* L 30^{pli}] 3 L

$$30(30x^2) = 30 + 30x^2 \quad \text{AE} \quad 30x^2 = 1 + x^2$$

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[141] In the Sigler translation this problem appears at 612.18–19.

[142] Although both Boncompagni and Libri agree in the reading of the text, it is defective. After taking square roots of both sides, it says to set $(25-x^2)$ "equal to 40, namely the product of 10 and 40," a statement that clearly differs from the reading of the problem. The first 40 in the solution should be 400, and the numerators must be 10 and 40 to produce the required solutions, 2 and 8, which the text gives. Puccini and Capione have 400 (p. 218).

JOHN PURVEY AND JOHN OF GAUNT'S THIRD MARRIAGE*

Richard Firth Green

ONE of the few works convincingly attributed to the well-known Lollard, John Purvey, is a set of eleven *Haereses et errores . . . extracti de libello suo haeretico* by, the colophon tells us, the Carmelite friar Richard Lavenham; it appears among the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum.*[1] In 1981 Anne Hudson pointed to the extensive overlap between these eleven articles and the seven articles of Lollard doctrine confessed by Purvey and recanted after his trial in 1401,[2] but she was still reluctant to suggest that Lavenham's epitome formed the basis for an official set of accusations: "it would seem likely therefore that Lavenham's work was not directly connected with the trial; it may consequently date from after that event as probably as from before it."[3] When she came to write *The Premature Reformation,* Hudson seems to have been still undecided, dating the Lavenham epitome as early as 1395 and as late as 1403.[4] In what follows I hope to be able to narrow this dating considerably, but more importantly, to throw some light upon Lollard involvement with court faction in the last decade of Richard II's reign.

The sixth of Lavenham's eleven articles is concerned with matrimony, but its first paragraph after discussing the question of whether spiritual affinity (that is, a relationship created through godparenting) is a bar to marriage, moves onto a seemingly unrelated topic:

> [He says] that notwithstanding their spiritual affinity a man and a woman can legally, by the law of God, be joined in marriage without any papal dispensa-

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[1] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum tritico,* ed. Walter Waddington Shirley, Rolls Series 5 (London, 1858), 383–99.

[2] These are printed in *Fasciculi Zizaniorum,* 400–407.

[3] Anne Hudson, *Lollards and Their Books* (London, 1985), 92; this chapter is reprinted from "John Purvey: A Reconsideration of the Evidence for His Life and Writings," *Viator* 12 (1981): 355–80.

[4] Anne Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988); it is dated "around 1395–1400" on p. 174 and "between 1400 and 1403" on p. 340.

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> tion. And in the same place [*ibidem*] he says that if our kingdom should choose a bastard as its king, as long as he performs the office of king well, God makes him king, and consequently rejects any other king or legitimate heir to the kingdom.[5]

The next paragraph then returns to the earlier question: "Item, that on account of such spiritual affinity no marriage should be dissolved."[6] While none of these points could be regarded as standard planks in the Lollard platform, they are not inconsistent with Wyclif's teaching, and indeed a possible defense of bastard succession would seem to follow from his insistence that human laws of inheritance do not negate the argument that civil dominion descends from God alone.[7] Far more curious, however, is the way these quite disparate points are juxtaposed—a juxtaposition that had clearly been present (as Lavenham's word *ibidem* makes clear) in Purvey's original *libellus.* The unlikely association of spiritual affinity with the question of bastard succession leaves a strong impression that Purvey is here alluding to some specific contemporary situation. Such a situation is in fact not far to seek, though its implications are striking.

At the time of Richard II's second marriage (in November 1396) the most prominent bastards with royal blood in their veins were John of Gaunt's four children by Katherine Swynford: John, Henry, Thomas, and Joan Beaufort.[8] Even supposing that a bastard might accede, however (and this is a huge supposition), John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, was still a very long way from the throne. According to the theory of representative primogeniture (a theory that was admittedly neither well established nor yet written into law at the end of the fourteenth century),[9] a total of ten males stood between Somerset and the crown before the death of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, in 1398. These were Roger himself, his two sons (Edmund and Roger), his younger brother (Edmund), John of Gaunt, Gaunt's legitimate son (the future Henry IV), and

[5] "Quod, non obstante cognatione spirituali, vir et mulier possunt licite per legem Dei copulari matrimonio, sine aliqua dispensione papali. Et ibidem dicit, quod si regnum nostrum eligat unum illegitimum in regem, dummodo ille bene faciat officium regis, Deus facit eum regem; et per consequens reprobat alium regem, seu haeredem regni legitimum" (*Fasciculi Zizaniorum,* 391).

[6] "Item quod propter cognationem hujusmodi spiritualem non debet matrimonium separari" (ibid.).

[7] E.g., John Wyclif, *De civili dominio,* ed. Reginald Lane Poole and Johann Loserth, 4 vols. (London, 1885–1904), 1:29, 153, 212–18.

[8] There was also the shadowy figure of Roger Clarendon, bastard son of the Black Prince (*ut dicebatur*), executed in 1402 for supporting the cause of Richard II (see Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana,* ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols., Rolls Series 28a [London, 1863–64], 2:249).

[9] Thomas Pitt Taswell-Langmead, *English Constitutional History, from the Teutonic Conquest to the Present Time,* 11th ed., revised by Theodore F. T. Plucknett (London [1960]), 483.

Henry's four sons (the future Henry V, Thomas, John, and Humphrey).[10] Even this calculation entails the assumption that both Richard II and Edmund Mortimer would die without issue and that Henry, earl of Derby, would not remarry and have more children. Of course, Gaunt was approaching old age, Richard's marriage to the seven-year-old Isabella of France was certainly not going to produce children much before the middle of the next decade, and Roger Mortimer's sons were both under ten (as were three of Gaunt's grandsons), but the odds were still not very good. Even more of an obstacle was English customary law. While canon law regarded the subsequent marriage of parents as an act which of itself legitimized their offspring, common law was unequivocal: only children born in wedlock could inherit estates (and, by analogy, kingdoms). In view of all this, can Purvey really have been speculating on the legality, or perhaps we should rather say the propriety, of John Beaufort's inheriting the throne? On the surface, this certainly seems unlikely.

On the other hand, there is a striking coincidence between article six of Purvey's *Heresies and Errors* and the circumstances surrounding John of Gaunt's marriage to Katherine Swynford, in January 1396. Gaunt's second wife, Constance of Castille, died on 24 March 1394, and in September of that year, while still formally in mourning, he sailed to Bordeaux to attend to his duties as duke of Aquitaine; he returned to England in December 1395, spent Christmas with the king at Langley, and then early in the new year hurried to the Swynford manor of Kettlethorpe in Lincolnshire where, much to the amazement of the court, he married his long-time mistress. Though few people other than the principals themselves can have known it, this marriage was in fact illegal: many years before, Gaunt had acted as godfather to Katherine's legitimate daughter, Blanche, and thus the parties stood within the prohibited degree of spiritual affinity. We know this because fairly soon after the marriage Gaunt apparently decided to try to regularize the situation by sending an envoy to the pope. His envoy brought back a letter of credence (*quoddam breve credentiale*), signed (*signatum*) by the pope himself, indicating his oral (*viva voce*) consent, but this was evidently not enough for the cautious duke, for he proceeded to ask for, and eventually receive (on 1 September 1396), formal ratification and confirmation of his marriage to Katherine Swynford, together with the declaration that the children they had had together were legitimate.[11] This document tells us that the couple had at first as-

[10] Edward III's recently discovered attempt to entail the crown, however, would have limited succession to the male line and taken the Mortimers out of contention; see Michael J. Bennett, "Edward III's Entail and the Succession to the Crown, 1375–1471," *The English Historical Review* 113 (1998): 580–609

[11] *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal*

sumed that their marriage was lawful because the impediment of compaternity was not notorious, but concealed (*occulto*).[12]

The pope may have confirmed the Beauforts' legitimization in canon law, but the duke of Lancaster clearly wanted more: early in the following year Gaunt decided to make them legitimate at common law as well. On 9 February 1397, the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* record a charter of legitimization granted by Richard to his Beaufort cousins at the request of their father, entitling them to receive and hold "whatsoever honors, dignities, preeminencies, states, ranks, and offices, both public and private, permanent and temporary, as well as fees and nobilities, howsoever termed (as it might be duke, prince, count, baron, or other fee), whether descending or held directly or indirectly from us, . . . just as freely and legally as if you had been the offspring of a legitimate bed, not in any way withstanding any statute or custom of this our English kingdom issued or observed to the contrary."[13] What force such a charter might have had, had John Beaufort actually found himself next in line for the throne, we can never know, but there are reasons for thinking that Gaunt himself might have wished to believe in its potential utility.

Gaunt's dynastic ambitions for his children can hardly be doubted. As early as 1387, at the time of the marriage of his eldest daughter to the king of Portugal, the author of *The Westminster Chronicle,* after giving a list of Gaunt's children, had felt it necessary to point out that should Richard II die childless, the children of the earl of March were next in line,[14] and in the mid-1390s the *Continuation of the Eulogium Historiarum* suggests that Gaunt had actually made a bid to have Parliament declare Henry, earl of Derby, the

Letters, vol. 4, A.D. 1362–1404, ed. W.H. Bliss and J.A. Twemlow (London, 1902), 545.

[12] Professor Joseph H. Lynch informs me that "in 14th-century entries in the *Calendar* concerning the marriage of a *compater/commater,* the request for a dispensation is always (or almost always) accompanied by a defense such as, 'the marital pair were unaware of the impediment caused by such a spiritual affinity.' Since John admitted that he knew the legal consequences, he needed a mitigating argument, and I think *occulto* represents that mitigation" (private communication).

[13] ". . . quecumque honores, dignitates, pre-eminentias, status, gradus, & officia publica et privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque feudalia & nobilia, quibuscumque nominibus nuncupentur, etiamsi ducatus, principatus, comitatus, baronie, vel alia feuda fuerint, etiamsi mediate vel immediate a nobis dependeant seu teneantur . . . [perinde] libere & licite [valeatis], ac si de legitimo thoro nati existeretis, quibuscumque statutis seu consuetudinibus regni nostri Anglie in contrarium editis, seu observatis." I quote here the punctuated and corrected version of the *Rotuli Parliamentorum* (3:343a) given by A. F. Pollard, *The Reign of Henry VII from Contemporary Sources,* 3 vols. (London, 1913–14), 2:7; Pollard's suggested emendations are in square brackets.

[14] *The Westminster Chronicle 1381–1394,* ed. L. C. Hector and Barbara F. Harvey (Oxford, 1982), 192–95.

king's legal heir.[15] Though this story makes little sense as it stands,[16] it does indicate the existence of popular suspicions of the duke's intentions at the time. The real question is whether these dynastic ambitions could possibly have extended as far of John Beaufort, earl of Somerset. But perhaps this conjecture is not quite so farfetched as might first appear: after all, Gaunt's eldest daughter, Phillipa, was married to a bastard (King João I of Portugal), and his second daughter, Catherine, to the grandson of another (Enrique III of Castille, the grandson of Enrique II of Trastamara). Parallels with the situation of his Portuguese son-in-law are particularly apposite: João was the son of Pedro I of Portugal by a woman called Teresa Lourenço, and though there had been a legitimate claimant (his half-brother, also called João, son of Pedro's second wife Inês de Castro), he had managed to discredit his opponent by fighting fire with fire in the Portuguese parliament (the *Cortes*)—he had produced what purported to be a papal letter refusing to legitimize the marriage of Pedro and Inês or to remove the stigma of bastardy from their children.[17] It is impossible that Gaunt, so deeply enmeshed in Iberian politics, should not have known the story of how his son-in-law obtained the crown, and it is difficult to believe that it was not in his mind when he, too, came to seek a papal letter legitimizing his own marriage and its issue ten years later.

R. H. Jones has argued that in his last years Gaunt showed more interest in the welfare of his children by Katherine Swynford than in his legal heir,[18] but this seems to be going further than the facts will bear (Jones's evidence comes from the highly partial *Chronicque de la Traïson et Mort,* which twice states that Gaunt expressed regret for Richard's clemency to the earl of Derby).[19] Though Gaunt certainly cherished his Beaufort children,[20] and went to great lengths to ensure that they were left well provided for, this was not done at the expense of the earl of Derby's patrimony. Indeed, K. B. McFarlane has cited his purchase of two manors from the childless duke of Somerset for the benefit of John Beaufort in 1395 as a sign that Gaunt's "reluctance to diminish his elder son's expectations may have been unusually scrupulous;"[21] similarly,

[15] *Eulogium historiarum sive temporis,* ed. Frank Scott Haydon, 3 vols., Rolls Series 9 (London, 1858–65), 3:369–70.

[16] See Bennett, "Edward III's Entail," 596 n. 4.

[17] P. E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain & Portugal in the Time of Edward III & Richard II* (Oxford, 1955), 374–75.

[18] Richard H. Jones, *The Royal Policy of Richard II: Absolutism in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), 95.

[19] *Chronicque de la traïson et mort de Richart Deux Roy Dengleterre,* ed. Benjamin Williams (London, 1846), 41 and 54 (trans., 188 and 204).

[20] Anthony Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 1992), 365–66.

[21] K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973), 84.

the four manors granted Beaufort by the king from the forfeited estates of the earl of Warwick,[22] would have left the Lancaster inheritance intact. It seems more probable that Gaunt, a man whose earliest memories may well have been of the Black Death, was simply hedging his bets. After all, neither Henry of Derby nor John Beaufort seems to have been particularly preoccupied with self-preservation; both, for instance, evidently enjoyed jousting and had participated together at the famous St. Inglevert tournament in 1390. In 1396 Gaunt's hopes rested on one legitimate son and four young grandsons; bearing in mind the experience of his son-in-law, King João I of Portugal, he may well have felt it only prudent to do whatever he could to try to include his Beaufort sons on the list. There is one concrete piece of evidence that his contemporaries suspected that this was what he had in mind. In the official copy of the patent recording the Beauforts' legitimization, and thus their eligibility for "whatsoever honors, dignities, preeminencies, states, ranks, and offices," after the word *dignitates* a contemporary hand has interlined the telling phrase *excepta dignitate regali* ("the dignity of kingship excepted").[23]

If we agree that this situation explains the otherwise very odd conjunction of rulings on spiritual affinity and the inheritance of bastards in Purvey's little book of *Heresies and Errors,* then some intriguing conclusions follow. Only between Gaunt's return from Aquitaine in the autumn of 1395 and his reception of a first favorable response from the pope, presumably in the spring or summer of 1396, could he have been curious to know whether or not a Lollard priest believed that compaternal marriage was legal (and, coincidentally, that bastards might legitimately inherit the crown). Of course we could suppose that no one actually asked Purvey for his opinion on these questions and that

[22] Simon Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361–1399* (Oxford, 1990), 223.

[23] This insertion, which was not made in the corresponding parliamentary roll (see Samuel Bentley, *Excerpta Historica* [London, 1831], 153; and William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England,* 3 vols. [Oxford, 1874–78], 3:59), has occasioned much debate. Sydney Armitage-Smith follows Bentley in suggesting that it was the work of Henry IV, "when he had begun to be jealous of his half-brothers" (*John of Gaunt* [London, 1904] 392 n.2), though Stubbs (and others since him) had attributed the qualification to Archbishop Arundel's hostility to the Beauforts. Bentley, Stubbs, and Armitage-Smith all agree that the insertion must have been made at the time of Parliament's confirmation of the Beauforts' legitimization (which *does* contain these words) in January 1407, but there is nothing to say that the interlineation in the patent roll could not have been made earlier. The Ohio State University Library's copy of Rymer's *Foedera,* which has been carefully corrected against the original rolls by George Holmes (†1749), Deputy Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London (see James Bracken, "Evidence of George Holmes's Corrections to the First Edition of the Foedera (1704–17)," *Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography* 11 [2000]: 11–23), has the marginal note "interlined in ye Roll" at this point (7:849), and even Bentley, after noting differences in the ink, concedes that "the hand is very nearly the same" (p. 153).

his jottings simply represent unsolicited musings on a contemporary issue, but then we have to explain how he came by the information that many years earlier the duke had stood as godfather to Katherine Swynford's daughter Blanche and was thus related to her within a prohibited degree of spiritual affinity. Not only was Gaunt's marriage itself evidently completely unforeseen by the world at large,[24] but we have the evidence of the papal letter to prove that the impediment of his compaternity with Katherine, far from being common knowledge, was regarded by the couple as being *occulto.* Under these circumstances, the conclusion that Gaunt, or a close associate, approached Purvey for advice and that Purvey recorded his responses in his commonplace book, where they were later to be unearthed by Lavenham, looks compelling. Even if we were to suppose that the approach was made by a third party (one of the Swynfords, say), we must still assume that someone believed that Gaunt himself would have been interested in knowing the answer. Though we have no other evidence of any contact between Gaunt and Purvey, the man later described by the Carmelite Thomas Netter as Wyclif's "disciple" and "glossator," and the Lollards' "bookman" [*librarius*],[25] might have seemed an obvious expert to consult. Furthermore, if Purvey's *libellus* came into Lavenham's hands at the time of his trial in 1401,[26] it is easy to see why this particular item would not have been used in evidence against him; it was not merely, as Anne Hudson supposed, because it contained "technicalities that were not a normal part of Wycliffite belief,"[27] but that with the accession of Gaunt's son Henry IV it had become politically sensitive (incidentally, this also militates against the other obvious explanation of the sixth paragraph of Purvey's *Heresies and Errors,* that it represents a forgery by Lavenham intended to incriminate Purvey in the eyes of the authorities). Just to complicate matters, at the time of his arrest Purvey claimed he was a chaplain in the diocese of Lincoln, a see presided over by Henry Beaufort, the future cardinal; might this be

[24] See Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* 2:219 ("cunctis admirantibus facti miraculum"); and Jean Froissart, *Chroniques,* in *Oeuvres,* ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 25 vols. in 26 parts (Paris, 1868–77), 15:239 ("dont on fut en France et en Angleterre moult esmerveillié").

[25] Hudson, *Lollards and Their Books,* 94–95.

[26] James Crompton, "Fasciculi Zizaniorum II," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 12 (1961): 164, suggests that this happened before 1399—the date of Lavenham's move from Bristol, "where Purvey was active," to London. All that connects Purvey with Bristol, however, is Knighton's claim that he had preached there: "iste dominus Iohannes Purueye predicauit in Brystowe" (*Knighton's Chronicle, 1337–1396,* ed. G. H. Martin [Oxford, 1995], 290). It is surely easier to imagine this book falling into Lavenham's hands at the time of Purvey's 1401 trial, in just the same way that other books in his library were to be seen by Thomas Netter at the time of his second trial in 1414 (Maureen Jurkowski, "New Light on John Purvey," *The English Historical Review* 110 [1995]: 1185–86).

[27] Hudson, *Lollards and Their Books,* 92.

the reason why Anne Hudson could find no record of investigation in the Lincoln register of Bishop Beaufort (p. 87)?

If it is not particularly surprising to find John Purvey meddling in politics in the 1390s (he was later, after all, indicted for participating in the Oldcastle rebellion),[28] that John of Gaunt should still have maintained Lollard connections so many years after the death of his old protégé, John Wyclif, is far more interesting. Gaunt's active support, not only for Wyclif himself but for some of his early followers, is well known,[29] but the record of this support is confined almost entirely to the years 1377–82.[30] After that period, only an appeal to the duke as witness by William Swinderby in 1391[31] and a warm recollection of his assistance (perhaps in 1395), preserved in a Lollard tract on Bible translation written around 1407,[32] suggest any ongoing interest in the movement on his part. Indeed, Anthony Goodman has argued that Gaunt's support for Lollardy declined markedly after the early 1380s.[33] If it is accepted that sometime in the winter of 1395/6 Purvey was consulted about the legality of Gaunt's marriage to Katherine Swynford and about John Beaufort's eligibility for the crown, not only does Wyclif's political influence on Gaunt appear to have lasted much longer than has been suspected previously, but Michael Wilks's argument that Lollardy was a "court-centered movement" receives some valuable support.[34]

The Ohio State University.

[28] Jurkowski, "New Light," 1180–90.

[29] See Hudson, *Premature Reformation,* 110–12.

[30] Professor Anne Hudson has suggested to me that there were possible contacts between Wyclif and Gaunt as late as mid-1384. *The Westminster Chronicle* (pp. 68 ff.) gives an account of a plot against Gaunt in April 1384, apparently involving friars, and Wyclif seems to refer to this in "De septem donis Spiritus Sancti" (*John Wiclif's Polemical Works in Latin,* ed. Rudolf Buddensieg, 2 vols. [London, 1883], 1:218.1) and in "De novis ordinibus" (ibid., 332.6); he says the hostility of the friars was "quia [Gaunt] noluit sacerdotes fideles puniri" (ibid., 227.4).

[31] Hudson, *Premature Reformation,* 75 n. 94.

[32] The writer suggests that Gaunt opposed ("with a grete oþe"!) a parliamentary bill "to anulle þe Bibel þat tyme translatid in-to Engliche" (Curt F. Buhler, "A Lollard Tract: On Translating the Bible into English," *Medium Ævum* 7 [1938]: 178.280–82). Unless this is a complete fiction, it seems to be a confused memory of the presentation of "The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards," although that text contains only an oblique reference to lay access to the Bible; see *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings,* ed. Anne Hudson (Cambridge, 1978), 26.59–61.

[33] Goodman, *John of Gaunt,* 241–48.

[34] Michael Wilks, "Royal Priesthood: The Origins of Lollardy," in *The Church in a Changing Society: Conflict—Reconciliation or Adjustment?,* Proceedings of the 1977 CIHEC Conference (Uppsala, 1978), 67. This is the more significant in light of K. B. McFarlane's contention that the "lollard knights" were largely independent of Gaunt (*Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* [Oxford, 1972], 145 and 171).

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